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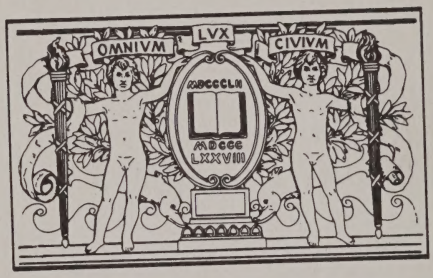

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No. XC.

JANUARY, 1836.

ART. I. — *Means of ascertaining the Genuineness and Integrity of Ancient Writings.*

1. *A History of the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times; or a Concise Account of the Means by which the Genuineness and Authenticity of Ancient Historical Works are ascertained; with an Estimate of the Comparative Value of the Evidence usually adduced in support of the Claims of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures.* By ISAAC TAYLOR. 8vo. London. 1827.

2. *The Process of Historical Proof Exemplified and Explained; with Observations on the Peculiar Points of the Christian Evidence.* By ISAAC TAYLOR. 8vo. London. 1828.

WE have placed the titles of these books at the head of this article, not with the intention of entering into any minute analysis of the respective works to which they belong, but for the purpose of recommending them to our readers, and as introductory to an inquiry, we propose to institute, into a particular branch of the "Process of Historical Proof."

The former of these works, namely that relating to the "Transmission of Ancient Books," is the most succinct and comprehensive statement of the subject in the English language, with which we are acquainted. It makes no pretension,

as the author himself says, "to communicate information to those who are already conversant with matters of antiquity, literary or historical, and whatever might seem recondite, or whatever is still involved in controversy, has been avoided. Nor has the author loaded his pages with numerous references, which, though easily amassed, would have increased the size of the volume without being serviceable to the class of readers for whom he writes." The only work in English, to be named in comparison with this treatise, is that of Mr. Astle.* And this, though very elaborate and trustworthy, and superbly embellished with *fac-similes* of ancient manuscripts, and in all respects, a learned and valuable work, is yet too minute in its details to be of general interest, and too expensive to be within the reach of the great mass of scholars in this country.

The design of the latter of these books, Mr. Taylor states, as follows: — "After exemplifying, in a signal instance, the ordinary process of historical proof, I have endeavored to suggest hints for analyzing, with fairness and freedom, the Christian Records, viewing them merely as the materials of history." And "instead of taxing the attention of the reader, by placing before him a set of abstract principles of evidence, or of distracting his attention by adducing a multiplicity of instances, he proposes to select a single instance, and to exhibit, link by link, the entire chain of proof by means of which the *absolute certainty* of events alleged to have taken place nearly five hundred years before the birth of Christ, may be satisfactorily established. He selects the history of Herodotus, and the principal events of the Persian war, as affording fair samples of this species of reasoning, in the two departments of literary and historical proof."

This design, we think, is carried forward to a very successful issue. The genuineness of the work of Herodotus is satisfactorily established, and the argument from the genuineness to the authenticity of the history very well put. But the parts of the treatise which strike us as particularly valuable, are the chapters on the "Use of Ethical Writings as the Materials of

* The Origin and Progress of Writing, as well Hieroglyphic as Elementary, Illustrated by Engravings taken from Marbles, Manuscripts and Charters, ancient and modern; also some account of the Origin and Progress of Printing. Second edition, with additions. By Thomas Astle, Esq., F. R. S., F. A. S.; and Keeper of the Records in the town of London. 4to. London. 1803.

History;" the application of the argument in proof of the "Authenticity of the Apostolical Epistles;" and the "Hints towards an analysis of the Christian Evidences." This last chapter alone contains *stock* enough of elementary thoughts, to furnish a large number of those, too often, dull and innutritive books, which are continually inflicted on the Christian public, under the title of Evidences of Christianity.

In general the statements are clearly made, and the arguments arranged in lucid and logical order. There is, however, we must say, a tendency in some instances, which we need not stop to particularize, to over-statement, and to an assumption of the tone and bearing of an advocate, which are unwise and out of place, and only serve, with a careful thinker, to invalidate the strength of the author's positions. And the style too, and with this remark we leave the unwelcome task of excepting to the great and prevailing value of the works, is often too elaborate, ornate, rhetorical and intensive for our taste, and particularly so, in a subject of cool and dispassionate inquiry. The strength of all arguments, in such cases, lies in the facts, and the more simply these are stated, and the more they are left to tell their own stories, the better.

The specific design to which we now propose to address ourselves does not allow us to indulge in any further remarks on these volumes. And we dismiss them with a grateful acknowledgment of the interest and instruction we have derived from their perusal, and with an earnest recommendation of them to all who wish to see the subjects, of which they profess to treat, learnedly and ably discussed.

That branch of the "process of historical proof," on which we now proceed to offer some remarks, is the method of ascertaining the Genuineness and Integrity of writings purporting to be ancient.

Many of the facts and arguments involved in this inquiry are, of course, adverted to, in all research pertaining to the age and authenticity of classical manuscripts, charters, records, and similar monuments of antiquity; and are particularly brought into view, in all attempts to authenticate the claims of the sacred Scriptures. But within the last three hundred years,* the subject has assumed the form of a distinct science,

* Father Mabillon in his epistolary dedication to Colbert of the first edition of his great work "*De Re Diplomatica*," (fol. Paris, 1681,) says of the

under the name of *Diplomatics*, or the *Diplomatic Science*, and has called to its aid, particularly on the continent of Europe, a vast amount of laborious and learned investigation. It is an inquiry, it must be confessed, not very inviting in its first aspect, but will be found, nevertheless, to connect itself, in its results, with very interesting topics of illustration.

But whatever may be thought of the interest of the inquiry, it is one of inherent and manifest importance. The comprehensive language of Mr. Taylor on this point is strictly true, — "that the credit of literature, the certainty of history, and the truth of religion are all involved" in the discussion before us. And it has, as Mr. Astle justly observes, a direct "influence on politics, morality, literature, canon and civil law, and even on divinity itself. The divine and lawyer labor to little purpose, unless they can show that the testimonies which they adduce, are accompanied by all the necessary marks of authenticity. For if the rules of criticism adopted by learned antiquarians were arbitrary, and the epochas established by them false, ancient writings would be of as little authority as fictions; and were it impossible to ascertain the dates or ages of documents, all their labors would be idle and fruitless, and their productions really be, what ignorance has often asserted them to be, nothing better than the works of mere sportive fancy." None, it may be supposed, at this day, will adopt the very strange, though ingeniously supported, theory of the French Jesuit Hardouin,† that all the remains of the Greek and Roman writers, with the exception of the works of Cicero, Pliny's Natural History, Virgil's Georgics, and the Satires and Epistles of Horace, were forged and imposed upon the world by some Italian monks of the thirteenth century. Yet the remark is probably true, that, "from a want of acquaintance with the facts and principles on which a rational conviction of

science, that before his time, "tamen jacebat illa inculta sine regulis, sine legibus, præter eas a quas pro suo quisque captu ac genio confingebat. And Father Montfaucon, in his splendid Palæographia Græca (fol. Paris, 1708,) observes of the subject matter of his book, — "Certi rem utilitate non minus, quam ipsa *novitate* jucunditateque acceptam fore."

† John Hardouin, born at Quinper in Bretagne, 1646 or 7. The work referred to in the text, is his *Chronologiæ ex nummis antiquis restitutæ Prolusio de Nummis Herodiadum*. Among other strange things, he asserts that Horace and Virgil are two allegorical writers, who under the names of Lalage and Æneas, have shadowed forth Christianity, and the life of its author. He publicly recanted his errors, and afterwards repeated them in other forms. He died at Paris, 1729.

the Genuineness and Integrity of ancient writings is to be founded, many persons, otherwise well informed, feel that they have hardly an alternative between a simple acceptance, or an equally indiscriminate suspicion of the whole."

Nor is the inquiry as abstruse and difficult as is often apprehended. It is true, that when carried into minute details, it involves much recondite and various learning. But the general facts and principles, which are connected with the transmission of ancient literature to modern times, apart from any controverted application of them to particular writings, are easily understood and appreciated. They are the same in kind as we are conversant with, and constantly recognise and act upon, in every-day life. Now, it is these general facts and principles which are admitted by all inquirers, and which are not embarrassed by controversies, and considered as separate from all minute criticism, or specific applications, that we shall proceed to lay before our readers. And this we shall attempt to do in the plainest and simplest manner possible. We are not ambitious of that cheap parade of learning which is furnished by numerous quotations and references, and take leave to say, on this point, once for all, that we shall avail ourselves of all the resources within our reach, and, in an especial manner, of the first named book of Mr. Taylor, without any particular acknowledgment, unless some circumstance may seem to render such an acknowledgment expedient. Any show of learning that we may be, or may seem, to be guilty of, we shall refer to the foot notes, that the most plain and "way-faring" of our readers need not stumble thereat.

We have one further preliminary remark to make, before entering upon the subject. We advert to a distinction, the neglect of which has always involved the discussion before us, in perplexity and confusion. The inquiry we propose to pursue is concerning the *genuineness* of ancient records; not concerning their *authenticity*. These two subjects are entirely distinct in their nature, and are to be determined by entirely different modes of proof. Writings are said to be *genuine*, when it can be satisfactorily established that they were written by the *persons*, and of course, at the *time* assigned, and that they have *not undergone any material change* in the course of transmission to us. Writings, on the other hand, are said to be *authentic*, when they can be shown to be trust-worthy in regard to the facts they state. Evidence in support of the former

proposition will prove that the writings in question are not *forged*, either in the whole or in part; and evidence in support of the latter proposition will show that they are not *falsehoods* or *fictions*. It is plain, moreover, that these propositions *may* be entirely independent of each other. Thus, it may be ascertained that a certain writing or record was written by the person whose name it bears, but, at the same time, it may be conclusively shown that he is not entitled to the least credibility in his statements. It may be proved that he is overcredulous, or that he is a romancer or a falsifier. And again, it may be established that a writing or record contains a credible statement of facts, though, at the same time, it may be proved, that it could not have been written by its alleged author, or even at the time alleged. Thus, for example, an ancient book called the Cyopædia, is attributed, on satisfactory evidence, to a certain Greek who lived at Athens, about four centuries before the Christian Era; but it will be admitted, probably, that it is entitled to little more credit, as a record of facts, than one of the Waverley novels. Its *genuineness* is well enough established; its *authenticity* is not. So too, we can have no doubt, that a book, now familiarly known, entitled Telemachus, was written by a certain author, named Fenelon, an Archbishop of Cambray, and in the seventeenth century, but no one believes that the events therein described, really took place. It is a *genuine*, but not an authentic production. And on the other hand, a book may have come down to us from a former age, which from independent sources of proof, we may be satisfied contains an accurate statement of certain facts or events, but whose author is unknown. This would be an *authentic*, but not a genuine production.

We have said that these questions are not *necessarily* connected with each other. There may be instances, however, in which the admission of genuineness involves also the admission of authenticity. If, for example, there be found in ancient writings, of an *epistolary* character, admitted to be genuine, certain allusions to facts, as familiarly known both to the writer and his correspondents, and these too, of a character that do not admit the supposition of mistake or artifice; these allusions are to be taken as a sufficient proof of the reality of the facts, and this, for the plain reason, that they cannot be accounted for on any other supposition. Thus, if the genuineness of the

Apostolic Epistles be admitted, it must also be admitted that the writers had the power of working miracles, and of enabling others to do so, since they refer to these as facts well known and admitted by both parties, and it is inconceivable that they should have thus written, if the facts did not exist. This point is very well illustrated and enforced in chapter sixth of the "Process of Historical Proof," by Mr. Taylor, and applied afterwards in chapter thirteenth, with peculiar and irresistible power to the alleged "gift of tongues."*

Now, as we have already observed, it is to the question of *genuineness* of ancient writings, that our remarks will be confined. And our precise object is to furnish as satisfactory a reply as our resources and limits may permit, to the following inquiry, namely; — What are the facts and arguments by which it is determined, that books and writings purporting to be ancient, were really written by the authors to whom they are severally attributed, and in consequence in the age assigned, and that they have not suffered material corruption, in the course of their subsequent transmission to our times?

The remains of ancient literature exist in two distinct forms, that of printed books, and that of manuscripts. Our reply in answer to the question we have now stated, will have reference to this fact.

And let it be supposed, in the first place, that we knew nothing of the manner in which the literary remains of antiquity have been transmitted to us, but that they existed now only in the form of printed books, and there were not such a thing as an ancient manuscript in existence, what proof should we then possess of the Genuineness and Antiquity of these writings? We answer, proof of a very satisfactory character. And it is that which is furnished by internal evidence alone, that is, evidence found in the writings themselves. And this is of several kinds.

1. That a work, purporting to be ancient, exists, furnishes a presumptive argument of some force, that it is what it professes to be; since, whatever we may think of the alleged depravity of the human race, a regard for the truth, and a tendency to believe in the trust-worthiness of others, are instinctive principles of our natures. Hence, if a writing exists, claiming to be the work of a former age, this fact alone, is to be taken

* See also Marsh's Michælis Int. &c. Vol I. Chap. ii. Sec. 1.

as we have said, as presumptive evidence in its favor, sufficiently strong to throw the burden of proof upon him who calls its genuineness in question. This presumption is strengthened by the concurrence of any of the following circumstances; and, in the same degree, as they are united in support of the genuineness of any book, the evidence becomes more and more conclusive, until it rises to moral certainty.

2. There may not be discoverable in the work any motive for perpetrating a forgery, or of perpetuating a deception.

3. There may be obvious throughout a document, an expression of honesty, candor, reality and fair-dealing, analogous to the *impressions* we receive from individuals with whom we are personally acquainted in common life, and which are irreconcilable with the supposition that a deception should be systematically attempted in regard to the antiquity or any other claim of the book.

4. Various copies of the same work may exist in various and distant parts of the world, in different versions or translations, and of different dates; and if the work in question is not one of a didactic or imaginative character, but derives its importance solely from its being a statement of *facts*, and if these facts are of an ancient period which the author declares that he himself had known either personally, or from credible authority; — then this general adoption and estimation of the book can only be accounted for on the ground that the writer is worthy of credit, and that his writing, in all important respects, is what it purports to be.

5. There may be nothing monstrous or improbable, or all circumstances considered, any thing unlikely to take place, related in the narrative. And if the production be such, as might naturally be expected from the known character, means of information, object, and condition of the reputed author, this would be an additional proof of its genuineness. And this conclusion would be still further strengthened, if what at first seemed incongruous, either in regard to the character and opinions of the writer, should be found, on more thorough examination, to be fitting or necessary to the work in question.

6. A book may exhibit a minute accuracy in its allusions to the existing persons, events, manners, and circumstances of the times in which it purports to have been written. And all this may be so inartificial as to preclude the idea that it is supposititious. And this argument is greatly fortified, if from the na-

ture of the case, these allusions could only have been suggested by a personal knowledge of the facts. Theological scholars know how forcibly this remark is illustrated by the allusions in the Gospel Narratives and Apostolical Epistles, viewed in connexion with the varied and eventful history of Judea at the alleged period, and the utter extinction of the whole Jewish polity, which ensued soon after the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple. This criterion, it is true, like many of the rest, is more directly applicable to the authenticity of the history, than to the genuineness of any particular writing or book which contains it. Still, that it is also a strong presumptive proof of the latter, is plain from the fact, that if such allusions were wanting, or if they could be proved to be erroneous, the proof of its spuriousness would be decisive.

7. Documents by various authors, at different times, may be found concurring in the same events, and what is more decisive, not stating these events circumstantially, but implying and proceeding upon them as established and well known facts.

8. The historical succession of events may be supported naturally and consistently. The importance of this rule will be made apparent from considering that if any signal event, or the appearance of any distinguished personage, or the prevalence of any doctrine or controversy, which were known to have taken place in a subsequent period, were antedated or alluded to in the work in question, it would be a decisive proof of its spuriousness. The history of the world is a connected history; and when any important event occurs, it leaves its mark on the age, and not only so, but it is necessarily connected with what precedes and follows it, as well as with the cotemporaneous history of the times.

9. When the friends of the presumed author of a book, and his associates and cotemporaries generally, or those who lived near to his time, do not deny, or do admit it to be his work, it is to be received as an argument in favor of its genuineness, since these are best able, and most interested, to decide upon the subject.

10. It is a confirmation of the same result, if the language and style of the work in question, resemble those which characterise the reputed author in other acknowledged writings of his; since the lines of a man's countenance are scarcely better known, than his prevalent modes of associating and expressing

his thoughts and sentiments. Every body, almost, understands, and applies, this rule of judging continually. This rule, moreover, as will soon be shown, applies to the use of language generally, in any era, as well as to the style of any particular author.

11. But a very decisive criterion of the genuineness of books reputed to be ancient, is that furnished by References and Quotations. This is well stated by Mr. Taylor, whose language we here borrow. "A single reference found in one author to the works of another, who, in his turn, needs the same kind of authentication, may seem to be a fallacious, insufficient and obscure kind of proof; for this reference or quotation may possibly be an interpolation, or the reference may be too slight or indefinite to make it certain that the work now extant is the same as that mentioned. But the validity of this kind of proof arises from its *amount*, its *multifariousness*, and its *incidental character*. For though a single and solitary testimony may be inconclusive, many hundred independent testimonies, all bearing upon the same point, are much more than sufficient to remove reasonable doubt; and if some of these references are slight and indefinite, others are full, particular and complete. If some are formal and direct, and such, therefore, as might be supposed to have been inserted with a fraudulent design, others are altogether circuitous and incidental. If some have descended to us through the same channels, others are derived from sources as far removed as can be imagined from the possibility of collusion. A work may happen to want this kind of evidence, and yet, on other grounds, possess a good claim to genuineness. But, in fact, almost all existing remains of ancient literature are abundantly authenticated by the numerous and explicit [and undesigned] quotations, or descriptions that occur in other works. And there are very few books that do not contain some direct or indirect allusions to other works; so that the remains of ancient literature, taken as a mass, contains within itself the proof of the authenticity [genuineness] of each part." The completeness and force of this species of evidence, can be estimated only from a minute examination of particular examples. And all illustrations of this description, both the nature and limits of this article oblige us to forego. Those who wish to appreciate duly the validity and strength of this kind of proof, are referred, as a familiar

example, to the "Horæ Paulinæ, or the truth of the Scripture History of St. Paul," by Paley; which is not only the most original of all his works, but comprises one of the most decisive arguments, of the kind, in the language.

These Quotations and References, we may, however, briefly observe, are of various kinds. Thus they may be *literal*, whether or not ascribed, expressly, and by name, to their author. From these, two things may be ascertained; — First, the existence of the work quoted, at the time in which the writer who makes the quotation, wrote; — and, Second, the identity, and even the correctness of any extant text, so far as these quotations are concerned.

Again, there may be *incidental* allusions. These may be sufficiently obvious to show that one writer was known to the other, and yet so remote and plainly undesigned, as to preclude all suspicion of interpolation or artifice of any kind. In like manner, there may be coincidences of this description, which plainly shew, either that both writers derived their information from the same common source, or that the one copied from the other. And, in the latter case, if the work of the one bears the plain impress of originality, and is in perfect accordance, in style, manner and spirit, with other acknowledged writings of the author, he is to be taken as the original authority, and the other as the quoting party, thereby establishing the previous existence of the work which is quoted from.

And, again, in point of fact, most authors, now generally admitted to be ancient, whose works are extant, have been *distinctly referred to*, named, criticised, commented upon, and described, by subsequent writers. Lists of their productions, summaries of their contents, biographies of the writers, in which their works are mentioned and classed in the order of time, are to be found; by means of which all the important parts of the original works may be identified and compared with the purported copies of them now extant.

Some ancient Treatises again, contain ample quotations from previous authors, together with a *list of all those, in the order of time*, who wrote on some given subject previously to the age of the author.

And again, *Controversies* of every description afford abundant occasion for quotations, and those, too, which being cited for some express purpose, that has long passed away, are beyond all suspicion of having been interpolated.

13. *Translations*, provided they have been made near to the time assigned as that in which the original author lived, and correspond with the text in question, and have come down to us through means different from those by which the alleged original work has been preserved, afford a conclusive test of genuineness. And if, further, there be several of them in different languages, they render the evidence of Genuineness complete.*

14. There is yet another source of proof, tending to the same result, distinct in itself, yet like the above, derived from internal evidence, or from the writings themselves. This is to be found in the *language* in which the book in question is written. To make this plain, it must be remembered, that "a language is, at once, the most complete, and the least fallible of all historical records." Almost any work of any kind, *in* any language, may be forged, but no man can forge *the* language in which the work is embodied. It bears, and always must bear, the exact "form and pressure" of the times.† "The precise extent of knowledge and civilization to which a people have attained, — nothing more, and nothing less, is marked out in the list of words, of which they have made use. The common objects of nature; the peculiarities of climate; the works of art; the details of domestic life; political institutions; religious opinions and observances; philosophy, poetry and art; every form and hue of the external world; and every modification of thought, find in language their representatives." If we know, therefore, accurately the vocabulary of any language, we are possessed, thereby, of a great mass of facts

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*The student on this subject will perceive that hints on this part of our inquiry, have been derived from the following sources. Johannis Clerici Ars Critica, Part III. Sec. II. March's Michaelis, Part I. Ch. II. Less, Geschichte der Religion, pp. 485 — 634. Lardner's truly great work contains specimens throughout, of all these different kinds of quotations.

†Father Mabillon thus poetically alludes to this fact, and thus repudiates the rash hand, which (to prevent Priscian's head from being broken) would dare to reduce the language of ancient writings to grammatical rules. "Ut suus unicuique arti idiotismus constat; sic etiam Rei Diplomaticæ inest proprius loquendi modus, qui magis ex usu pendet, quàm ex Grammaticæ regulis. Sunt quos salebrosus ejusmodi stilus offendit, quem dum ad genii sui captum emendare conantur, idem ferè committunt, atque illi, qui in prato floribus sponte nascentibus consperso, decussis agrestibus flosculis, ocellos, tuberosas, aliaque id genus in fictilibus vasis substituerent. Plus enim delectat nativa illa rerum varietas, quàm affectata in loco peregrino elegantia. — De Re Diplomatica Lib. Sec. Cap. I. p. 54.

by which to test the genuineness of any work, which is written in that language; and if, in addition to this vocabulary, we are familiar with all the niceties of grammar, construction, idiom, and style, which prevailed in any period of its history, and are able, moreover, to trace the alterations which have taken place in these respects, from age to age, together with the changes that have occurred in the meaning of words and of peculiar modes of expression;—we are furnished with ample means of ascertaining the Genuineness of any work purporting to be ancient. Every age has its peculiarities in all these respects. Language, as such, like every thing else earthly, is in a state of continual change. It has its rise, its progress, and decline. It has, moreover, hues and tones, inversions and affectations, innovations and corruptions, which are peculiar to each successive age of its existence; and thus furnishes, what has been aptly called the "*latent history* of the people through whose lips it passes." Horace says very truly,

* * * "mortalia facta peribunt,
Nedum sermonum stet honos, et gratia vivax.
Multa renascentur, quæ jam cecidêre; cadentque
Quæ nunc in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
Quem penès arbitrium est, et jus, et norma loquendi."

And he who forges any writing, intending to palm it upon the world, as a production of a previous period, must, in consequence, forge all these minute peculiarities of language belonging to the period, to which he chooses to assign his work. This is obviously impossible. Such attempts always fail. They always must fail. The very efforts which are made to give to a pretended work these minute marks of genuineness, only serve, like all other attempts at deception, to furnish to the skilled and practised observer, new means of detecting the imposition. A memorable, though now almost forgotten, instance of the searching power of this test, is furnished by the controversy respecting the alleged poems of Ossian. The unhappy attempt of the eminently gifted Chatterton, to impose his writings on the world, as the works of certain ancient poets, is another case in point. And the critical accuracy of this same test is remarkably and most successfully manifested in the labors of modern scholars, and particularly in those of Germany, in their inquiries into the genuineness and integrity of the text of the ancient classical writers, and of the scriptures.

Language has, therefore, been well compared to a mirror, which reflects all the communicable ideas of a people who, at at any given time, employ it. And as every change in their condition must involve a corresponding change in their language, and as the events and circumstances which produce this change, are often known or ascertainable, these successive changes occurring in an author, may serve to fix the date of his work. Thus, for example, if there should be a dispute a thousand years hence, concerning the genuineness of a book, in the English language, in which were found particular references, or allusions, more or less distinct, to the power of steam in propelling machinery ; or to rail roads ; or to certain systems of political economy ; or to tariffs ; or to mooted maxims of inter-communication between nations ; or to the abolition of slavery in the British West India Islands ; or to the extinction of Poland as a nation, by the overwhelming power of Russia ; or to the fact, that the poor remnant of the natives of North America were removed one step nearer to their final resting place in the Pacific Ocean ; or to magnificent enterprises of missionary, and all kinds of philanthropic societies ; or to associations or lyceums for mutual improvement ; or to the fact that a popular cast is attempted to be given to all science and all literature, so that what was formerly locked up in ponderous folios, and deemed to be wholly inaccessible except to the learned few, is now brought into open day, epitomized, familiarly explained, and sown broad-cast over the land ; — if, we say, allusions or references should be made to circumstances like these, as being of recent, prevalent, or peculiar, interest, in a book whose genuineness shall be disputed a thousand years hence, they would clearly indicate the fact, that it was to be ascribed to the first third of the nineteenth century. And if, moreover, these references should be found to coincide accurately with that degree of information, which, from other and independent sources, is ascertained to exist in regard to each of these subjects, at this particular period of time, it would be an additional fact in confirmation of the same result.

Thus, then, in Internal Evidences alone ; — namely, in sources of proof derived from books themselves, as well as in the nature and progress of language, there exist rich and available materials for ascertaining the genuineness of books, purporting to be ancient, and this too, though there were not an ancient manuscript in existence.

II. But it is well known that manuscripts, believed to be ancient, *do* exist, and in great numbers. We pass, then, in the next place, to consider what facts and arguments there are by which the genuineness of these is to be authenticated.

We commence this division of the subject, with two preliminary remarks. One is, — it is obvious, that if in respect to any work regarded as ancient, an unquestionable *autograph* copy, that is, a copy in the hand-writing of the author can be found, all further question in regard to its genuineness is precluded. But there are few such autographs, even of any modern writer; and none of any ancient one. Yet, as we shall presently attempt to shew, such a near approximation can be made to this degree of certainty, by means of the circumstances attending the original writing, and the preservation and transmission of manuscripts, that the genuineness and antiquity of a work is scarcely less certain, than if the first copy in the hand-writing of the author were still extant.

The other introductory remark is this. It is not necessary to trace the history of manuscripts lower down than to the invention of printing; that is, to the beginning of the fifteenth century, because at that time, or shortly after, most of the Greek and Latin, or what are commonly called classic authors, passed through the press. Their existence at the period that this took place is thereby obvious. And as a printed book cannot be materially altered by the pen, or by any other known mechanical means, without detection, it cannot be successfully interpolated or corrupted. It also bears a *date*, or if it do not, the period of its origin can ordinarily be ascertained by other means. And if, as is the fact with almost all the remains of ancient literature, it were issued in different forms, and in diverse places, any material change of the text, without affording at the same time the means of discovery, would be all but impossible. Thus, for example, a certain work, by *Saint Augustine*, entitled "de Civitate Dei," was printed in Italy, (and the second book printed there, as Dibdin* says), in 1467. It was reprinted at Rome, in 1468, and twice subsequently before the close of the year 1470. Now these different printed editions show conclusively in the first place, the existence of a manuscript of this work in the fifteenth century. And if, further, they should be found

* "Introduction," &c. Vol. I. p. 224.

to agree *in the main*, but to differ from each other in some small matters of a merely verbal kind, it is to be inferred that they were derived from different manuscripts, and not copied from each other; and means also are thus afforded of testing the purity and integrity of any extant text of the book. In ascertaining, therefore, the genuineness of this alleged work of Augustine, we need not follow the proof further down than the concluding part of the fifteenth century. And the same reasoning applies in all analogous cases.

The inquiry then before us, is, — What are the means by which the date of manuscripts, anterior to this period, may be ascertained?

Manuscripts, particularly those of the Hebrews, have been divided into two classes,—namely, *autographs*, or those written by the authors themselves, of which, as we have said, none remain; and *apographs*, or copies made from the former, by subsequent transcriptions. These apographs again have been divided into the *more ancient*, which were of the highest authority among the Jews, but of which no specimen remains; and into the *more modern*, which are still extant. These last are again subdivided into the *rolled*, which are used in the synagogues, and into the *square* manuscripts, which are in private use. M. De Rossi has divided this kind of manuscripts into three classes, viz. 1. *More ancient*, or those existing before the twelfth century; — 2. *Ancient*, or those written in the thirteenth and fourteenth century; — 3. *More recent*, or those written at the end of the fourteenth, or at the beginning of the fifteenth century. It is not necessary, for any purpose we have at present in view, to recognise these distinctions, and we only state them here as an example of the extreme accuracy with which this subject has been examined. Our remarks will have reference to the methods of authenticating the age of ancient manuscripts generally. These are very various.

1. The history of some manuscripts is accurately known. They were considered, as we shall hereafter see, in former times, as extremely valuable. They were, in consequence, so accurately described by successive scholars, as to leave no doubt of their identity; and they were mentioned, moreover, in the catalogues of the libraries to which they belonged. And, if in any instance, they were transferred to other persons, the

circumstances of such a transference were authentically recorded.

2. Some* manuscripts are *dated* by the persons who copied them, and if there be no reason to question the genuineness of this date, it is obviously decisive of the period to which they belong.

3. Many manuscripts exhibit *marginal notes*, added evidently by a subsequent writer. The age of these notes may, not unfrequently, be settled by means of some allusions to particular persons or events, or by the form of the letter which is used, or by some other means; thereby referring the original writing to an earlier period.

4. The age of a manuscript may be indicated by the *material* of which it is composed; that is, whether it be Soft Leather; or Parchment; or Vellum; or the Papyrus of the Nile; or the Bombycine, or Cotton Paper; since all these different materials were used for manuscript writing in succession, and at periods which are well ascertained. It will be useful in estimating the force of the argument drawn from the materials which were thus used for writing, to give a succinct account of them.

But before proceeding to a consideration of this subject, it may serve to give some completeness to the inquiry, to advert, in passing, to that subsidiary aid which is to be derived from those more durable inscriptions, which were made on harder substances. It is obvious, as almost innumerable specimens of writing of this description exist, and belong to every age, even to the very earliest; and as these, moreover, bear in most cases, some date, or some internal evidence of the period in which they were written, that they furnish examples of the successive changes that have taken place in the forms of letters and modes of writing. And these, being thus authenticated, it is plain, may be used in ascertaining the age of manuscripts, so far as the character of the writing is concerned.

The most ancient remains of writing are those which have

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* Authors differ in regard to the numerical proportion of the manuscripts thus dated. Mr. Taylor speaks of such as being "a large proportion." Mr. Horne, on the other hand, says that "by far the greater number of manuscripts have no subscriptions or other criteria [of a like kind,] by which to ascertain their date." Of course, opinions on this point will differ according to the manuscripts consulted.

been transmitted to us on marbles, metals, and precious stones. The Decalogue was written on two tables of stone; a practice by no means confined to the Jews, but one in use among the Oriental nations, and also by the Greeks and Romans. Had Voltaire not been ignorant of this fact, he would have spared the ridicule, which he has attempted to cast upon that part of the Pentateuch where a command is given to write the law upon stones. The laws of the Greeks were engraven on tables of brass, called *Cyrbes*. The Tables of Isis, yet preserved in the royal collection at Turin, exhibit the practice as employed among the Egyptians. It is said that "more than three thousand tables of brass, kept in the capitol, were destroyed by a fire in the reign of Vespasian."*

Wood was also used for writings or inscriptions, in very early periods of the world. *Table books*, or tables of solid wood, called *Codices*, (whence the term *Codex* for manuscripts written on any material, has passed into common use), were employed chiefly for legal instruments, and a system of laws is called, to this day, a *code*, from this circumstance. These table books were known to the Jews eight hundred years before the Christian era, since Solomon exhorts his son to write his precepts on the tables of his heart.† They were called by the Romans *Pugillares*, and when used for billet-doux, (as was sometimes the case) they were termed *Vitelliani*,‡ — the reasons of which terms are not very evident, while those assigned are sufficiently fanciful. The wood, in the preparation of these tablets, was cut into thin slices finely planed and polished, amounting, in number, from one to five. The writing was at first on the bare wood; afterwards, as we shall presently see, these tablets of wood were over-spread with wax. Table books of ivory were used by the Romans, and were probably not greatly unlike those still used for memoranda, which are written upon with black-lead pencils. Thin sheets of lead were employed for a similar purpose, in like manner as they are used as marks or tallies, at the present day. These are called by Suetonius (in Nerone, chap 20) Chartam plumbeam, — sheet lead. Job perhaps, refers to this practice, (chapter xix. 24,) though a different construction is given to the passage in the admirable translation of that book by Mr. Noyes. "O that they (my words) were graven with an iron pen and lead

* Astle, 198. † Proverbs, iii. 3. See also Isaiah, xxx. 8.
‡ Martial, Lib. II. Ep. 6.

(or) in the rock forever." Montfaucon (Palæo. Lib. I. 16,) speaks of having seen only one of these leaden books, which consisted of eight leaves, the first and last being used as covers.

But no material employed for books has, perhaps, claims to higher antiquity than *the skin of the calf or goat.* This was so tanned as to be at the same time soft, flexible, and durable; and was usually dyed of a red or yellow color. The skins, thus prepared, were connected together in successive lengths, sometimes extending to more than a hundred feet, and were sufficient to contain an entire book, which formed one roll.* Hence is derived the word *volume* as applied to books in subsequent times. This material appears to have been more frequently used by the Jews and other Oriental people, than by the Europeans. It is evident from Exodus, xxvi. 14, that the Hebrews in the time of Moses, possessed the art of preparing and dying skins; and it is considered not improbable, that the very autograph of the law, by Moses himself, was written on skins of this description. Herodotus says that the Ionians, from the earliest times, wrote upon goat and sheep skins, from which the hair had merely been removed. Diodorus Siculus speaks of the same practice as prevailing among the ancient Persians. Dr. Buchanan took with him, on his return from his learned researches in India, a roll of the Pentateuch,† which he procured from the black Jews of Malabar,

* This is probably the kind of roll referred to in Isaiah, viii. 1; Jeremiah, xxxvi. 2; Ezekiel, ii. 9. And from Ezra, vi. 1, it appears, there was a "house" or library, appropriated to the preservation of these rolls.

† This is the famous *Cambridge* Roll, or *Indian*, or yet more distinctively, the *Malabaric* copy of the Pentateuch. The following facts, which are gathered principally from Mr. Yeates's "Collation" of this manuscript, as condensed by Mr. Horne, may not be without interest, and serve still further to illustrate the nature of this kind of ancient records. It is made of goat skins, and dyed red. It is forty-eight feet in length, and about twenty-two inches, or a Jewish cubit, in breadth. The book of Leviticus, and a great part of the book of Deuteronomy are wanting. It is believed that its original length was not less than ninety English feet. In its present condition it consists of thirty-seven skins,—and contains one hundred and seventeen columns of writing, perfectly clear and legible, and exhibits a beautiful and valuable specimen of the manner and form of the most ancient Hebrew manuscripts among the Jews. The columns are a palm of four inches in breadth, and contain from forty to fifty lines each, have no vowel points, and are written in all other respects according to the very rigid rules prescribed to the Jewish scribes or copyists. We may add, that there is much difference of opinion among the learned, concerning the value of this and other Indian manuscripts. Dr. Kennicott anxiously desired to procure a copy, or a collation, of one of them, for his edition of the Hebrew Bible,

who, there is strong reason, (as it is thought by some who have investigated the subject,) for believing, are a part of the remains of the first dispersion of that nation by Nebuchadnezzar.*

Parchment, an article well known at the present day, as used for permanent records, is mentioned by the earliest Greek historians, as a material which had been employed, from time immemorial, for books and writings. It was called by the Romans, Pergamena, because its manufacture was improved and carried on to a great extent at Pergamus, a city of Mysia, and particularly in the time of Eumenes, B. C. 200. He is said to have encouraged and perfected the art of preparing it, in consequence of the exportation of the papyrus from Egypt being prohibited, through the jealousy of one of the Ptolemean kings. The term *membrana* was also applied by the Romans to parchment.† The greater part of all manu-

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but that privilege was not vouchsafed to him. Quoting from Wolfius, he says that a certain Jew, named Moses Pereyna declared, that some Jews, about eighty in number, flying from the persecution by Titus, passed through Persia to the Malabar coast, where they arrived in safety. Unde constat, says Wolfius, Mstis Malabaricis multum fidei tribuendum esse. Bishop Marsh, too, considers this particular Malabaric manuscript, and others which are derived from the same source, as extremely interesting and valuable, since, though equally taken from the autograph of Moses, as those of the west of Europe, yet they must have descended to these black Jews in the interior of India, by a different channel. Professor Bauer, on the other hand, maintains that these manuscripts are of little importance. For notwithstanding the long residence of the Jews in China, lasting through many centuries, they have no manuscripts older than those of the fifteenth century.

It is a singular fact, illustrative of the prevalence of this method of writing on the skins of animals, that it prevailed amongst a people, so distant from those last mentioned, as the Mexicans. Cortes sent over to his royal master, Charles V. a Mexican writing, in figurative or hieroglyphic characters, whose meaning is, at the present day, wholly unintelligible to the inhabitants of the country whence it came. The material on which they were drawn, is buck-skin, or doe-skin, covered with a sort of plaster or whitening. Soe Noehden's, "Short Account of the Library at Vienna." Class. Journal. Vol. 23.

* Father Mabillon, on the authority of previous writers, unknown to us, whom he quotes, says that the skins of fishes and the intestines of serpents were sometimes used as materials for writing. And in confirmation of this, quotes a marvellous story of some manuscripts destroyed by fire at Constantinople, — "quos inter erat etiam Draconis intestinum, pedes cxx. longum, cui Homeri pöemata, Ilias et Ulyssea, aureis litteris fuerant inscripta, cum historiâ rerum ab Heroibus gestarum;" and adds with delightful simplicity, "et id piscinis illis membranis sane auctoritatem conciliat." *De Re Diplomatica.* — Lib. I. Cap. VIII. p. 312.

† Thus Horace, (Ser. Lib. II. Sat. III.)

> "Sic raro scribis, ut toto non quater anno
> Membranam poscas."

And Quinctilian, while recommending waxen tablets as being preferable

scripts that are of higher antiquity than the sixth century are on parchment,* or the more delicate material, of the same kind, called vellum. That which was very thin was always preferred; and it was usual with the ancients to stain the parchment or paper, on which fine manuscripts, and the instruments of sovereign princes were written, with purple, dark blue, violet, or other colors. They were sometimes tinged with an oil, expressed from cedar-wood, to preserve them from corruption, and were also made into rolls, and adorned with titles in red ink.† Parch-

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in the efforts of original composition, on account of the ease with which erasures and emendations could be made upon them, refers to *parchment* as being best for those whose eyes are weak. This, he says, however, is objectionable as checking the force and flow of thought, in consequence of the necessity of frequently stopping to dip the reeds in ink. "Quæ (i. e. membranœ) ut juvant aciem, ita crebrâ relatione, quoad intinguntur calami morantur manum, et cogitationis impetum frangunt." Inst. Orator. Lib. X. 3. Ed. Spal. Those are over-wise who neglect such little things, on the ground that they are little. With due deference, we recommend to all persons, who have that highest and hardest of all tasks to go through, namely, original composition, heedfully to mind what Quinctilian says on the subject, and we will take leave to fortify our opinion on this point, by the authority of Goethe. "In this mood," says he, that is, when the fit of inspiration was on, "I much preferred the pencil, (a manifest improvement on the waxed tables of the ancients) which gave out its marks more rapidly; for it sometimes happened that the scraping and squirting of the pen awoke me from my night-walking poetizings, distracted me, and stifled a little production in the birth." Goethe's Nachgelassene Werke. Band, VI. xv. We have taken this very literal translation from the Foreign Quarterly Review of this work.

* The most ancient as well as the most accurate manuscript extant of any part of the Greek version of the O. T. is the Codex Cottonianus, written on vellum, in uncial letters. It has been thought to have been written as early as the commencement of the fifth century. It was brought from Philippi, by two Greek bishops, and presented by them to King Henry VIII. It was given by Queen Elizabeth to Sir John Fortescue, her preceptor in Greek. It was placed by him in the Cottonian Library. Hence its name. Another Codex Cottonianus, preserved in the same library, is one of the oldest, if not the oldest, manuscript of any part of the N. T. which is known. It has been referred to the same period as the former. It is written in silver letters on a faded purple ground. The reader who is desirous of seeing a succinct account of these and other manuscripts of the Scriptures, which are held in estimation, is referred to Mr. Horne. Introduction, Vol. II. Part 1.

† All these latter circumstances are refered to in a passage of Ovid.

> "Nec te (liber) purpureo vaccinia succo:
> Non est conveniens luctibus ille color.
> Nec titulus minio, nec cedro charta notetur;
> Candida nec nigra cornua fronte geras."
> Ovid. de Tristibus, Eleg. ad. librum.

Horace also refers to this anointing of manuscripts with an oil expressed from the cedar tree, as a mark of distinction, in the familiar passage,

> "——————— Speramus carmina fingi
> Posse linenda cedro." Ars. Poet. v. 331.

ment has proved to be a substance of great durability. And we may here observe, that there seems to be a kind care of Providence, in thus directing men to commit the most valuable records, and those which, on account of their antiquity, it was most difficult to preserve, to the most durable materials.

Leaves of Trees have been used as a material for writing in most nations, and in the remotest times. The leaves of the Mallow or the Palm were most frequently employed for this purpose, and were often wrought together to extend the surface. The allusion of Virgil* to the Sibyl's leaves, renders it plain that the use of them for writing was well known to the Romans. Juvenal has a reference to the same practice. Diodorus Siculus mentions that the Judges of Syracuse wrote the names of the persons, whom they sent into banishment, upon the leaves of the olive tree. The practice of writing on the leaves of the palm tree is yet prevalent among different eastern nations. It is probable however that this very slight and inconvenient material was confined to the transient purposes of business, social intercourse, or the instruction of the young.

The inner *bark of trees*, and particularly of the Linden, or Teil tree, has been used for writing, in various quarters of the globe, and still serves for this purpose in several parts of Asia. It was so generally used both by the Greeks and Romans, in this manner, that its name became a common term for a book† in both languages; and hence also is derived our term Book, and also Bible.

But no material or preparation appears to have been so frequently employed, particularly by the Greeks and Roman as *Tablets of Wood covered with a thin coat of colored wax.* This was an improvement on the simple wooden tables above referred to. On account of the facility with which erasures

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Pliny says that the books of Numa, were preserved by an essence, called *cedrium*, derived from the cedar tree, though they had lain five hundred years under ground. This story of Pliny is, probably, fabulous enough, yet it serves to show the antiquity of the usage. Cedar chests or boxes were also used by the Romans, as the most safe and durable depositories for manuscripts.

* Insanam vatem aspicies, quæ rupe sub imâ
Fata canit, foliisque notas et nomina mandat.
Æneid, l. iii. v. 444.

‡ Liber. Βίβλος.

and alterations could be made in the labors of original composition,* these Table books were continued long after the use of the Papyrus became common. The writing was effected by means of an instrument called a *Style*, † which was a brass or iron needle, or pencil, flattened at one end, for the purpose of making erasures.‡ This is the origin of our word Style, which has, in course of time, been so variously used, that the original meaning of the term is lost in the highly metaphorical, changeable and fantastic significations it has assumed. Some of these Table books were large, and doubtless somewhat heavy, since Plautus represents a boy, seven years old, as engaged in the no very dutiful task of breaking his master's head with one of them. The style, too, was rendered sometimes a very dangerous instrument. Cassianus, a Christian schoolmaster, is said to have been killed by his scholars, armed with these styles, on account of his heresy on religious points. It is also related that Cæsar, when attacked by the conspirators, used his iron style, as a dagger, and thereby inflicted a wound on the arm of Cassius.§ And angry advocates in the public courts, having, on several occasions, made a more fatal use of their styles, than that of pointing their sarcasm, or driving home their invective, the use of iron for the instrument was prohibited, and ivory, bone and wood were substituted.¶

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*The reader of the Latin Classics will recognise continual allusions to these waxen Tablets. Thus, for example, "*mandare aliquid ceris,*" (in the quotation from Quinctilian above,) *to commit to writing.* "*Ceras implere capaces.*" (Juv. Sat. I.) *to crowd the ample pages.* "*Cærite cerâ digni.*" (Hor. Lib. I. Ep. 6.) *Deserving to be disfranchised as citizens.* "*Prima, secunda cera,*" *the first and second page.* "*Ima, extrema cera,*" *the bottom of the page.* And as epistles written on these waxen Tablets, were usually tied together with thread, the seal being placed on the knot, the phrase "*Linum incidere,*" *to break open a letter*, was very common.

†Γραφίον. Lat. Graphium. Hence also Γραφιοθήκη, —a case for styles.

‡Hence the phrase, common among the Romans, "vertere stylum,"— *to blot out.*

§Suet. in Cæs. c. 82. "Cassii brachium graphio trajecit."

¶We may here observe that when softer materials than wood or stone were written upon, other materials were used as instruments of writing, such as Reeds and Canes, sticks of the Bamboo, and Pencils made of Hair. These latter, were used for the large Capital Letters, with which manuscripts were begun, and subsequently by the illuminators. Quills of Geese, Swans, and other birds, have been put in requisition, probably since the middle of the seventh century. St Isidore, of Seville, who lived at that time, describing the instruments used for writing, thus solemnly describes the nib of a pen, — "penna avis, cujus acumen dividitur in duo."

The *Papyrus* of Egypt, or Egyptian Reed, or the Paper rush, was, during many ages, the material most in use for writing. The consumption of this article was so great, as to form a principal branch of commerce in the Mediterranean, during many ages. From this is derived our familiar term *paper*. It was called *charta* by the Romans, and this is probably the origin of the English word *charter*.

The Papyrus, of which the material for writing was made, abounds in marshy places in Egypt, where the Nile overflows and stagnates. It grows like a large bull-rush from fibrous reedy roots, and runs up in several triangular stalks, sometimes to the height of ten cubits.* These stalks are somewhat tapering, and are about a foot and a half in circumference at the thickest part. They have large tufted heads, which being unfit for making paper, the stem only was used for this purpose. Pellicles, or thin coats, being flaked from the stalk, were laid, two or more of them, over each other transversely, and were glued together either with the muddy and glutinous water of the Nile, or with a fine paste made of wheat flour. After being pressed and dried, they were made smooth with a roller, or by a solid glass hemisphere, or by beating with a mallet.† This texture was cut into various sizes, from four fingers' breadth, to that of two feet, and of proportionate length.

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* This account is condensed from that of the Papyrus, given by Mr. Astle, who, in turn, derived his, principally from Pliny, L. XIII, C. 2. It differs, in some respects, from a description of the plant by Mr. Taylor. But, perhaps the most elaborate account of the Papyrus, is that of M. le Compte De Caylus, published in L' Acad. Roy. des Inscriptions, Vol. XXVI. He derives, however, the greater part of his facts, confessedly, (see page 268,) from Melchior Guilardin, an eminent physician and botanist, of Koningsberg, in Prussia. Guilardin is also often quoted by Father Mabillon, "*De re Diplomaticâ*," and particularly in Lib. I. C. 8.

† Those of our readers who have seen the beautiful paper invented and manufactured, by a very ingenious lady, of a neighboring town, from the bark of the *Asclepias Syriaca*, or common *Milk Weed*, will have better ideas of the paper made of the Egyptian Papyrus, than can be attained by any description of ours.

This papyrus, is one of those natural productions, which seems to be singularly adapted, in Providence, to supply most of the necessary wants of the people among whom it is indigenous. In addition to the use above mentioned, the Egyptians made cups and other utensils from the lower and harder part; the upper ones were converted into staves, or ribs of boats; the sweet pith was a common article of food; the fibrous part of the stem was made into cloth, sails for ships, ropes, strings, shoes, baskets, wicks for lamps, &c.

We subjoin Pliny's account of the manufacture of the Papyrus, with the corrected text and translation of Caylus, above referred to. "Texuntur omnes tabulâ madente Nili aquâ; turbidus liquor vim glutinis præbet in

The largest and best was called *Imperial;* the second sort was called by the Romans *Livian*, from the wife of Augustus, and was twelve inches in width. The third kind was called *Sacerdotal* paper, and was eleven inches in size.

According to Varro, the practice of writing on this material was first introduced into Egypt in the time of Alexander the Great. Pliny, however, maintains, that it was used by the Egyptians three centuries earlier. In the seventh century, the Papyrus was superseded by Parchment, but was not entirely disused until the twelfth century. Very few manuscripts of this material are found of later date than the eighth or ninth century, and an instrument of any kind, written on this paper, and dated in the thirteenth century, may safely be deemed a forgery. There is no evidence that it was ever used for manuscripts in England or in Germany.

The Chinese, from very early times, have made a paper from the bark of a tree called *Ku-Chi.* It does not appear to have been used for manuscripts intended to be long preserved, and we may thereby pass it over with this brief reference.

The *Charta Bombycina*, or cotton paper, often improperly called *Silk** paper was, it is generally conceded, an Eastern invention, and manufactured as early, certainly, as the ninth century, and possibly much earlier; and in the tenth† it was commonly used throughout Europe. This invention was afterwards rendered more available for general purposes, by the substitution of old linen or cotton rags for the raw material, by which means the price of the article was reduced, and its quality improved. This is the paper now in use, and it surpasses all other materials for writing, both in respect to ease and convenience.

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re, cùm primò supinæ tabulæ scheda adlinitur, longitudine *Papyri* quæ potuit esse, resegminibus utrimque amputatis; transversa posita crates peragit, premitur deinde prœlis. Tous les papiers sont tissus sur une table par le moyen de l' eau du Nil, dont on les humecte; ce liquide troublé ou limonneux fournit en effet une bonne colle; on forme d' abord sur la table horizontale une feuille de la longueur de la tige du *Papyrus*, autant que les rognures faites de part et d'autre ont pû le permettre, cete feuille est croisée par une autre posée transversalement, ensuite on la met à la presse." Dissertation above referred to by M. le Compte de Caylus. — pp. 305, 306.

* *Silk*, according to Du Halde, cannot be beat into such a pulp, or paste, as to make paper.

† Mr. Astle says, after Montfaucon, that it was not in general use, until the beginning of the thirteenth century, and that a *Latin* Charter or Record on cotton paper, of the tenth century, would be suspected, though a *Greek* one, of that age, may be genuine.

From this account of the materials which have been successively employed for writing, from the earliest age until the present, it will obviously appear, that the changes which have thus taken place, especially when reviewed in connexion with other evidence, will serve to indicate the age of manuscripts, or, at least, to furnish an important means of detecting fabricated documents, since the different ages of the world, at which these different materials came into use, and continued in use, may be satisfactorily ascertained. As, for example, no one acquainted with the subject, would give the least credence to a purported original, or very ancient, manuscript of the Mosaic Law, which was written on parchment; or one derived from a writing on the leaves or bark of trees, or on tables of wood without or with wax, or on the papyrus; for the plain reason, that all these materials for writing, were invented and used in ages remotely subsequent to the period, when the Mosaic Law was promulgated.

A similar argument is derived from the history of the various *Inks*,* or the substance used for the formation of letters. Much detail on this part of the inquiry may be dispensed with. The Cuttle-fish (Sepia) is said to have originally furnished the ancients with Ink. But this is problematical. Soot of lamps, coal of ivory, various preparations of mercury and of silver, gold, stones, pyrites, gums, woods, and juice of plants, and of almost every color and hue, were used for inks. There were also Encaustic methods of writing, or those done by the agency of fire. There was a purple ink, solely appropriated to the use of the emperors, and called the sacred encaustic. This was afterwards closely imitated, as appears from the subscription sometimes found at the end of Greek manuscripts, comprising the name of the transcriber, with the year, month, day, indiction and sometimes the hour, when the copy was finished. There is a copy of the four Evangelists extant, that is written

* We have, for the most part, followed on this and the following topic, namely, the forms of letters, the account of Mr. Astle, as being very carefully prepared. That of Father Mabillon is much more superficial and sketchy. De Re Dip. Lib. I. cap. X. Those who wish to see this whole subject learnedly and thoroughly treated, in all its parts, are referred to the splendid work of Father Montfaucon, entitled "Palœographia Græca;" fol. Par. 1708. It is confined, however, as the title imports, principally to the usages of the Greeks, in respect to the methods of writing. We shall occasionally make use of this, as we proceed, as we have done already, without a more particular reference.

upon purple parchment, in letters of gold throughout. It will be seen by this, that the composition now in use for ink, contains little or nothing in common with that which was used by the ancients. It is also true, that we have none equal, in beauty, color or durability, to theirs. This will readily be seen, by comparing any documents, such as wills or records, or other important instruments, which have come down to us, written between the fifteenth and seventeenth century, with those which were the production of the preceding centuries up to the fifth. But what is most important to be noted here is, that those who are accustomed to examine ancient manuscripts, acquire a certain erudite tact, or practical skill, in judging of their age, from the composition, color, and condition of the ink. This, of course, cannot be explained to others. But it is asserted, by those qualified to judge, that it is perhaps more practicable to give to a picture, than to a manuscript, the hue of antiquity, by artificial means.

On similar grounds, again, a knowledge of the *successive changes in the ancient shapes and forms of letters*, as they were introduced by caprice, accident, or convenience, affords an almost certain means of determining the age of manuscripts. An exact uniformity in the forms of even printed letters, or in the general appearance of the printed page, hardly is preserved, even for so long a period as the third of a century. And this is particularly the case in regard to a language that is widely diffused. The style of printing which prevailed soon after the art was carried to that high degree of excellence, to which it very early attained, is well known to book collectors. And the changes which have taken place, from time to time, in this respect, are also known or ascertainable. But in regard to ancient manuscripts, these changes are incomparably more obvious ; and by means of ancient inscriptions on marbles, coins, brazen tables and other durable materials, a sufficiently definite idea of the forms of letters, and of the general character of writing prevailing in each century, from the second to the fifteenth, may be obtained. The argument from this source is exceedingly strong, but it can only be fully appreciated from an examination of fac-similes, which cannot, of course, be exhibited here. Those curious on this subject, and who have not access to originals, are referred to the works, above cited, of Mabillon and Montfaucon, and to that of Mr. Astle, which will leave little to be desired so far as the general

argument is concerned. In Mr. Horne's Introduction, (English copy), there are also some sufficiently well executed examples of the manuscripts of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures. From these, and other sources at hand, we shall give as succinct an account as possible of this part of the subject.

All ancient modes of writing may be divided into three kinds; *capitals*, *uncials*, and *small letters*. All ancient inscriptions on marbles, brass, and other hard materials, belong to the first, though writing in capitals was not confined to these; manuscript books to the second; and to the third, charters, grants, and other instruments belonging to matters of business. Small letters were rarely used, in manuscript books, before the middle of the fourth century. They were adopted in certain instances before the eighth century. In the ninth, they became much more common, and, in the tenth, entirely superseded the previous forms.

The most ancient manuscripts were written in Capitals. These were in general use for records and important documents from the earliest periods known to us, to the middle of the fifth century. Smaller characters, indeed, were occasionally used for subjects of little importance that required despatch. Capitals have been divided into *square* letters, which are found interspersed among several ancient monumental inscriptions, and are very common on seals until the eleventh and twelfth centuries; the *round*, which were preferred to the former in the thirteenth century; the *sharp*, which consist of oblique and angular lines; the *cubical*, which are very long, and have been sometimes used as initial letters; and the *rustic*, which were bold, careless, and unequal. These last were preserved, with less alteration than took place in other forms, until the tenth or eleventh century.

Uncials are large rounded letters, and, in this way, are distinguished from the capitals just mentioned. The term is supposed to be a corruption, on the part of ignorant monks and schoolmen, of the term initial. This character was first used about the middle of the fifth century, and generally prevailed from the close of the sixth to the middle of the eighth. If a manuscript is entirely in uncials, it is supposed to be of earlier date than the close of the ninth century. And a manuscript in uncials, *without any ornaments*, is deemed to have been of good antiquity. Demi-uncials were characters somewhat approximating to the small letters. These were used in

Europe in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, but discontinued in the ninth.

The manner of writing called by the Greeks Boustrophedon,* that is, backwards and forwards, as the ox ploughs, is very ancient, and of this there are two kinds, the older beginning from right to left, and the more recent from left to right. The Boustrophedon writing is thought to have fallen into disuse, about the fifth century before Christ.

The most ancient Greek manuscripts extant, are written *without division of words, spirits, or any marks of punctuation.* The insertion of Accents is attributed by Wetstein† to Euthalius, an Egyptian bishop, or deacon, A. D. 458. In this he is followed by Michaelis. The Colon and Comma were added by Jerome to the Latin version of the Scriptures, a century earlier. The Note of Interrogation [;] was first used in the ninth century. The blank spaces between the words, and the division into chapters and verses are of no authority. The iota subscriptum is suspicious, and all the accents are spurious. The catch-word, as it is called, or the repetition of the first word of the following page at the end of the preceding, belongs to the twelfth or the following centuries. These are important facts for the student of the Scriptures to know, since if these marks were not used by the Apostles, then as Michaelis justly observes, "no manuscripts and no printed edition will oblige us to receive them; they will be considered as explanations of the ancients, from which we may depart." And again, "the best rule for determining the proper place of a point or stop in the New Testament, is to follow the most approved exegetical rules in explaining each passage." At the invention of printing, the editors placed the points arbitrarily, and Stephens, in particular, varied his points in every edition. And as to the division of verses, these have no higher authority than that of Robert Stephens, A. D. 1551. They were made by him, as his son mentions, while on a journey (inter equitandum) from Lyons to Paris. The biblical student well knows that false constructions have been given to many passages, from a neglect or ignorance of this fact.‡

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* Βουστροφηδόν.

† See Wetstein's Prol. N. T. p. 2. Astle, pp. 60 — 85. Butler's Horæ, Bib. pp. 83, 84. Taylor's Hist. Transm. p. 58.

‡ Marsh's Mich. Int. N. T. Vol. II. Chap. XIII. The whole of this chapter, together with the notes appended by the editor, is particularly worthy of the student's attention.

To the demi-uncials, succeeded the *Roman* small letters, which were employed, with many changes, until the invention of printing. They resemble the small characters which our printers call Roman. They were occassionally used before the subversion of the Roman Empire, in affairs of business, where despatch was needed. They were afterwards adopted by most European nations, under different forms, and in successive changes. So early as the ninth century, small letters were generally used.

The reader who is curious in these matters, is referred to Mr. Astle's book, chapter fifth, for an account of the various alphabets, which, like the Roman, are supposed to be derived from the Greeks, such as the Gaulish, ancient Gothic, Runic, Coptic, Servian, Russian, Sclavonian, Bulgarian, Armenian, &c., together with admirably engraved specimens; and also to an account, accompanied in like manner with examples, of those letters which are supposed to be derived from the Roman, such as those of the Lombards, in the three different forms of capitals, uncials and small letters, the Visigothic mode of writing, and the Saxon, which in the form of capitals, or of the "Roman" Saxon, or "set" Saxon, or the Saxon "running hand," or "elegant" Saxon letters, prevailed in England, from the fifth to the twelfth century.

A very lucid account is also given by the same author, of the mode of writing in the northern parts of Scotland, and in Ireland; of that called Norman, (which prevailed in England, from the reign of William the First, to the seventeenth century;) and of the kind of writing used also in France and Germany.

In the eighth and ninth centuries, according to Mr. Taylor, a kind of Cursive or Running-hand, which had been for a long time used by notaries and clerks, was adopted by the transcribers of books, who were, on this account, denominated tachygraphi,* or swift writers. Those who were copyists by profession, found so great an advantage in the use of this tachygraphic, cursive, or running-hand, that they resorted to very arbitrary methods of improving it, so that the movements of

* Ταχυγεάφοι, called also ὀξυγεάφοι and also, sometimes καλλιγεάφοι, fair writers, though the latter, as the term imports, were those who made the excellence rather than the rapidity, of their transcription, a leading object. Besides these, there were χρυσογεάφοι and κρυπτογεάφοι, that is, those who wrote in gold letters and secret characters.

the pen might not be interrupted. The books of the tenth and subsequent centuries, abound, in consequence, with contractions, abbreviations and hieroglyphics. Words of the most frequent occurrence were indicated by single turns of the pen. Many of these were adopted by the early printers, and perpetuated in after times, as those, whose misfortune it has been to delve over the Greek testaments, printed so late as the close of the last century, may have sad occasion to remember. This mode of rapid transcription having been once adopted, led on to further degeneracy, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Almost all ancient manuscripts, yet further, contain decorations, and many are splendidly embellished with elaborate ornaments. These consist of flowery initials, grotesque cyphers, portraits, and sometimes even historical compositions. They are called *illuminations*,* and almost always exhibit some costume of the times, or some peculiarity, by which the age of the manuscript may be ascertained. A fund of antiquarian knowledge, relating to the middle ages, has been derived from this source.

To this account of the character, used in ancient times, may be added a passing reference to *Monograms*, *Sigla*, or literary signs, *Sigilla* and *Numerals*, all of which are found in manuscripts, and all, like those already alluded to, serve in various instances to determine the age of the document in which they are found. The first *Monograms*, or characters composed of the letters comprising the name of a person, were used by Roman pontiffs, and by persons in civil authority, on the continent of Europe, in very early times. They were rarely, if ever, employed in like manner, in England.

Sigla, or literary signs, or contractions, were verbal abbreviations of a more permanent and well authenticated character than those used by the tachygraphi just mentioned. These, as well as the *Sigilla*, or little figures or images, are found on coins, medals, rings, and on earthern or clay vessels,

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* The term *illumination* is derived from the use of minium, for a red color, by the artists; who were hence called *miniatores* or *illuminatores*. There are some beautiful fac-similes of this kind of ornament in Mr. Astle's book, so often mentioned. And there is an example of an illuminated manuscript of the eighth century, preserved in the British museum, which employed the skill of no less than four theologues, each distinguished in his day. Eafrid, bishop of Durham, wrote the text (the Four Gospels); Ethelwold, his successor, illuminated the volume; Bilfrid, an anchorite, covered it richly with gold, silver plates, and precious stones; and Aldred added glosses.

which were used for the preservation of wine* among the Romans. They are, in an especial manner, found among epitaphs and other monumental inscriptions, on sepulchral urns,† and on the lachrymatories which the ancients frequently deposited with the urns containing the ashes of the dead. The sigla were employed in epistolary correspondence, by the Greeks and Romans, both at the commencement and close of their letters, and also are found in judicial acts and writings. The Romans often employed the initials of words for the words themselves. These are by no means rare in the body of their epistles. Thus, e. g., in those of Cicero, we find specimens like this, S. T. E. T. L. N. V. E. E. Sua. C. V., that is, Si tu et Tullia Lux Nostra valetis, ego et suavissimus Cicero valemus. How exceedingly numerous these abbreviations, or sigla were, will appear, at a glance, by referring to Gerrard's account of them, which is appended to Bailey's Edition of Forcellini's (commonly called Facciolati's) Latin Lexicon.

To these abbreviations may be added another of a very peculiar kind, which was called *Monocondilion.* This appears to have been formed by a continuous stroke of the calamus, by which names, lines, and sometimes whole paragraphs, were represented.‡ Many of the Greek transcribers, according to Montfaucon, strove in the formation of these, to exercise (puzzle?) the reader as much as possible. And in this, as he observes also, they were eminently successful.

It is not necessary for any object we have now in view, to advert more particularly to the changes which have taken place in the practice of writing. They are referred to here, in this general way, for the purpose of showing that the subject has undergone a very thorough scrutiny, so that those, familiar with the process, find little difficulty of ascertaining the date of a

* "Nam præter sigilla obsignandis literis et epistolis, quæ vulgo annulis infigebantur, et magno numero hodieque visuntur in Musæis variis; sigilla item innumera supersunt notandis. Dolia quippe vino aliisque liquoribus servandis, testacea sive figlina olim erant." Palœ. 168. Thus Martial describing the Villa of Faustinus, speaks, among other things, of the fragrant old wine there,

"Et multa fragrat *testa* senibus autumnis." Ep. Lib. III. 58.

† See on this subject, Sir Thomas Brown de Hydriotaphiâ, or Urn Burial. See also a very interesting description "De Chyndonachtis inscriptione," Lib. II. Cap. 7, of the Paleog.

‡ Est autem Monocondilion ductus calami, quo magnis, perplexis, continuatis nec intermissis lineis, nomina, lineæ integræ, interdumque plures, unâ serie scribuntur: nos vocamus, *trait de plume.* Paleog. p. 349. Where also are to be found two examples, of these Monocondilia. To the uninitiated they much resemble a nest of worms.

manuscript from the letter and mode of writing employed. Indeed, it is said by those qualified to judge in this matter, that the architecture of different periods is not more characteristic of the age to which it belongs, than is the style of writing in manuscripts; nor is there less certainty in determining questions in the one, than in the other.

There is another circumstance attending the transmission of manuscripts, not yet referred to, by which the remains of ancient learning have been, in a very peculiar manner, preserved; and by which, also, their antiquity is clearly and decisively proved. We refer to the fact that manuscripts are discovered *beneath* another writing. These are called Palimsesti,* or Palimpsesti, Codices rasi, Rescripti, Rescripts, or in plain English, re-written manuscripts. Before the invention of paper formed of cotton, and when that manufactured of the papyrus of the Nile became scarce, parchment, at all times a costly material, was greatly enhanced in price. At the same period, in consequence of the general decline of learning, the works of the classic writers of an earlier age, were held in little esteem. From these circumstances, the copyists, and particularly the monks, whose libraries often abounded with collections of parchment manuscripts, resorted to the obvious method of erasing, washing out, or in some way *discharging*, the original writing, in order to transcribe thereon in its place, the work of some preferred writer. The changes thus made, would be of course, in accordance with the prevailing taste of the age, or in subserviency to the peculiar objects the operator might have in view. In this way it was, that invaluable manuscripts of the Classical Writings of the best ages of Greece and Rome, and even the Scriptures themselves, have been erased, to make way for the original or borrowed legends of saints, and other absurdities, of the monks of the middle ages. Horace, Virgil, Quinctilian, Fronto, Antoninus Pius, and such as these, were thus made to give place to some narrative of a patron saint, or dreamy meditation, or wire-drawn allegory, or consecrated romance, of some ignorant and benighted monk. And yet to this source, under the guidance of that Hand, which makes the folly, as well as the "wrath of man to praise Him," more perhaps than to any other, we owe some of the richest relics of an-

*Παλίμψηστος, a πάλιν rursum, et ψάω abstergo. The term was by no means uncommon among the Romans, though somewhat differently applied, as appears from Cic. Fam. Ep. 18.

tiquity, and with them, also, a decisive internal mark of their genuineness. The original writing, notwithstanding all the efforts of the second transcribers to erase it, still retained those traces of itself, which modern art, and eyes trained to the investigation, are enabled to restore. And these rescripts, it is evident, exhibit a double proof of the antiquity of the writing which first occupied the parchment. In the first place, the age of the more recent or monkish writing can be ascertained, (which, in some cases, can be referred to a period as early as the ninth century); and in the next place, it must follow, that the date of the previous writing is much earlier; for it is reasonable to suppose, that very old, and, in consequence, faded or bedimmed manuscripts, would be chosen for the purpose of erasure.

This method of restoring ancient manuscripts has been prosecuted with great, and with continually increasing, success, during the present century. A single individual has done more in thus recovering ancient writings, than any other person, perhaps it is not too much to say, than all other persons collectively, since the Revival of Letters in the fifteenth century; and by his own marvellous achievements in this respect, as well as by the impulse he has given to similar inquiries, it may be confidently hoped, that the most valuable of those remains of antiquity, which the Scholar and Theologian have long regretted, as irrecoverably lost, may be restored. The individual here referred to is Angelo Maio.* He was formerly keeper of the Ambrosian Library, at Milan, but was afterwards removed to the richer store-house of the Vatican Library, at Rome. He found in Pope Leo XII. a patron worthy of such an earnest and devoted laborer as himself. This Pontiff, in a largeness and munificence of spirit, very different from that which prevailed in the tenth century, freely lent his great influence and resources in restoring those very writings, which his predecessors, in the plenitude of their ignorance, strove most earnestly to efface and destroy. It is certainly to be regarded as a happy auspice of these later days, that we have lived in an age, when the priceless treasures of ancient books are issued

* In the twelfth volume of this Journal, there is some account of Maio, and also of the "Institutions of Gaius," and of the exceedingly curious and valuable fragments of Bishop Ulphilas's translation of the Scriptures. They are both Palimpsests.

It is a somewhat remarkable illustration of the rapidity with which he printed and issued these rescript books, that he has, more than once, been delayed by the scarceness of Greek Types in Rome.

from the Papal press, even more rapidly and regularly, than our forefathers used to receive the appalling anathemas of the Vatican.*

There is one other method, distinct from those above adverted to, by which ancient Manuscripts have been restored, which should not be passed by without some notice, though it is not necessary to give any circumstantial account of it. We refer to the discoveries which have been made, and are continually making, at Herculaneum and Pompeii. These, as is well known, were cities, originally founded by the Greeks, and were destroyed by a volcanic eruption of Mount Vesuvius, in the first century of the Christian era. They are doubtless rich in ancient manuscripts, and in remains of all those Instruments, which were used in writing, at the period of the catastrophe. Indeed, in the small and partial excavations, which were made at Herculaneum alone, more than twenty years since, when Mr. Eustace† was there, eighteen hundred manuscripts, as he tells us, had then been found, and, beyond all question, a vast number still remain buried in the ruins. Some of these have been unrolled and copied; and though they may be of little intrinsic value, yet being of an unquestioned antiquity, they afford a decisive proof, at least, of the forms of letters used at the period, and the methods and materials employed in writing. Here we may remark, again, that we owe the preservation of Ancient Records, to that very circumstance, which in all human estimation, most certainly threatened their

* Still these ancient Papal Bulls of these Servi Servorum Dei, as the Popes modestly called themselves, serve a good use at the present day, in ascertaining the character of the letters in use at the time they were made. Their genuineness is beyond dispute. The most ancient were written in the Roman Running hand; in the eighth century the Lombardic characters prevailed, and a mixture of these was continued to the fifteenth century. These Papal Edicts were called Bulls, as we may mention in passing, not from the tenor of the instrument itself, but from the circumstance of the *Seals* attached to them. These Seals derived their names from the Latin *Bullæ*, which were ornaments, commonly heart-shaped, worn around the neck by boys of the higher ranks among the Romans, until they were seventeen years old, when the custom was discontinued, and the ornaments, together with the prætexta, (in like manner as the dolls of the girls, at the age of fifteen,) were laid aside, and consecrated to the Lares. Persius (Sat. 5. v. 30.) alludes to this.

"Cum primum pavido custos mihi purpura cessit,
*Bulla*que succinctis laribus donata pependit."

These Bulls or Seals of the Popes, which were any thing but playthings, were commonly made of lead, but sometimes, by way of distinction, they were of gold. If matters of grace and favor, they were attached by silken strings; if minatory, by hempen cords.

† Classical Tour. Vol. II. p. 23. Am. Edition.

destruction. It could hardly have been imagined, by those who witnessed the destruction of these devoted cities, that the streams of burning and boiling lava, in which they were engulphed, were designed, in Providence, as the safe depositories of some of the most curious, rare, and authentic, relics of antiquity.

To this account of the Fabrics, Instruments, Inks, and Characters, used in ancient writings, and other circumstances, by which their antiquity is ascertained, it is proper to add, before closing these remarks, some account of the *Copyists*, or persons by whom manuscripts were transcribed, and of the *Places* where the work was done. These are obviously important facts in reference to the question at issue, and our means of information in respect to them are very ample and satisfactory.

Copyists were employed in their appropriate labors, from the earliest times, until ancient writings were handed over, in the language of Mr. Taylor, to the "immortal custody of the press." They were influenced by different motives, and were taken from very different conditions in life. In all the principal cities of Greece and its Colonies, where literature was cultivated, there were great numbers* of *Professional Transcribers*, that is, those who gained their subsistence by copying books. Such laborers, it is rational to suppose, relied for patronage and employment on their fidelity and skill. Among the Romans, they were called *Librarii.*† They were generally of a servile condition, and made a necessary part of the household of every man of rank. Atticus trained up many of his Servi or slaves to this business; and when he dwelt at Athens, employed them in the transcription of Greek authors, for his pecuniary benefit. Cicero purchased many of these. *Notarii*, were originally Stenographers or short hand writers, employed as at the present day, to prepare accounts of trials, pleadings and harangues, from the lips of the speakers. There were also *Notarii Domestici*, Notaries, or Clerks, employed to keep accounts in the families of the nobles, and afterwards *Notarii Ecclesiastici* appointed by the Dignitaries of the Church to attest their acts.

* Montfaucon gives an alphabetical catalogue of the Greek Calligraphers, which occupies more than fifteen folio pages of his great work above referred to. pp. 94—108.

† Frequent allusions are made to these Librarii, by the Roman writers. Thus, in the Art of Poetry,

"Ut scriptor si peccat idem *librarius* usque."

But, subsequently, the copying of manuscripts was by no means confined to such as these, nor was it considered, exclusively, as a servile or merely professional employment. Persons of rank and leisure devoted themselves to it. Some created their own libraries by their own personal labors in this way, and when thus directed to purposes of emolument, they were richly repaid, by the great prices that books commanded before the invention of the art of printing. The practice of private copying, was greatly extended by the influence of Christianity. Motives of piety induced many to attend to it, as a means of disseminating the Christian records. The highest Officers of the Church, and even Princes, thought themselves well employed in efforts of this description. But from the third and fourth centuries downwards, learning having declined among the Romans, and Religious Houses being continually more and more multiplied, the practice of transcribing devolved, principally, upon the monks. This labor was peculiarly adapted to the character and condition of this class of religionists. The mental and bodily inertness which a monastic life naturally produced, when united, as it must have been, in individual cases, with some desire and capacity of effort, found, amidst an unvaried round of dead formalities in the labor of copying books, precisely "that field of lethargic assiduity," and busy idleness, and indolent excitement, and unhurrying activity, which it grievously felt the need of. In many monasteries, in consequence, this formed the principal employment of their inmates, and in none, or in a very few, was it wholly neglected. The great value which was placed upon manuscripts came, as has been said, in aid of the same result. Prices, truly immense for that period, were cheerfully given for them. Even so late as the begining of the seventeenth century, in one recorded instance, the sum of 80,000 crowns, was the estimated value of the manuscripts belonging to a single Library.* In addition to all this, an opinion of merit, or of well-deserving, was attached to the labors of transcription. These are frequently subscribed to manuscripts of the middle ages, some notes like this. — "This book, copied by A. B. *for the benefit of his soul*, was finished in the year —. May the Lord think upon him."† From these causes,

* The famous Library of Heidelberg, presented by Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, to Pope Gregory XV.

† In the Codex Rushworthianus, says Mr. Astle, now preserved in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, the following note is appended. — "*Macregol*

together with that spirit of emulation and competition, from which, we may venture to suppose, even these Religious Houses were not wholly free, extreme care and pains-taking diligence were used in transcribing these ancient works. This is obvious, too, from the history of the times, as well as from inspection of the manuscripts themselves. We should in vain look for any writings executed since the invention of printing, of equal extent with those of the middle ages, that would bear any comparison with them, in point of elaborate embellishment, elegance, and scrupulous accuracy. It is no objection to this statement that the copyists were unlearned men. For, in the first place, this was not, as we have said, and shall further show, *universally* the fact; and, in the second place, if it were, it is not to be inferred, on this account, that they were inaccurate or unskilled copyists. On the contrary, their ignorance, so far as the mere act of transcription is concerned, might have befriended them; since here a "little knowledge" is emphatically a very "dangerous thing." This is well illustrated by Father Mabillon, in his very able defence of the fidelity and integrity of ancient manuscripts, who observes, that those compositors at the present day, are not the most correct who understand the language of the work in hand, but on the contrary, are commonly the most faulty. The reason is obvious enough. Those who are conscious of their own ignorance, will depend exclusively on the copy before their eyes, while those who know, or think they know, something of the language and subject matter in hand, but are, at the same time, ignorant of the extent of their ignorance, will be liable to be misled by the side-lights of their own fancied knowledge. And besides this, the transcriptions, in almost all instances, were numerous, and made independently of each other, and it is not to be supposed that they would all err in the same places, and in the same way.*

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depinxit hoc Evangelium. Quicunque legerit et intellegerit istam narrationem, orat pro *Macregol* Scriptore."

Montfaucon (Palœg. App. p. 511,) transcribes a Greek note appended to a manuscript, and a Latin translation, which is as follows: — "Absolutus est hic Liber feriâ quintâ, horâ quartâ, deciâmâ quintâ die mensis Aprilis, Anno 6511 (Christi) 1003. Indictione prima * * * Exaratus manu Basillii Presbyteri et Arte Calligraphi. Quotquot autem legeritis in hoc Libro, *precamini pro me misero.*"

* " ——————— Ut Citharædus
Ridetur, chordâ qui semper oberrat êadem."

In regard to the transcriptions of the Pentateuch, by the Jewish Transcribers, an excess of care was employed. It has been a constant rule with them, that, whatever manuscript is considered as corrupt, shall never be used, but be immediately destroyed; and that a book of the Mosaic Law, wanting but a single letter, or with one letter too much, or with an error in one single letter, written with any thing but pure ink, or written on parchment made with the hide of an unclean animal, or on parchment not purposely prepared for that purpose, or prepared by any but an Israelite, or on skins of parchment tied together by (Jewish) unclean strings, shall be holden to be corrupt, that no word shall be written without a line first drawn on the parchment; none written from memory, or without first being orally, and of set purpose, pronounced by the copyist; that before he writes the name of God, he must pause in deepest attention and reverence, and then wash his pen; that no letter shall be joined to another, and that, if the blank parchment cannot be seen all around each letter, the whole roll shall be deemed to be corrupt. There are settled regulations for the length and breadth of each sheet, and for the space to be left between each letter, each word, and each section; and when a copy has been completed it must be examined and corrected within thirty days after the work is finished, in order that it may be approved or rejected, for the use of the synagogue. All these rules are in full force to this day.*

Nor was the attention of this people confined to the transcription of their Sacred Books. They made also, as Mr. Butler observes, almost incredible efforts to preserve the *genuineness and integrity of the text.* This gave origin to their Massorah, which consists of critical remarks upon the verses, words, letters, and vowel points of the Hebrew Text, — the "most stupendous monument in the whole history of literature of minute and persevering labor." The writers called Masorites, or Massorets, were some Jewish Literati, who lived after the beginning of the Christian era. With unexampled and almost superstitious care, they counted all the verses, words, and letters, of all the twenty-four books of the Old Testament, and of each of these twenty-four books, and of every section of each book, and of all the subdivisions of each sec-

* See But. Horæ Bib. Part I. Sec. IV. who quotes from Maimonides, Carpzov, Crit. Sac. V. T. pp. 371, 372. Horne Int. Vol. II. p. 36.

tion. They marked the verses where they thought something might have been forgotten; the words they supposed to be changed; the letters which they thought to be spurious; the repetitions of the same verses; the different reading of the words which were redundant or defective; the number of times that the same word is found in the beginning, middle, or end of a verse; the different significations of the same word; the agreement or conjunction of one word with another; the number of words that are printed above; which letters are pronounced; which are turned upside down; which hang perpendicularly; and took the number of each. It was they, in fine, who invented the vowel points and accents, and made very elaborate criticisms on every thing relating to the text, in its most minute particulars.*

It is true that most of the transcriptions which have reached our times, were made in what are called the "dark ages." But we should remember that this is a highly figurative expression, and conveys, unexplained, a very erroneous idea. Dark, indeed, these ages were, compared with former and with later periods in the history of Letters, yet they were never so dark as to be without many "lights of intellect," which, though scattered at different distances, and shining with different degrees of splendor, yet served greatly to relieve and diversify the general gloom. God never "leaves Himself without a witness" in the minds He has created. And those which He intends as Guides and Leaders in the great march of human improvement, are always found in advance of their age, and endowed with a spirit before which all external obstacles give place. Thus in the period which intervened between the reign of Justinian and the revival of Letters, as it is called, in the fifteenth century, —the period commonly called the "dark age," we find many scholars, "born for thought," who were true to their divine instinct and vocation. And in speaking of the general darkness of their era, we should not forget the obligation of gratitude we owe to them, for struggling against the all but overwhelming barbarism of the times, and for res-

* Thus they made the important discovery that the letter Nun in the word Gehon, is the very middle of the Pentateuch; — that in the book of Genesis, there are twelve parascioths, or great sections; forty-three called sedarim, or orders; one thousand five hundred and thirty-four verses; twenty thousand seven hundred and thirteen words; seventy-eight thousand one hundred letters; and that certain words are in the exact middle of the book, &c. Hor. Bib. Part I. Sec. V.

cuing and handing down to subsequent ages, those rich remains of sacred and profane learning, which, but for their agency, might have been forever lost. Of this description were many in the sixth century, and who are favorably recognised at this day. We need not mention many names. There were Procopius the historian, Hesychius the lexicographer, Priscian the grammarian, and Boethius the last pure Latin poet. The seventh century was the darkest of this period, but produced, nevertheless, some historical books of value. In the close of this, and in the first third of the subsequent century, the Venerable Bede lived, of whom it was proverbially said among the learned, "that though born in the farthest corner of the earth,"* and they might have added, though extremely credulous and fond of legendary tales, "he compassed the world with the line of his genius." Alcuin, of the eighth century, himself a pupil of Bede's, became in turn the beloved and honored instructer of Charlemagne, in rhetoric, logic, divinity and the mathematics; and did much, by his influence, to aid his enlightened monarch and pupil, in the restoration of letters. Maurus, also a disciple of Alcuin, Archbishop of Mentz in A. D. 847, was a renowned instructer in all the great departments of learning before he received the mitre. And, afterwards, in a delightful spirit of filial love for the place of his own early education, he richly endowed a monastery on the Rhine, and made provision therein, for the instruction of two hundred and seventy monks in all the learning then known. King Alfred, himself a man of extraordinary literary accomplishments, and the munificent patron of the University of Oxford; and Photius,† whose book *Myriobiblion* is yet consulted with great interest in ascertaining the genuineness of ancient records, both belonged to this period. From the great number of manuscripts which were executed in the tenth century, it is obvious that much attention was paid to letters, though the original authors of that period, whose books have come down to us, are few. It is not necessary to continue

* He passed his life in the Monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, on the Tyne, in the Diocese of Durham.

† Photius, who was educated as a layman, was forcibly installed, by Michael III, as Patriarch of Constantinople, (A. D. 858); and that he might pass regularly through the preparatory steps, was made monk, reader, subdeacon, deacon, priest and patriarch in six successive days.

this list of distinguished scholars, with any particularity, through the succeeding ages. There were Avicenna, Psellus, Lanfranc, Anselm, Suidas, in the eleventh century; Anna Comnena, (with whose name is now associated the melancholy conclusion of the Scotish Novels, and whose Alexiad is pronounced, on high authority, to be "certainly, with all its defects, the first historical work that has as yet proceeded from a female pen,")* Roger Bacon and several distinguished cotemporaries in England, the Tzetzes of Constantinople, and many others who lived in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and in the fourteenth, which immediately preceded the bright era of literature, which has since dawned upon the world, we find the constellation of such names as those of Dante, Petrarch, Boccacio, Chaucer and Gower. It is plain from this loose sketch of the learning of these times, that the knowledge of the great writers of antiquity was never wholly lost, and that it existed in parts of the world which were widely separated from each other. Indeed, the Monastic Institutions, which prevailed during this period, were, in some respects, eminently favorable to the cultivation of Letters. They were scattered through every civilized country; and it being one of their standing rules, that their original number of members should be constantly preserved, they would necessarily draw within their own pale, all the talent that might exist in their vicinities. Such was the fact, for where any youth discovered an aptitude for learning, or gave any promise of success in its pursuit, he at once became an object of interest to the heads of the Religious Houses, who had always at heart their literary renown, almost as much as that derived from the possession of consecrated relics. There could, therefore, be scarcely any more eligible situation for a boy of this description, whether of "noble or ignoble blood," than a place in one of them. Beside this, almost all these monastic establishments contained schools for the instruction of the young, and from these the superiors had the opportunity of selecting at will those, whom from any reason, they might deem adapted to further the interests of their houses. The consequence of this peculiar state of things was, that while all taste or care for learning disappeared from among the general mass of men, and while kings and nobles, and even the great body of the

* Mr. Lockhart's "Advertisement" to Robert of Paris.

clergy were so grossly ignorant as scarcely to be able to write their own names; there were yet, in the seclusion of these then hallowed retreats, some persons whose literary tastes raised them above the mental level of their age, and who knew how to appreciate the stores of ancient literature which were there hoarded up.

Happily also, for the interests of learning, ancient manuscripts were preserved in Places so numerous, and so distant from each other, and invested, moreover, with such a character of sacredness, that they were preserved more safely, more free from change and destruction, than the mutability of human affairs ordinarily permits. The places where these manuscripts were made were exceedingly numerous. Alexandria, under the auspices of the Ptolemies,* Pergamus, under the encouragement of Attalus and his successors, and Constantinople, for a thousand years, were all famous for the production and preservation of manuscripts. The very numerous monasteries of the country immediately in the neighborhood of the Eastern Metropolis, and those of Asia Minor, and the Islands of the Ægean Sea, all contributed to increase the transcripts of ancient writings. Montfaucon gives a catalogue of no less than fifty of these religious houses, which existed in Calabria, and in the kingdom of Naples, which were employed in the same way.† But no spot has been so celebrated for the production of books as Mount Athos,‡ a promontory which stretches out from the coast of

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* The Library of Alexandria, before it was burned by the Saracens, was computed to contain 700,000 volumes; — that of Pergamus, belonging to its King, is said to have consisted of 200,000 volumes.

† Paleog. Lib. I. cap. IX. This whole chapter, entitled "De Regionibus et Locis ubi Græca Scriptio frequentata fuit," is rich in information on this point.

‡ The whole of the seventh book of Montfaucon, [*Paleog.*] is devoted to a description of this celebrated spot, by John Comnenus. It is an exceedingly good study for those who think that the love of learning wholly died away at its decline in Greece and Rome. In connexion with this, too, may well be read the whole of the fourth book of Mabillon, entitled, "Ubi agitur de Francoruem Regum Palatiis, villisque regiis, in quibus diplomata condita sunt." Though Mabillon's learned work has especial reference to Charters and public Acts of sovereigns in relation to the Church of Rome, yet, all the numerous facts which he adduces, are obviously available in ascertaining the genuineness and integrity of *Latin* manuscripts generally. In the chapter above referred to, he gives a description in alphabetical order, of one hundred and sixty-three palaces and villas of the French Kings, in the middle ages, whence the Charters were issued.

Macedonia into the Ægean Sea. The sides of this "holy mount," as it was called, were almost literally crowded with monasteries, the principal employment of whose inmates was the transcription of ancient writings. And passing over to Western Europe, we find it was uniformly a leading object of the numerous monasteries existing there, and especially of those of the British Islands, in like manner, to preserve, multiply and perpetuate manuscripts. Every Church and Religious House of any description, contained its library, and a set of officers, whose express business it was to keep it in order. And attached to every Library, as a matter of course, was the *Scriptorium*, where the elder monks were employed in making copies of books. These places of safe-keeping, these Arks, if we may call them so, in which the remains of ancient learning were preserved, amidst that flood of barbarism which swept over the civilized world during the middle ages, were so exceedingly numerous, and widely separated from each other, that nothing of much importance, once discovered, could be subsequently lost, since whatever might be destroyed in one quarter, would be likely to be perpetuated in another.

The peculiar sacredness which was attached to these Religious Houses, moreover, rendered them places of greater security, than the palaces or fortresses of kings. These were often overthrown, and the whole surrounding country devastated, while the seclusions of the monks, being held in religious or superstitious veneration, were generally respected, even by the fiercest invaders. Or if these Religious Houses were occasionally exposed to the violence of hostile armies, they would be plundered of their chests, plate, jewels, and of almost every thing else, sooner than their manuscripts, since these, though intrinsically precious, were not, in periods of general ignorance, marketable articles. They were of inestimable value to a few who could read and understand them, but would be held in no especial estimation by a horde of Huns, and Goths, and Vandals.

It is a subject of congratulation to ourselves, and we doubt not the sympathy of our readers on the same point, that we have now arrived at a stage in this discussion, whence we may look back upon the ground we have gone over, and gather up the results of our investigations. And if the foregoing statements and course of argument be correct, the following facts have been established.

I. Even on the supposition, in the first place, that there were *not an ancient manuscript in existence*, and all the purported remains of ancient learning were comprised only in the printed editions in our hands, yet from *internal* evidence alone, it would be sufficiently evident that they, taken as a mass, contain within themselves the proof of the genuineness of each important separate part. These internal evidences are derived from various sources, the principal of which are the following.

1. There are certain internal marks, or characteristics of genuineness *derived from the subject matter* of the works, that could not well be forged.

2. The works in question contain *mutual quotations and references*, of a more or less direct or indirect character, by which a mass of evidence in favor of their genuineness is furnished, which is not open to the suspicion of forgery.

3. *Lists of authors*, in the order of time, who have treated a given subject, are furnished by writers, whose own antiquity is established by the same or other means of proof.

4. *Controversies* involving quotations and references of a particular kind, the history of which has long survived the occasions which called them forth, afford evidences of genuineness, which are above all suspicion of interpolation.

5. *Translations* of purported ancient works, and in more than one language, have come down to us, under circumstances which afford a decisive test of the genuineness of the original.

6. The same result may be ascertained, or at least approximated, by the *history of the language* in which any book is written, since a language necessarily takes its substance and hue from the general mind of the people using it at any given time, and of course, is in a state of continual change from age to age; and the eras of these changes are known.

From these internal sources alone, then, the genuineness of a book, alleged to be ancient, may be ascertained, even though there were not ancient manuscripts in existence.

II. But it is a well known fact that manuscripts, believed to be ancient, do exist in great numbers, and in a vast variety of forms. We may next then, examine these, and inquire whether they do not contain satisfactory proofs of their antiquity.

1. And here we find, first, the *history* of some manuscripts has been so accurately written and preserved, that we can no more doubt of their genuineness, than of a title deed to our estates.

2. They may contain an express *date*, whose genuineness is beyond question.

3. They may be accompanied with *marginal notes*, whose antiquity is established beyond question, by circumstances peculiar to themselves, thereby referring the text to which they belong to an age earlier than their own.

4. The antiquity of a manuscript may be very satisfactorily settled, from the *material* of which it is composed; — whether for example, it be the *tanned Skins* of certain animals, or *Leaves of certain Plants and Trees*, or *Parchment* and the kindred substance *Vellum*, or the *Papyrus*, or *Cotton* or *Linen;* since all of these substances were employed, in succession, for the purpose of writing, and the ages in which each was principally used, and when each gave place, in turn, to the other, are well known.

5. A similar kind of proof is derived from the *Inks* with which manuscripts were written, since the times, at which different subtances used for this purpose succeeded each other, and the purposes for which certain particular kinds were used, are matters of history.

6. An exceedingly important mode of proof in reference to the same point of genuineness, is derived from the *Forms* of the *Letters* and *the Modes of Writing* which a manuscript exhibits. These were changed from age to age, and the history of the changes is very accurately ascertained. The circumstances also, whether a manuscript contains, or not, a *Division of Words*, *Accents*, *Spirits*, *Points*, or marks of *Punctuation*, are all of importance in this inquiry. And a similar remark is applicable to every kind of *Sigla* or *Literary Signs*, as they are called.

7. The fact that the traces of certain manuscripts are found beneath a more modern writing, in other words, that *Palimpsests* or rescripts exist, is exceedingly curious in itself, and affords a decisive proof of an antiquity at least considerably greater than that of the present form of the manuscript. And this latter is often clearly to be referred to a very remote period.

8. These processes of proof, are all confirmed, by the knowledge that may be possessed of the *Character* and *Condition* of

Copyists, by which their ability and faithfulness is rendered unquestionable; and by a knowledge also of the *Places* and *Circumstances* in which they were written and preserved.

III. And, finally, in addition to these internal evidences of the genuineness of ancient manuscripts, there is another of a distinct and entirely unquestionable character, derived from a source extrinsical to the manuscripts themselves. We refer to the fact that writings, in great numbers, are found among the the ruins of the cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum, which are known to have been buried in lava, ever since the first century of the Christian era.

It is by these various means that the remains of ancient learning may be traced up to a period, when the original works were generally known, widely diffused and constantly quoted; and when, in consequence, the history of any work may almost as easily be established, as the history of any modern literary productions can be authenticated by us, at the present day. It is thus that we ascertain that the works now in our hands, are the same with those which bore the same names, and were universally received as the works of the alleged authors, at the time of their first appearance fifteen or twenty centuries ago. It is thus "we traverse the long era of general ignorance, that wide gulf which separates the intelligence and civilization of modern times, and we land, as it were, upon the native soil of those monuments of mind, and once more find ourselves surrounded by that abundance of evidence which belongs to an advanced state of knowledge."

Indeed, it is not, in strictness, necessary that we should trace up these reputed remains of ancient Literature, any further than into the depth of the darkness of the middle ages. And the reason is, it is plain from all we know of these times, and of the men of these times, that such works as those ascribed to the historians, poets and orators of Greece and Rome, must have belonged to a former age, and to a different condition of things. It is difficult to conceive of a greater incongruity in literary history, than that works like those of Thucydides and Plato, Cicero and Horace, could have been produced within the cells of monasteries, and still more amidst the ignorance, violence and slavish degradation of the mind, which prevailed without and around them. Ascribe what we may to the imaginative and creative power of human genius, *this* would be plainly, an achievement

far beyond its utmost reach. If they existed then even so early as the times of Photius, Alcuin or Bede, they *must* have existed long before.

But it may be here asked, are there not omissions, additions, alterations in the text of ancient authors, which have taken place either by design, or negligence in the course of repeated transcriptions? Undoubtedly there are, and in great numbers. These give origin to what are called "Various Readings." They are so numerous, in some cases, as to occupy in critical editions of the Classic Writers, a space five times as great as that filled by the text; and they have frequently given occasion to protracted and angry controversy. But it is here to be remarked that these Various Readings, are, in almost every instance, of a merely verbal kind, and such as deserve the attention of merely verbal critics. Those who are familiar with the German editions of the Greek and Roman writers will need no illustration of this fact. And of a hundred thousand Various Readings in the text of the New Testament, there are not, probably one hundred, which an English reader, who regarded only the true meaning of the passages where they occur, would deem of any importance. And of this hundred he would not find more than two or three, which could materially affect any question of fact, of faith, or of duty. And it should be further remembered, that the fewness of these Various Readings in any text, is no indication of its purity. So far from this, it rather implies either, first, that it has been derived from a very few copies, since each copy that is taken as a model must have, in the nature of the case, errors peculiar to itself; or else, second, that the copies which are extant are derived from some common manuscript, whose faults, of whatever kind, may have been sedulously handed down; so that the last copyist may have only been, like the heirs that Churchill speaks of in an hereditary line of family,

"A tenth transmitter of a foolish face."

But if, on the other hand, the *unimportant* discrepances of manuscripts are numerous, it affords sufficient proof, at least, that they were written independently of one another, by persons disconnected in place, time, and circumstances. And in the latter case, we possess, obviously, the best means for restoring the text to the original purity, and the best security against willing or unconscious corruption. For though in this case,

no single copy, can be regarded as strictly correct, yet the true one may be supposed to exist among them, and the acknowledged canons of criticism may be rendered available in ascertaining what it is. On the whole, these Various Readings, taken as a mass, only furnish a more conclusive proof, than we could otherwise have had, of the scrupulous care and fidelity with which the business of copying manuscripts was conducted. There must have been a very high degree of professional integrity, and scrupulous care in the transcribers, in conveying the text of ancient authors, through a period, in some instances, of two thousand years, with alterations so very unimportant, as we find in point of fact to have taken place.*

It should be observed, also, in this connexion, however paradoxical the assertion may seem, that in regard to the knowledge of every thing pertaining to the genuineness of ancient manuscripts, as well as to the knowledge of antiquity generally, we are not receding from remote ages, but constantly advancing towards them. Since the fifteenth century, every successive year, instead of defacing and destroying the remains of ancient literature, has done something to restore and renovate them. This has been effected, partly by the rich and available discoveries which are constantly made of ancient manuscripts, and particularly of rescripts, or palimpsests; partly, by a more accurate knowledge of the Diplomatic Science, and a more efficient application of its principles to well ascertained facts; but, principally, to the invention of the Art of Printing. This not only multiplies the copies of books almost beyond the possibility of total destruction, but by giving to a whole edition an importance vastly greater than can be attached to any single copy, however accurate or beautiful it may be, it has enlisted the labors of learned men, in the preparation of books; and by giving to these labors of theirs a permanent form, has enabled each successive editor to avail himself of all the previous exertion, of all the rest. Such is the fact. In numberless instances, which

* See Taylor's Trans. &c. p. 23. This subject of "Various Readings," has called forth a great display of learning, and critical acumen. Mr. Horne, after discussing it, so far as the Scriptures are concerned, gives a catalogue of no less than fifteen authors who have systematically considered it. The English Reader is referred to a very satisfactory account, by J. D. Michaelis, Int. N. T. in the Translation by Bishop Marsh, (Vol. I. c. VI.) the basis of which was furnished by his father (C. B. Michaelis,) in the Tractatio Critica de Variis Lectionibus N. T. which, though written in his sixty-ninth year, is in the opinion of the son, the best of his productions.

we need not stop to specify the text of ancient writers, which, in the fifteenth century, was imperfect and corrupt, has been so far amended and restored in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as to leave little, in regard to its integrity, to be desired. Indeed, by this wonderful invention, all that belongs to the literature of ancient, as well as of modern times, is exempted from that law of decay, which is written on all things else. The monuments of human genius, in every other form, are all crumbling away, and tending to dissolution. No human skill can preserve unimpaired the noble achievements of ancient genius in Architecture, in Statuary or in Painting. Time with "his effacing fingers," silently removes from all their beauty, and gently hands them over to mingle with the common mass of the elements. They will henceforth only live in the ever-living *words*, of those, whose admiration they may have kindled. But the inspirations of genius, once clothed in language, become through the instrumentality of the press, the inheritance of all subsequent times. They are then ἔπεα πτερόεντα indeed, they are winged and irrevocable, in a sense that Homer never dreamed of.

We have now done with the subject matter of this paper, but must ask to be indulged in two parting remarks.

The first is this. From the very rapid, but not we would hope, cursory view, we have now presented of this subject, we think it must be evident, that it is not a slight thing to weigh all the evidence by which the Genuineness of ancient writings is ascertained. And we would infer from this, that where there is reason to suppose, in any particular case, that such an examination has been accurately and conscientiously made, the result should not be rashly called in question; and in an especial manner, it should not be done by those, who have neither the means, nor the capacity, nor yet the inclination, to make the inquiry. All *à priori* arguments are out of place here. The question at issue, is a question of fact, and like all similar questions, is to be tested by the evidence appropriate to the subject. If any manuscript of alleged antiquity exists, it must have had a beginning. And whether this beginning were earlier or later, must be ascertained from the document itself, or from subsidiary evidence connected with it. And yet it is not an unheard of occurrence, to observe persons, who are disposed to call in question the credibility of a most important portion of ancient records, fastening upon some general notions of, what they are pleased to call

the impossibility of a faithful transmission of them, or upon some unimportant difficulties arising from various readings, or on some other trivial circumstance, and hence leaping to the conclusion, by a general inference, as unphilosophical as it is unjust, that nothing certain can be established respecting their genuineness. In this way cavils are often thrown out, particularly in reference to the early records of Christianity, which not only prove the extreme ignorance of the authors of them, but show clearly a yet more melancholy fact, — namely, that they are too ignorant to know how ignorant they are.

The other remark we would offer in conclusion, has an intimate connexion with this. It will have been perceived, that in this discussion, reference has been principally had to the *classical* remains of antiquity. This course has been advisedly pursued, because we have wished to state the General Principles on which investigations of this kind should be conducted. But here, be it distinctly noted, that these principles are as strictly applicable to *Sacred* as to classical or profane literature; and the advocate for the genuineness of the Christian Records, only asks that the same course of investigation should be pursued in the one case, as in the other. Indeed, it is only when the inquiry is thus carried on, that the immense preponderance of proof, in favor of the Sacred Writings, can be duly appreciated. And we should be unfaithful equally to our own convictions, principles, and feelings, not distinctly to state, as we do state, that, in point of fact, the Genuineness and Integrity of the Christian Scriptures, estimated on the broad principles here laid down, is substantiated by evidence, in a tenfold * proportion, more various, copious and conclusive, than that which can be adduced in support of any other ancient writings whatsoever. In simple justice then, the genuineness of these Records of our Faith cannot so much as be questioned, until the whole body of Classical Literature has been proved to be spurious.

* There have been nearly five hundred manuscripts of the New Testament, entire or in fragments, transmitted to us, which have been wholly, or in part, collated. But this forms only a small portion of these manuscripts, remaining in public or private libraries, which remain to be accurately examined. Horne, Int. Vol. II. p. 52. With this statement may be compared what Heyne, a very competent judge of the matter, says of the manuscripts of the presumed oldest Greek writer extant, namely, Homer. "Cum de iis, quibus editores usi sunt, codicibus nihil illi prodiderint, omninoque criticorum subtilitas hac in parte desideretur, cumque, quicquid diplomatici pronunciant, non minus lubricum sit omne hoc de constituendâ accurate codicum ætate judicium, acquiescendum est hac quâque in parte critices in æstimatione aliquâ probabili." Vol. III. De Codicibus Homeri.

ART. II. — *British Poetry at the Close of the Last Century. The Works of Robert Burns; with his Life.* By ALLAN CUNNINGHAM. In four volumes, 12mo. Boston. Hilliard, Gray & Co. 1834.

IT is our purpose, in the course of this article, to offer some cursory remarks upon the subject of the poetry of Great Britain during the latter part of the last century. This period is certainly not the most brilliant one in the history of British literature; but it has not been often made the subject of connected comment. Though its claims to attention may not be of the very highest order, it will be found to present some scenes and figures for the canvas, which are rendered the more striking, by their contrast with the mass around them; as the noble remains of Egyptian architecture impress the mind of the traveller the more deeply, because they rise amidst the sands and wastes of the desert.

In accomplishing what we have undertaken, it seems proper to dwell at some length on a few of those instances of literary imposition, which form a marked characteristic of the period. One of the most remarkable perpetrators of this species of fraud was Thomas Chatterton, a rare example of admirable genius, whose early miracles would fill us equally with wonder and despair, were not his fame severely balanced by his melancholy fate. The history of this singular individual may be very briefly told. His father, a poor schoolmaster in Bristol, died a few months before his birth, leaving his family in circumstances of great indigence. During his earliest years, he gave no indications of talent, or interest in any of his studies, but was even dismissed from school as a person of incurable dulness. At the age of fourteen, he was bound as an apprentice to a scrivener, and entered with sufficient assiduity upon the duties of his new vocation, but devoted the hours of his leisure to the study of antiquities. In the year 1768, when he was about sixteen, some public ceremonies were performed on the occasion of opening a new bridge in Bristol. There appeared at the same time in a public journal of that city, a description of the pageant which had accompanied the opening of the old bridge, several centuries before. The narrative purported to be ancient, and exhibited so much minuteness of detail and apparent authenticity, as greatly to

perplex the wise men of that venerable town. It was ascertained on inquiry, that Chatterton was the person, who had offered the manuscript for publication; and, with equal good sense and liberality, threats were resorted to, in order to induce him to acknowledge whence it was obtained. He bade defiance to these menaces, but was at length induced by persuasion to declare, that this, together with various other old manuscripts, was found by his father in a church in Bristol, of which one of his relatives had been the sexton. It was true, that certain title-deeds and other papers had been anciently deposited in this church; the chests in which they were contained had been broken open, by authority, some years before, when those which were considered valuable were removed, and the others suffered to remain; there they were found by Chatterton's father, who conveyed them home, and applied them to the purpose of covering his books. Thus they came into the possession of Chatterton himself; he wrote upon them poems and other productions, in close imitation of the ancient language and chirography, which he gave to the public as the writings of Mr. Canynge, once an eminent merchant of Bristol and the founder of the church, and of his friend Thomas Rowley, a priest.

It is curious to observe to what extent this remarkable deception was carried by one, who was yet far from having reached the age of manhood. He gave specimens of his manuscripts freely to those who asked for them, and offered to supply Horace Walpole with an account of the ancient painters of Bristol, a class of worthies in regard to whom history, for excellent reasons, had been profoundly silent; sending him at the same time some portions of the Rowley poems. These were submitted by Walpole to his friend Gray, who at once declared them to be forgeries. It is much to be regretted, that both were too indignant at the attempted imposition to perceive, that the fact of the forgery of such productions was a conclusive proof of the surpassing talent of their author. Walpole repelled his advances with cold reserve, and neither appears subsequently to have taken any interest in his fortunes. But the poems themselves had, meantime, given occasion to a very earnest controversy. Their authenticity was warmly vindicated by Milles and Bryant, and denied with equal zeal by Walpole, Malone, Tyrwhitt and Warton, though the sentiments expressed by the two last in their respective

publications were directly opposite to those which they had previously entertained. Dr. Gregory, in his biography of Chatterton, sums up the testimony on both sides of the question with laudable impartiality, but does not intimate his own opinion; nor was this necessary; his statement of the case is quite sufficient to convince the reader, if he were not convinced before, that Canynge and Rowley were both quite guiltless of any poetical handiwork, which had been locked up for centuries in company with title-deeds, under the reverend care of successive generations of church-wardens. But there is no longer any controversy on the subject. These poems are now universally admitted to be the productions of Chatterton himself; and, considering the circumstances under which they were written, and the age of their author, they are indeed miracles of early genius.

In all the records of sorrow, we know not a more melancholy tale, than that of the close of Chatterton's career. He went to London; there he engaged in various literary enterprises, and labored, but without success, to gain distinction as a political writer. His plans one after another failed; at length, before he had reached the age of eighteen, crushed by disappointment and despair, and, as there is too much reason to believe, tortured by actual hunger, he put an end to his own life by poison. Perhaps this sad result may partly have been owing to the pride, which shrunk from revealing the secret of his necessities; to the perverted sentiment, which taught him to regard self-destruction as the just and unobjectionable remedy for his misfortunes; and, more than all, to his perseverance in an imposition, that transferred to others the credit for ability, which was certainly his due. The world could hardly be expected to relieve distresses which it did not know; but it touches the heart, to see so brilliant a light thus immaturely quenched; to see powers, that might have left behind them a long train of permanent glory, perishing at the very dawn, for want of a little generous encouragement and aid; to see the boy, who might have filled one of the highest seats in England's literary temple, soliciting in vain a wretched post on board a vessel bound to Africa, and finally dying, dying of hunger, in the very heart of the metropolis, unpitied and alone.

There is a surprising disparity in point of excellence between the poems of Chatterton, which are written in imitation of the

old English style, and those which he admitted to be his own. The merit of all the forgeries is by no means equal, but they are very far superior to the other; very many of these are collected and published in the editions of his writings, which have no merit whatever. There are satires, distinguished by nothing but their venom; love songs, colder than the polar ice; and burlettas, of which the absurdity disputes the palm with the grossness. Occasionally the satire comes home directly to the mark; the amatory verses kindle into warmth and beauty; the foul ravings of political vindictiveness and impiety are exchanged for tones that seem to issue from an angel's lyre; but certain it is that, but for the forgeries, the fame of Chatterton would not outshine the many stars, that twinkle dimly through the mists of mediocrity. The superiority of the imitations is probably to be ascribed to the fact, that they were his favorites, and called forth all his power; from their very nature, they must have been prepared with great care and circumspection; while the others were either not published by himself, or were thrust into magazines under a fictitious name. To many of them, he would certainly have been reluctant to advance a public claim. Yet it should not be forgotten, that his writings were collected and preserved, not by himself, but by others, and thus the misfortune which pursued him through life has also clung to his memory. But after making these deductions, there remains in both classes so much evidence of mature ability and knowledge of the world, that the reader perpetually forgets that they are the writings of a boy, and is tempted to apply to them too harsh a rule of criticism. As a whole, they irresistibly impress us with the idea, that England has produced few poets, superior or even equal in genius to this child of sorrow. We would not become the apologists of any species of deception; but may it not be said in extenuation of that of Chatterton, that it was committed at an age when such things are apt to be regarded rather in the light of sport than knavery; that it was designed to injure no one's fame, and in fact injured no other person than himself; and that, however criminal, it was dearly expiated by the misery of his last hours?

Perhaps the most remarkable attempt at imposition on record, certainly the most remarkable as respects the interest which it excited, was displayed in the publication of certain poems, purporting to be translations from Ossian, a Gaelic bard

of the third century. James Macpherson, who modestly contented himself with the name of a translator, was a native of the Scottish Highlands. In an interview with Home, the author of the tragedy of Douglas, he produced some specimens of Gaelic poetry, stating at the same time, that much more of it might be obtained from aged persons in the mountains. Home, together with Dr. Blair and others, who were greatly delighted with the specimens, prevailed upon Macpherson to publish those in his possession, which he accordingly did, in 1760, in a small volume. The work was received with general acclamation in Scotland, and with mingled wonder and delight by the larger class of readers in England. Such men as Robertson, Ferguson, Lord Elibank and Gray were of the number of its enthusiastic admirers; but there were not wanting unbelievers in either country, by whom it was denounced as a bold and worthless fabrication. Macpherson had, in the meantime, been despatched into the Highlands for a fresh supply of the precious fragments, and came back heavily laden with epics, which he shortly after published.

The old mine of poetry, which had been thus suddenly sprung, produced a commotion in the learned world like that which follows the explosion of a bomb-shell. Macpherson, who soon after came to this country as secretary of the Governor of Florida, steadfastly refused to satisfy the sceptical, pretending to consider it quite intolerable that his word should be doubted; and when David Hume benevolently intimated to him that the world would like some more solid security, bore himself so loftily, that the philosopher in a heat expressed a hope, that he would take advantage of his travels to improve his manners, by imitating those of the Chickasaws and Choctaws. The host of unbelievers was led on by no less a personage, than Dr. Johnson. This eminent individual took fire at the idea of a new Parnassus in the Scottish Highlands, and began, as was remarked by Cowper on another occasion, to trample with his great foot upon every feather of Ossian's muse. In reply to an irritating letter of Macpherson, he threatened to make him feel the weight of something more substantial than a logical deduction. Aided by a host of others, he dealt his blows about him like one of the sturdiest of the Celtic heroes. The vindicators of Macpherson, on the other hand, were numerous and able, and the most prominent among them was Dr. Blair. Ossian himself might

have likened the encounter of the combatants to the dark storms of autumn, pouring from two echoing hills. It happened, as is usual in such cases, that the eyes of the martialists were completely blinded by the smoke of their own artillery; the contest outlasted three or four sieges of Troy, and it was not until the opening of the present century, that it began to subside into something like repose.

The question of the authenticity of these poems is completely set at rest. The Highland Society of Scotland appointed a commission to recover, if they could, the original text of Ossian. Their report, drawn up by the excellent author of the Man of Feeling, while it betrays an inclination on the part of those who framed it, to believe as much as the case will admit, does by no means sustain the pretensions of Macpherson. The truth appears to be, that certain fragments of poetry, of what antiquity does not precisely appear, but in which the names of Fingal and Ossian held a prominent place, had been handed down by tradition in the Highlands, and that these were the basis, on which the gorgeous fabric of Macpherson was reared; but that the form and coloring, and some portion of the substance, were the work of his own hands. Some of these fragments are certainly beautiful; but there are others, which might make the lover of Ossian close the book in despair. In one of them, Gaul, the son of Morni, is represented as knocking on the head one of the most illustrious of the bards, for defrauding him of a beef-steak, dressed with onion sauce. Another specimen may be found in the Antiquary, where Hector M'Intyre, in, order to convince Mr. Oldbuck that the poetry of Ossian was well remembered in the Highlands, recites a portion of a fragment, describing a conversation between the Celtic bard and the tutelar saint of Ireland. Ossian, piqued at the indifference of St. Patrick towards his poetry, assures him that he looks upon him as little better than a certain animal, not much renowned for wisdom; the saint remarks with great composure, that the clamor of Ossian's old women's tales, (meaning his minstrelsy,) disturbs his devotional exercises. It is probable, however, that this is nothing more than a liberal paraphrase of the fragment, called the Prayer of Ossian, which is rude and barbarous enough, but not particularly ludicrous. The whole passage, however, shews plainly the opinion of Scott, no mean authority, on the subject of Macpherson and his claims.

It is not surprising, that the interest excited by these poems, at the time of their publication, was very general and intense. They came forth, like a voice from the depths of ages, uttering the lofty inspirations of chivalry, breathing the softest notes of love, and pealing like a trumpet-call above the roar of battle; the standard of Fingal streamed again to the winds, "like a burst of the sun when the tempest was nigh;" the soul was saddened and elevated by their simple and melancholy images, as when one wanders in the dark paths of the forest, or gazes on the yellow line of the desert, or walks by the solitary shore of the sea. But, when doubts were spread abroad of the authenticity of the poems, all these impressions vanished, like the wreaths of morning mist; the sound was full of sublimity so long as it was mistaken for the distant thunder, but became almost ludicrous, when it was believed to proceed from the rattling of the wagon on the pavement. The influence of these poems on the English reader, which was very powerful for a time, was then entirely lost; but on the continent, where their genuineness was less questioned, they continued to exert a surprising power over the prevailing taste in literature. No more acceptable homage could be offered to Napoleon Bonaparte, than to compare him with the Celtic heroes; in France, the names of Ossian's warriors and heroines bade fair for a season to supplant the good old Christian names; Goethe was a lover of Ossian, and represents his Werther, on the eve of suicide, as enraptured with his lofty melancholy; Cesarotti translated him into Italian, and regarded him as standing at the head of all the epic bards; and Madame de Stael divides literature into two classes, those of the east and north, placing Homer at the head of one, and representing Ossian as the father of the other.

The recent death of William Henry Ireland has drawn the attention of the public anew to the subject of his forgeries of pretended writings of Shakspeare, which imposed upon many for a time, but were at last exploded by his own confession. Ireland, however, wanted the ability of Chatterton, and even of Macpherson. Indeed, his attempt to palm off a drama of his own as Shakspeare's was no sign of remarkable discretion; he might as well have undertaken to manage the chariot of the sun. We do not enter into a detail of the circumstances of his imposition, because they have been generally circulated in an interesting form in other journals, and because they have little

importance as connected with the literature of the day. The last forty years of the life of Ireland were spent in obscurity, and, we believe, of poverty. His offence was severely visited upon him; the talent, which he certainly possessed, was not afterwards acknowledged; but, if his punishment was hard, the moral it conveys is not without its value, that honesty is quite as good policy in literary matters, as in all other concerns of life.

We have dwelt at some length upon the poems attributed to Ossian, because they are to be considered as in a great degree responsible for the false taste, which constituted quite a leading characteristic of the time, immediately succeeding that of their publication. The attraction of the better part of them probably arose from its resemblance to the simple beauty of the Hebrew Scriptures; mingled with this, however, there was a vein of lofty emptiness, a sort of prose upon stilts, which took strong hold of the fancy of youthful writers; nearly all of whom began to try their wings in imitations of the poetical prose of Macpherson, and thus produced a strange menagerie of Gorgons, Hydras, and Chimeras, to the special wonder and consternation of plain English readers. Perhaps the frequency of literary imposition is itself an indication of a previous decline of taste; when honest commodities are in good demand, and the supply tolerably abundant, there is little temptation to resort to knavery. The Della Cruscan school naturally came next, with Madame Piozzi and Mrs. Robinson at its head; and the Oscars and Malvinas were put to flight by the Anna Matildas and the Lauras. This ephemeral race was swept away by the blast of Gifford's satire; but not before they had prepared the way for the reception of the sentimental novels, which came in like an inundation at the beginning of the present century, and whose spells were with difficulty broken by the combined forces of Miss Edgeworth and Sir Walter Scott.

No one did more to encourage this false taste, than Dr. Darwin; and no man was ever more signally its victim. He was a person of eccentric turn of mind, but of great ability, and of acknowledged eminence in his medical profession. Some idea of his character, if the old proverb can be trusted, may be gathered from that of his intimate associates. One of these was Thomas Day, the ingenious author of Sandford and Merton. He was an enthusiast on the subject of education; and in order to give a practical illustration of his theory, as well as to secure a wife of quite superior order, he took two very young

girls from the foundling hospital, and undertook to educate them in entire seclusion. But nature got the better of Mr. Day; his interesting pupils were always biting and scratching each other, and in the course of a few months, as we are informed by Miss Seward, "he was heartily glad to separate the little squabblers." Next he determined to try the experiment upon one, but, after persevering for some time, gave up in despair, because he found his little phœnix so destitute of self-command, notwithstanding his excellent lessons, as to scream when he poured melted sealing-wax upon her arm, and to exhibit some symptoms of fear, when he discharged a loaded pistol at her. This remarkable experiment in education forms the basis of a portion of the story of Miss Edgeworth's novel of Belinda. Dr. Darwin's pursuits lay in a different line, though he seems to have been possessed by a similar spirit; the schemes of both remind us of those of Swift's philosophers, who labored to extract sunbeams from cucumbers, and gunpowder from ice.

It was at a late period of life, that Darwin resolved to become a poet; he having judiciously avoided the muses for many years, lest they should entice him from his professional pursuits. His general plan appears to have been, to exhibit the processes of nature, the results of philosophical discovery, and the nature and operations of all things in the vegetable, animal and mineral kingdoms, in poetry; — refractory subjects these, and hard to be brought under the discipline of rhyme. The Doctor was aware of this, and in order to avoid the difficulty, invested his material substances with active qualities, and resorted, like Pope, to the Rosicrusian machinery of nymphs, and gnomes, and sylphs; forgetting that Pope had only used it for the purpose of burlesque. But no one can feel much sympathy with steel, however malleable it may be, or with stone, even though it be made to move and talk; nor is it much easier to enter into the loves and feelings of the plants, a subject, which figures largely in one of Darwin's most celebrated productions. This production was ingeniously ridiculed in a poem, entitled the Loves of the Triangles, in which cones, and cylinders, and cubes are animated with the tender passion; and, if we may judge from the remarks of Miss Seward, it would be rather difficult to determine which of the two poems is the better satire on the other. The versification of Darwin is harmony itself; it delights the ear, even when it makes no impression on

the mind. Sometimes his extravagances are so startling, as to seem like the interpolation of some crafty satirist; as, for example, the passage in which he compares good old Dr. Franklin, the very last man who would be likely to indulge in such vagaries, to the god of love, laughing, stamping, snapping his fingers, and breaking thunderbolts upon his knee. The real difficulty with his poetry is, that it gives the reader the idea of an ingenious piece of workmanship, wrought without the slightest trace of feeling; it is beautiful, but as inanimate as the spirit of the frozen ocean. So it is with his philosophy; it exhibits much sagacity and learning, disfigured by a spirit of wild and visionary theory. He considers all animals, in the language of Falstaff, as the sons of their own works; — as originally springing from mere filaments of matter, which are improved into various degrees of perfection by the effort to obtain the means of subsistence; the advances of each generation being regularly transmitted to succeeding ones. These filaments first attain to the dignity of oysters, which acquire legs and arms by their efforts to reach the water, when they are left dry by the ebbing of the tide. They labor to rise above the rock, and the effort produces wings; they go on in the way of improvement, until by much study and hard labor, they become transformed into birds; and so on. It is represented as rather a striking instance of this march of matter, that the legs of certain aquatic birds were gradually lengthened by the habit of wading in the water, on their fishing expeditions; and a French naturalist has literally carried out this theory, by insisting that the long neck of the giraffe was acquired by its practice of browsing upon the branches of trees. Darwin was not the only believer in this odd theory; nor would we intimate, that his theories in general partake of quite so wild a character; but his judgment appears in most instances to have been subordinate to his fancy. He was much admired for a season, and was regarded with great respect by critics; but we doubt whether his works were ever read with much enthusiasm; if it were so, their day has long since past, and they now enjoy a quiet sleep, very secure from interruption, in the venerable dust of libraries. There is an incident in his personal history, which furnishes a tolerably apt illustration of his poetical system, and its fate. In order to improve upon the old fashioned mode of riding, he built a platform on his horse's back, on which he perched himself in triumph, undertaking to

guide his movements by a system of machinery, something like that of the wheel of a rudder. One day, while circumnavigating after this singular fashion, the animal made an unexpected tack, which brought the doctor to the earth with great expedition, and lamed him for life. But his fall from his poetical Pegasus was even more signal; what was believed to be sublime was at last pronounced turgid, and Dr. Darwin was forgotten.

There was the more room for the display of this perverted taste, because, during the whole period in question, comparatively little poetry appeared of a very exalted order. Great genius, manifested in commanding effort, is the only effectual purifier of declining taste; never is the atmosphere of pestilence more surely generated, than when the elements have long been sleeping. The fastidious muse of Gray belongs but partly to this period, a portion of his few poems being of an earlier date; Goldsmith wandered only for a moment in the fields of fancy; and Beattie sang but a solitary strain, "at the close of the day, when the hamlet was still." Southey has collected specimens of the poetry of the day, and it is surprising to perceive how small a portion of its authors is remembered. With a very few exceptions, to which we shall have occasion more particularly to allude, there is not one, who can be said to have exercised any considerable influence over the intellect of his time. The power of Gifford's satire has been already mentioned; he brought up a park of heavy artillery to disperse a knot of butterflies, and succeeded to admiration; but the game was hardly worth the ammunition, and the labor, as well as the remembrance of it, was soon lost. Dr. Wolcott, better known by the name of Peter Pindar, is but one of the many instances, in which contempt and oblivion follow the prostitution of superior powers. Hayley is an example of better taste, united with inferior ability; his private virtues were so bright, and his kindness of heart so rare, that one is reluctant to affirm the just sentence, which the world has passed upon the wire-drawn debility of his writings. But we have no space to continue this enumeration. An experiment, which may be worth mentioning in this connexion, was made to test the power of poetry, at the time, when the English stood in dread of an invasion of their coast from revolutionary France. Mr. Pye, who was poet laureat at this critical season, mindful of the influence of the verses of Tyrtœus over the Spartan

soldiery, translated some of them, in order to infuse a double portion of patriotic spirit into the British train-bands. Some of the commanders of the encamped militia were highly delighted with them, and caused them to be read aloud at the head of several regiments, anticipating the happiest effects from their brilliancy and patriotism. Unfortunately, before they were half finished, it was found that the greater portion of the soldiers within ear-shot, were fast asleep. In general, and as compared with other periods of English literature, there was a solemn pause among the sons of inspiration; the temple was deserted by nearly all its worshippers, while, as in old time at the Christmas revels, the boisterous masquers frisked in its venerable aisles, and made its arches echo to fantastic songs. One might for a season have supposed that the burden of the mighty city, "the beauty of the Chaldee's excellency," was to fall upon it; that the owl and satyr were to inhabit its halls, and dragons to make their abode in its pleasant pavilions.

A striking exception to the truth of these general remarks, is to be found in the case of Crabbe. Perhaps he might with more propriety be regarded as belonging to the present century; as the greater portion of his writings has been published within the last thirty years, after a very long interval, during which he was entirely silent. But his Village made its appearance about fifty years ago, and produced a strong impression upon discerning readers, although, owing to causes not very difficult of explanation, it did not become a general favorite with the public. His youth and a portion of his manhood were spent in his native village, a miserable spot upon the borders of the German ocean, where neither man nor nature appeared under very favorable aspects; both reflected the gloom and misery of his own condition. These circumstances affected his poetry, very much as the east winds of the season, which we by courtesy call spring, affect the invalid's debilitated frame. He seems to be animated, at times, by a spirit of revenge against man and nature; the gloom and desolation of the one, and the faults and infirmities of the other, are portrayed with the most revolting accuracy; he lays bare the heart before us, as with the knife of an anatomist. This effect is produced chiefly by his selection of his subject and his coloring; the outline is too severely true, and the heart of the reader bears witness to its truth. In his later years, when his own circumstances had become more prosperous, his views of life

were rather more cheerful; but in none of his descriptions of humble life, powerful and graphic as they certainly are, is there much of the ornamental drapery, which a cheerful spirit can throw over the lowliest condition. Men are not very apt to welcome with delight the clouds and chill of a November day. If a writer choose to enforce the gloomy views of Johnson in his Rasselas, it will be well for him, at least, to provide his readers with a happy valley. Crabbe held up before his a mirror, which reflected every wrinkle and defective lineament with the most unsatisfactory precision; and the consequence was, that, though his excellence was every where admitted, he was neither loved nor imitated.

While the poetical world was thus hushed in scarcely broken repose, there flashed a brilliant meteor from a quarter of the firmament, whence such a phenomenon was little looked for. Whatever might have been the glories of the ancient Scottish minstrelsy, the English ear could listen only to the music of the Lowland tongue; and we are indebted, for our knowledge of the elder Scottish poets, almost exclusively to the notices, which have been set before us by the curiosity and patriotism of modern writers. Few, we imagine, were very familiar with James of Scotland, the captive monarch-minstrel, before Mr. Irving made him the subject of one of his brilliant sketches; nor was the name of Sir David Lindesay any where as common as a household word, before Scott pronounced on the "Lord lion King at Arms," a sounding eulogy in Marmion. After the union, it became a favorite object with the literary men of Scotland, to identify their language and literature, as far as possible, with that of England. Now and then some sturdy patriot might be found, like the Baron of Bradwardine in Waverley, who "read the Epithalamium of Georgius Buchanan, and Arthur Johnstone's Psalms of a Sunday, and the Deliciæ Poetarum, and Sir David Lindesay's works, and Barbour's Bruce, and the Gentle Shepherd, and the Cherry and the Slae;" but the instances were probably quite rare; and even the Baron thought it a pity that these writings were not done in prose. We are indebted to the same personage for some information respecting the national poetry of his own time, which was about a century ago; when he remarks, that the only person who had excelled of late in the vain and unprofitable art of poem-making, was Allan Ramsay, the periwig-maker. The use of the Scottish idiom began to be considered as a species

of vulgarity, into which no writer of taste or genius ought to fall; and so lasting was this prejudice, that the enterprising bookseller, to whom the manuscript of Waverley was offered by Sir Walter Scott, was at first afraid to print it, because it contained so much broad Scotch. This feeling reminds us of that expressed by Louis Bonaparte, when, as king of Holland, the favorite dish of pickled herring was first set before him; he is said to have observed with considerable emphasis, that patriotism might possibly induce one to eat the creatures, but nothing else could. We may well conceive, then, with what surprise these fastidious gentlemen beheld a young Scottish farmer, striking a note of inspiration, to which saloons and palaces had long been strangers; breathing, in this neglected and unfashionable dialect, the sweetest wood-notes wild; casting aside all conventional restraints, and pouring the full tide of song from the depths of a chivalrous and burning heart. No wonder, that the philosophers of Edinburgh gazed upon the stranger with perplexity, if not with awe, while he rekindled the patriotic fires, which they had labored to extinguish; no wonder, that the peasant in his cottage, the lady in her bower, the baron in his hall, welcomed with gratitude and pride the new defender of their country's fame, who stood before them in the manly dignity of genius, with the seal of inspiration on his brow.

And what a history was that of Robert Burns! From childhood to maturity, he is condemned by hopeless want to labor, till he exhausts a constitution of unusual vigor; his verses are composed and repeated to those around him, while he is following the plough; but the world goes hard with him, and he resolves to seek in another land the prosperous fortune, which his own denies. In order to defray the expenses of his voyage, he publishes a collection of his poems; and then, for the first time, bursts upon the world the knowledge of his power. He goes to Edinburgh; there he is courted by the wise, the brilliant, and the gay; the manly form and flashing eye of the young farmer are the attraction of the glittering saloon, while his conversation is the wonder of the philosophic circle; but these are unprofitable honors; and his country has no higher permanent reward for him, than the post of an exciseman. The principle, once superior to adverse fortune, melts beneath the morning sunbeams of prosperity; his prospects are now shrouded in deeper gloom; he retains virtue enough to lament his errors and infirmities, and too much strength of passion to

correct them; instead of submitting to the evils incident to his condition, he exhausts his spirit in the vain attempt to war against them, as the imprisoned eagle dashes himself against the iron bars of his cage; till at length he sinks, in the prime of manhood, into an obscure and almost unhonored grave.

Dugald Stewart expressed the opinion, that the intellect of Burns, bold, vigorous and commanding as it was, must have rendered him conspicuous, to whatever subject it might be applied. Others have believed that it was even better adapted to other departments of thought, than that to which it was devoted; but it is on his poetry alone, that his fame will permanently rest. Much of this can be remembered only with regret, as the effusion of a reckless and ungoverned spirit, repelling by its coarseness, more than it attracts by its power. He was formed for higher purposes than to grovel in rude invective, or to amuse a bacchanalian rabble with licentious songs. His heart was naturally a fountain of generous and manly feeling, whose waters gushed out in a sparkling tide, spreading around them a bright circle of living green. The secret of his attraction is his fidelity to nature. It is by this that he touches the most delicate chords of sympathy; and where shall we look for a finer example of this power, than in his Cotter's Saturday Night, so familiar, yet how beautiful! The peasantry of Scotland loved him; for he invested their feelings and sentiments, their joys and sorrows, with dignity and beauty; he redeemed their language from contempt; he made the heart of every true Scot burn within him, as he thought of the hills and valleys of his native land; he guided the footsteps of the pilgrim to the scenes of her traditional glories; he sung those glories in such lofty strains, that the world stood still to listen. "When the first shovel-full of earth sounded on his coffin lid," says his biographer, who was present at his funeral, I looked up, and saw tears on many cheeks, where tears were not usual." A just and touching tribute to the bard, who had led the muses to dwell by the lowly cottage fireside; who had shewn, by testimony not soon to be forgotten, that wherever human nature is, the reare the elements of poetry. "Did you never observe," said Gray, ('when rocking winds are piping loud') "that pause, when the gust is re-collecting itself, and rising on the ear in a shrill and plaintive note, like the swell of an Æolian harp? I do assure you, there is nothing in the world, so like the voice of a spirit." In his better mo-

ments, in the pauses of the storm, the melody of Burns was like the spirit's voice; nothing could be more touching or more unaffected than his strain; but the dark hour, the season of the conflict of his fiery passions, was his most familiar one; then he ran through every mode of the lyre, from the deepest tones of sorrow to the grandest strain of prophecy. With him, poetry was indeed the language of passion. Nature's sternest aspects gave him most delight, because they suited best the prevailing habit of his soul. "There is scarcely any earthly object," says he, "gives me more, — I do not know that I should call it pleasure, — but something which exalts me, something which enraptures me, — than to walk in the sheltered side of a wood or a high plantation, in a cloudy winter day, and hear the stormy wind howling among the trees, and raving over the plain. It is my best season for devotion; my mind is rapt up in a kind of enthusiasm to Him who, in the language of the Hebrew bard, walks on the wings of the wind." He composed the noble address of Bruce to his army at Bannockburn, while riding in a terrific storm of wind and rain. Would that he had never been unfaithful to nature, whether bright with sunshine or dark with storm! Would that he had never suffered the ashes to gather over his celestial fire; had never failed to remember, that the noblest way of fame is the way of virtue!

The brief and melancholy career of Burns terminated at the age of thirty-seven; but there is little probability that, with his fierce spirit and consuming passions, added to the misery of blighted hope, length of days would have much enhanced his renown, or that his later years would have fulfilled the rich promise of the spring. In beautiful contrast with him, stands his contemporary, Cowper, — truly a man of God, — held in reverence by all, who love to see high talent in delightful union with the amiable virtues; by all, who can sympathize with a meek and lowly spirit, crushed by the heaviest calamity under which humanity is ever called to suffer, yet always breathing out from the depth of his affliction the accents of love to God, and good will to man. His multiplied biographies have made his personal history familiar to all readers. Year after year was his fine intellect shrouded by insanity, and when the close of life drew nigh, his condition realized the idea of the dark valley of the shadow of death. His peculiar sensitiveness, combined with the infirmities of a very delicate frame, compelled him early to retire from the agitation of the world, into deep

seclusion ; — there, like a river in the wilderness, unseen of man, but reflecting the bright blue sky of Heaven from its bosom, his days passed tranquilly away. But his solitude was not the cold and selfish seclusion of the anchorite ; it did not chill the current of his generous affections ; and his sorrows, which were many, melted without hardening his heart. No man had ever a stronger hold on the hearts of those around him ; his unobtrusive charities, his tenderness for others, made his whole life an emblem of the influences of the faith, on which his soul was anchored. Nothing can be more touching than the love with which he clung to the remembrance of the mother, whom he lost in infancy ; his allusions to her in his writings remind us of those addressed by Pope to the venerable parent, who was spared to witness the noontide glories of his fame. And the memory of Mrs. Unwin, — the excellent friend who watched him through that painful suffering, when the burden of affection ceases to be light and easy, and the love of many waxes cold, — is indissolubly bound with his. Under every aspect, and in all its relations, the character of Cowper may be studied with profit and delight.

His genius was as bold and original, as his character was pure and humble. There is not one of the poets of his country, who owed less to those who went before him ; the path in which he adventured was his own, and he trod it with a just and manly confidence in his own powers. His poetry is a faithful transcript of his own thoughts and feelings, as his descriptions are living copies of the scenery and objects around him. Sometimes he ventures into the domain of satire ; perhaps too frequently ; though his ridicule is never personal, it is not always in perfect harmony with the prevailing gravity of his theme. He makes no effort to produce effect ; the effect which he does produce arises not from highly wrought passages, but from the general strain and tenor of his writings ; indeed, he is so natural and unpretending, that the very absence of apparent effort sometimes causes the reader to lose sight of the extent and versatility of his genius. Yet his powers were vast and varied. Now he utters the grand and melancholy warnings of the Hebrew prophets ; now his inimitable humor flashes out with singular attraction ; presently, familiar scenes are brought most vividly before us in his graphic descriptions. Under all circumstances, he awakens a deep interest in the welfare of his race, and the loftiest aspirations for their intellectual and social freedom. Other poets had looked upon re-

ligion as the rock of the desert; Cowper struck that rock as with the prophet's rod, and made it flow with healing waters. He transplanted new subjects into the domain of poetry, and made them flourish with unwonted beauty. Who, before him, ever called up with such effect the images of domestic life and the recollections of the happy fireside? Who, before him, ever spread over outward nature the chastened light of religious feeling, which makes it lovely as our own autumnal landscape, under the sweet influences of the Indian summer?

We are aware, that we have given but a faint and imperfect sketch of the poetry of the latter part of the last century; one, which will perhaps only remind the reader of the remark of Johnson on the work of an English traveller; that it contained "unimportant details of his passage from one place where he saw little, to another, where he saw no more." There are several names, of some distinction too, to which we have not even alluded. Our purpose was rather to dwell upon those individuals, who exercised considerable influence, for good or evil, over writers who came after them. We can enumerate but three, who had ability enough to leave the beaten track, and to present themselves in the attitude, and with the true spirit of reformers; and these three were Crabbe, Burns and Cowper. Each of these poets, with different degrees of power and success, labored to turn back the current of false sentiment, and to set his seal, visibly and deeply, upon his age. The influence of Crabbe, for reasons already intimated, was very limited; the cloud did not attract the eye, because it rarely turned out its silver lining on the night. With the single exception of the Corn-law rhymer, we know of no succeeding poet, who can be said to have been inspired by his example. That of Burns and Cowper was more direct and obvious. As the shades were closing around the eighteenth century, several stars, of more than ordinary brilliancy, were successively appearing above the horizon. Campbell had already published his Pleasures of Hope, the very best of all his poems; suggested perhaps by the Pleasures of Memory of Rogers, which appeared not long before; and Coleridge, Southey, Wordsworth, and Scott had already exhibited their rich and various powers. It was upon this brilliant circle, that the influence of Burns and Cowper was chiefly manifested. Burns laid open the new world of Scottish scenery, manners, language, and character, to other and more fortunate adventurers, and thus enabled Scott

to gather an unfading laurel harvest from the heaths and mountains of his country. It is a circumstance worth remembering, that Burns himself appears to have foreseen the future glory of the mighty minstrel. When Scott was quite a lad, he caught the notice of the poet, by naming the author of some verses, describing a soldier lying dead on the snow. Burns regarded the future minstrel with sparkling eyes, and said, 'Young man, you have begun to consider these things early.' He paused on seeing Scott's flushing face, and shook him by the hand, saying, in a deep tone, 'This boy will be heard of yet.' Nor was the effect of his lyrical success less striking; there can be little doubt that the melodies of Moore, which are worth all his other writings put together, were suggested by those, by which Burns did so much for the fame of Scottish minstrelsy. Still less can it be questioned, that the diversified and brilliant character of all the later poets we have mentioned, may in great part be traced to the force and originality of Cowper's example. Of all the poets of his time, he is certainly to be regarded with the greatest veneration; his memory will be the very last to fail. It is well that it should be so; for his aim was to raise poetry to its proper elevation, by making it the handmaid of high and holy purposes, the nurse of lofty aspirations for virtue and religious purity and of ardent sympathy with what is free and noble, the enlarger of the intellect, and the purifier of the heart. We do not deem it a vain and idle persuasion, that the day will come, when her celestial vestments and starry diadem will no more adorn the painted forms of vice and sensuality; when mankind will no longer do homage to the idols of perverted genius. Perhaps all the living generation shall not taste of death, before the eastern sky kindle with the day-spring, that shall herald the coming of an age, when poetry, instead of turning the waters into blood, like the burning mountain of the apocalypse, shall bear some faint resemblance to the descending city of the same mysterious vision, over the light of whose towers and palaces darkness shall have no dominion, and into whose gates shall enter nothing but the pure and blameless.

Mr. Allan Cunningham, the author of the biography before us, is not unknown to the lovers of our contemporary literature. His father, a respectable Scottish farmer, was steward of the proprietor of the farm of Ellisland in Nithsdale, on which Burns dwelt for a few years prior to his removal to

Dumfries, where he resided in the capacity of an exciseman, until his death; and appears to have been a man of sense and capacity. He endeavored to dissuade the poet from selecting this farm, on which his fortune was wrecked, in preference to another, less romantic in its situation, but far more fertile, which he offered him; but finding his remonstrances unavailing, remarked to him, "Mr. Burns, you have made a poet's, not a farmer's choice." The life of Burns had been previously written by men abundantly inclined to do the subject justice, but who had all, with the exception of Mr. Lockhart, done his memory much wrong. The narrative of Mr. Heron was written at the time when a subscription was raising for the benefit of the poet's family, and is mentioned by Cunningham in terms of much severity, as equally unfeeling and unjust. Currie and Walker, men of talent and liberal feeling, both of whom were warm in their admiration of Burns, appear to have been misled by the accounts of others in their view of some portions of his history; Jeffrey did perhaps still more to strengthen these erroneous impressions, by a harsh and unfeeling notice in the Edinburgh Review; and the honorable task of vindicating the memory of his countryman from the aspersions of foes and mistaken friends, was reserved for Mr. Lockhart, who accomplished it in a manner alike creditable to his feelings and his ability. He has shewn, by testimony not open to exception, that Burns, however he may have yielded to temptation, when allured by the attractions of society, never did so without self-reproach; that he was not habitually degraded; and that the light of manly feeling and principle within him, though it often wavered, was never extinguished. The example of Lockhart in this particular has been followed by Mr. Cunningham. His narrative derives much interest from the fact, that he writes with the feeling of one, whose early circumstances naturally bound him by strong sympathy with Burns. The other biographers had contemplated the poet from a high point of social elevation; Mr. Cunningham observes him from a different level, and writes with deeper interest and feeling. Without finding it in his power to collect many new facts, he has yet been able to prepare a very interesting narrative, and one which will be very acceptable to the many, who love to learn all that is remembered of the history of a man of extraordinary genius. The following extract will be read with deep interest. It describes Burns's death and funeral.

" Sea-bathing relieved for a while the pains in the poet's limbs; but his appetite failed; he was oppressed with melancholy; he looked ruefully forward, and saw misery and ruin ready to swallow his helpless household up. Burns grew feverish on the 14th of July, (1796;) felt himself sinking, and longed to be at home. He returned on the 18th, in a small spring cart; the ascent to his own house was steep, and the cart stopped at the foot of the Mill-hole-brae; when he alighted, he shook much and stood with difficulty; he seemed unable to stand upright. He stooped, as if in pain, and walked tottering towards his own door; his looks were hollow and ghastly, and those who saw him then never expected to see him in life again.

" It was soon spread through Dumfries that Burns had returned from the Brow much worse than when he went away; and it was added that he was dying. The anxiety of the people, high and low, was very great. I was present and saw it. Whenever two or three were together, their talk was of Burns, and of him alone. They spoke of his history, of his person, and of his works, of his witty sayings and his sarcastic replies, and of his too early fate, with much enthusiasm, and sometimes with deep feeling. All that he had done, and all that they had hoped he would accomplish, were talked of; half a dozen of them stopped Dr. Maxwell in the street, and said, 'How is Burns, Sir?' He shook his head, saying, 'he cannot be worse,' and passed on to be subjected to similar inquiries farther up the way. I heard one of a group inquire with much simplicity, 'Who do you think will be our poet now?'

" Though Burns now knew he was dying, his good humor was unruffled, and his wit never forsook him. When he looked up and saw Dr. Maxwell at his bed-side,—'Alas,' he said, 'What has brought you here? I am but a poor crow, and not worth plucking.' He pointed to his pistols, took them in his hand, and gave them to Maxwell, saying they could not be in worthier keeping, and he should never more have need of them. This relieved his proud heart from a sense of obligation. Soon afterwards he saw Gibson, one of his brother volunteers, by the bed-side, with tears in his eyes. He smiled and said, 'John, don't let the awkward squad fire over me.'

" His little household presented a melancholy spectacle; the poet dying; his wife in hourly expectation of being confined; four helpless children wandering from room to room, gazing on their miserable parents, and little of food or cordial kind to pacify the whole or soothe the sick. To Jessie Lewars, all who are charmed with the poet's works are much indebted; she acted with the prudence of a sister and the tenderness of a daughter,

and kept desolation away, though she could not keep disease. 'A tremor,' says Maxwell, 'pervaded his frame; his tongue, though often refreshed, became parched; and his mind, when not roused by conversation, sunk into delirium. On the second and third day after his return from the Brow, the fever increased, and his strength diminished. On the fourth day, when his attendant held a cordial to his lips, he swallowed it eagerly, rose almost wholly up, spread out his hands, sprang forward nigh the whole length of the bed, fell on his face and expired. He was thirty-seven years and seven months old, and of a form and strength which promised long life; but the great and inspired are often cut down in youth, while

"Villains ripen gray with time."

"His interment took place on the twenty-fifth of July; nor should it be forgotten, in relating the poet's melancholy story, that, while his body was borne along the street, his widow was taken in labor and delivered of a son, who survived his birth but a short while. The leading men of the town and neighborhood appeared as mourners; the streets were lined by the Angus-shire Fencibles and the Cinque Ports Cavalry, and his body was borne by the volunteers to the old Kirk-yard, with military honors. The multitude who followed amounted to many thousands. It was an impressive and a mournful sight; all was orderly and decorous. The measured steps, the military array, the colors displayed, and the muffled drum, I thought then, and think now, had no connexion with a pastoral bard. I mingled with the mourners. On reaching the grave into which the poet's body was about to descend, there was a pause among them, as if loth to part with his remains; and when the first shovel-full of earth sounded on the coffin-lid, I looked up, and saw tears on many cheeks where tears were not usual. The volunteers justified the surmise of Burns by three ragged and straggling vollies; the earth was heaped up, and the vast multitude melted silently away."

In connexion with the biography, Mr. Cunningham has favored the public with a new edition of the works of Burns, doubtless the most complete and valuable that has yet appeared. He has endeavored to arrange the several productions, as far as might be, in the order in which they were composed, and has illustrated them with a variety of copious annotations, containing much curious and entertaining information. He has procured a large number of poetical pieces, which were not included in the edition of Currie, together with many letters, not previously published. In filling up the blanks which had been

left by other editors with the names of persons and places originally intended, he has received much aid from the early friends and correspondents of Burns. Whether he may not have been more free in his revelations than was consistent with the regard due to individuals or to surviving friends, we cannot undertake to determine; but we are inclined to fear that in some instances the public curiosity will be gratified at the expense of private feeling. There can be no doubt, however, that he is eminently qualified for the execution of his task by his familiarity with the domestic habits and manners, and the other peculiarities of the peasantry of Scotland, as well as by his early acquaintance with the scenes, where a portion of the life of Burns was spent, after he had become the object of general curiosity and admiration. By all, who desire to be most intimately acquainted with the character and writings of the poet, the result of his labors will probably be regarded as superseding the necessity of any future investigation.

In order to enable us to form an entirely accurate judgment of the character and powers of a man of genius, it may perhaps be desirable that we should be in possession of those minute particulars, which indicate the general current, as well as the changes of his thoughts and feelings, and which bring the individual before us, as he appeared to those who knew him in the daily intercourse of life; but it cannot be denied, that the person who is thus revealed to the world, is unfortunate beyond the ordinary lot; that he is exposed to a trial, from which few could escape unharmed. Many are happy enough to present to the public their own portraits of their own character, and to obliterate, or at least to soften the harsher features of extravagance and folly. Far different has been the fate of Burns. Every burst of passion, every violent and sometimes intolerably coarse outbreak of satire, every infidel exclamation, every howl of debauchery, every thing, in short, which fell from the lips or pen of one so conspicuous, and the very extravagance or rudeness of which caused it to be remembered, has been faithfully treasured up, and we see him as he was; — his character stripped of the veil, with which tenderness is apt to cover frailty. He appears to have anticipated that such would be his fate, and sometimes alludes to it with feeling. Those who are interested in his history may yet derive from it the monitory lesson, so beautifully conveyed by Wordsworth in his address to the sons of Burns, on visiting the grave of their father.

"Let no mean hope your souls enslave;
Be independent, generous, brave;
Your father such example gave,
And such revere:
But be admonished by his grave,
And think and fear!"

ART. III. — *Survey of the Coast.*

1. *Papers on various Subjects connected with the Survey of the Coast of the United States.* By F. R. HASSLER. *Communicated 3d March,* 1820. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society.* Vol. 2. New Series. Philadelphia. 1825.

2. *Principal Documents relating to the Survey of the Coast of the United States since* 1816. Published by F. R. HASSLER, Superintendent of the Survey. New-York. 1834.

IT may naturally excite some surprise, that in an age peculiarly characterized by an adventurous philosophy, when scarcely any plausible scheme fails for lack of patronage, so little attention should be given to an undertaking of so great public concern, and so far as its execution has proceeded, so honorable to the nation, as the Survey of the Coast. It is, indeed, perhaps not so much as generally known, that such a survey was originated nearly thirty years since; that it has, with different degrees of success, always under the patronage of the government, and, with the exception of about fourteen years, always under the same superintendent, subsisted to the present day; and that its results, so far as they have transpired, have elicited commendation in every country but our own.

That it has been so, may be partly owing to a cause which we would do our part towards removing. The notice of a national work of this kind in the annual communication from the chief of a department, passes as a thing of course. A critique on the management of its details, in a periodical, which is exclusively scientific, is read only by the initiated; while the mass and influential part of the community may remain ignorant of a work, than which few have stronger claims to their

favorable consideration. We propose to treat briefly of the enterprise in question, in such form as may suit a journal designed for more general circulation, presenting only so much of its history as may serve to shew the probable chain of policy, by which the government have been influenced in its adoption and prosecution to the present period; and so much of its technicality and detail as may exhibit its relation to other scientific works of the same age.

In doing this we refer to the works named at the head of this paper, only as giving the most authentic history of the survey, and not for the purpose of reviewing their merits as literary productions. Most of these papers can indeed never, for such a purpose, be properly made the subject of any review. With the exception of the answer to Mr. Gallatin's circular, which contains the first detailed plan for a general survey of the coast, written in unexceptionable French, they are the descriptions and correspondence of a foreigner evidently of high attainments, but composing in a language with which he is not sufficiently familiar, and occupying, so far, a situation in which few of the most talented of the world have shown themselves to advantage. So far, therefore, as the style of these papers deserve mere literary censure, it should be most leniently bestowed. We could not justify ourselves for criticising, even in a passing notice, the literary execution of a writer evidently understanding an abstruse subject fully, writing too, for the most part, in his own defence, but writing in a language with which he is evidently too little acquainted to use it with precision.

The survey seems to have been first publicly spoken of during the year 1806, and to have had for its first patrons Professor Patterson and Mr. Clay of Philadelphia, and Mr. Garnet of New Brunswick. From the account given, in page 53 of the documents, we should be inclined to consider Mr. Patterson as the originator of the project and its most zealous and efficient supporter; and that he had succeeded, perhaps through the agency of Mr. Clay, in recommending it to the consideration of Mr. Jefferson and his cabinet. There are, unfortunately, no documents preserved of that period, which explain either in what view the survey had been recommended to the notice of Mr. Jefferson, or from what motive it had been entertained and encouraged by his confidential advisers. He perhaps patronized it from the love of science, which was a predominant

trait in his character, and estimated it for its general uses, as tending to the cultivation of the exact sciences in this country. They, perhaps, only appreciated it as supplying a *desideratum* in geographical knowledge, which was then beginning to be felt by the maritime interests of the country. Or it may be that both President and Cabinet considered it as an indispensable prerequisite to the system of gun-boat marine, which is still remembered as a favorite project of Mr. Jefferson. Whether the latter conjecture be specifically correct or not, yet, if the government have, from the commencement, patronised the survey rather for some object of immediate utility, than for any more general effect, which the enlarged patronage thus afforded to science might ultimately produce, we have at least one reason why so little should be known or said of the work, and why its importance should be underrated, even though its patronage may not appear to have been stinted. An accurate survey of the coast, as affording us a knowledge of the facilities and dangers of our extensive sea-board, is unquestionably of great importance to all the maritime interests of the country, and its execution a legitimate function of the general government. But as to the *manner* of its execution there are considerations of national honor, which an enlightened administration should regard as equivalent if not paramount to the more immediate ob ject. It should not only be executed with a view to the specific interest which it is intended to subserve, but also with the best aid which the science of the time can afford; presenting thus to the government an opportunity of grafting on knowledge at home the improvements of foreign countries, and ensuring that we shall never be ashamed of our own scientific productions, even when compared with those of older nations. Since Geodetic operations have been in progress in the old world, every one of the ancillary arts and sciences has advanced rapidly. Optics and horology had, previous to 1780, been considered only as subservient to the higher astronomy, and had of course very limited encouragement; but since the commencement of the extensive surveys authorized by almost every government in Christendom, these two arts have reached such perfection as to leave scarce any thing unknown either in their theory or its application. The trigonometrical survey of England had been commenced in 1792. The survey of the coast of the United States, as we have said before, was projected in 1806, only fourteen years after. On a comparison of the first results

of the British Survey, as managed by General Roy, with those of the American Survey, as devised by Professor Hassler, it will be evident that the advantage, both in science and practical skill, was on our side. The results of the British triangulation were found so defective as to make necessary not only a re-measurement of their bases, but of many of the angles connecting them. But on our side, as we shall have occasion to show hereafter, the very first determinations of 1817 have an agreement with those made subsequently in 1834, than which we have nothing better in the detail of similar operations elsewhere.

The conjecture, that the survey of the coast originated as a necessary auxiliary to Mr. Jefferson's system of defending the sea-board, by a flotilla of small armed vessels, has nothing certain for its basis, and can merely be considered as probable from the circumstance of the two projects coming before the public about the same time. It seems, however, almost indispensable to the judicious management of such a force of gun-boats, that the smaller and less practicable channels should be accurately known; as enabling these small vessels to manœuvre and rendezvous in force, by routes which would be insufficient for vessels of heavier draft.

Apart from considerations of national honor and interest, there are other reasons why a survey of the coast of the United States, if made at all, should be executed with all the precision which can possibly be obtained at any time. The coast for five sixths of its length is low, and may be considered as half formed; the beaches and shoals of which it is composed are constantly shifting by the operation of winds, and tides, and currents; so that the deep channel of one year may be a down the next. This is the case in every part of the coast, from Rhode-Island to the mouths of the Mississippi. That part of hydrodynamics, therefore, which treats of the formation of alluvions, and of the operation of surf and winds upon them, will soon become a useful and necessary study in this country. The time is not far distant when the great metropolis of New York may find the helping hand of science necessary to clear out the access to her beautiful bay. As preliminary to any project of this sort, hydrographic surveys of the most accurate kind, shewing the changes operated upon the shoals and channels from year to year, would be invaluable. Careless examinations would necessarily be injurious, as serving for false

bases. And, in a general point of view, the formation of both beaches and downs is a study of much interest, and to which heretofore but little systematic attention has been given.

To return, however, to the history of the survey. The first official paper relating to it is the circular of Mr. Gallatin, then Secretary of the Treasury, dated March 25, 1807. It may be considered as an exhibit very nearly of the views of the administration, and contains throughout probable evidence that it was for some object of immediate utility, that the survey had been authorized. It may at that time have begun to be known that the French and English governments were in possession of better surveys, and more accurate soundings of our most used harbors than we possessed ourselves, and a mere feeling of shame of our ignorance, and the inferiority which we must necessarily suffer from, in case of hostilities, may have directed the attention of the government more strongly to the subject.

Mr. Gallatin says in his Paper,

"It seems to me that the work should consist of three distinct parts, viz.

"1. The ascertainment, by a series of astronomical observations, of the true position of a few remarkable points on the coast." [The reference to light-houses shows that a rapid execution was intended.]

"2. A trigonometrical survey of the coast between these points, of which the position shall have been astronomically ascertained.

"3. A nautical survey of the shoals and soundings of the coast, of which the trigonometrical survey of the coast itself, and the ascertained position of the light-houses and other distinguishable objects shall be the bases."

Mr. Gallatin's circular was addressed, as we learn, from another part of the documents, to the principal scientific gentlemen then in the United States. They appear to have been eleven or twelve in number, though their names are in no place mentioned. We have only in reply the letter of Professor Hassler, and cannot therefore judge, whether other projects may have been recommended by those whose opinions had been solicited by the government, or what amount of practical knowledge on such subjects was then to be found in the country.

The reply of Professor Hassler describes two modes, the first indicating a geodetic survey of the first class; and the sec-

ond, the project nearly as it seems to have been understood by the Secretary.

"La marche que vous avez tracée à cet ouvrage dans votre lettre est très juste, et en contient les veritables principes; permettez moi de les étendre seulement, en y appliquant quelques considérations plus détaillées.

"Pour faire cette levée avec toute l'exactitude possible, la marche à suivre seroit la suivante. De mesurer par toute l'étendue des côtes avec un cercle répétiteur à deux lunettes, d'un pied de diamètre (ou à son défaut avec un theodolite Anglois de même diamètre au moins, et susceptible de multiplier les angles) une chaîne de triangles d'environ 60 à 100 mille pieds de côte, fondée sur deux ou plusieurs bases mesurées avec les moyens d'exactitude connus."

After describing the manner in which the topographical details shall be executed, he proceeds.

"Si un tel plan d'opération était regardé comme d'une exécution trop entravée par les localités, il faudrait y substituer le suivant, qui serait.

"De suppléer le mesure triangulaire par les déterminations de longitude et latitude, avec des chronomètres et des sextants ou cercles de reflexion, qui doivent dans ces cas être de première qualité, et les chronomètres toujours. Une série de points et signaux systêmatiquement placés et distribués doivent par là être déterminés, de même que les triangles de la méthode precedente. Cette méthode quoiqu' elle ne soit pas susceptible de toute l'exactitude de la précédente, est cependant exempte du défaut d'accumulation d'erreurs, parceque les déterminations sont indépendantes les unes des autres. (on peut estimer les latitudes à $10''$ de degré et les longitudes par chronomètres à $2''$ de temps exact."

These extracts, taken in connexion, convey at least presumptive evidence, that the government were undertaking an operation, of whose extent and importance they had an inadequate conception, and that the person in whose opinion they had confided, had early conceived the idea of making its execution, if possible, not only creditable to the country but to himself. If such were the case, and the government from the commencement patronized the work only as necessary, cheap and useful, while the superintendent has been constantly aiming to give it all the aid of the most improved state of science, there has been abundant reason for the parties, by misunderstanding each

other, to embroil all the details, and produce a chaos from the very best materials.

The law authorizing the survey had been passed in February of 1807. The circular of Mr. Gallatin is dated in March, and the reply of Professor Hassler in the April following. During the autumn of the same year, Professor Hassler received an official notification of the approval of his plan of the survey by the President, and was requested to communicate a description of the necessary instruments and an estimate of their expense. He subsequently, viz., in September of the same year, accepted the commission proposed to him to go to London, for the purpose of procuring the apparatus which he had indicated. The distracted state of our commercial affairs put a stop to any further measures till 1811, when the mission for the purchase of instruments was officially proposed by Mr. Gallatin and accepted by the Professor, and on the 29th of August he embarked for Liverpool. This mission was completed on the 14th of December, 1815, by the delivery of the instruments, books, and apparatus purchased for the government, to Robert Patterson, Esq. the Director of the Mint.

During the interval between Professor Hassler's appointment to go to London, viz. in May, 1811, and his return to the United States, in 1815, an interval of four years, much discontent appears to have been manifested on the part of the government with what seemed to them to have been unnecessary delay. This does not appear distinctly in the documents; but drafts for funds were allowed to be protested in London, and other indications were given that the mission was thought to have lasted long enough, conveying pretty conclusive evidence that the heads of departments had an idea that such instruments as were needed for the survey might be manufactured in a few months at most; shipped with as much care as a cargo of hard ware; crammed into the hold of a five hundred ton ship; tilted on a dray to the custom-house, and the cases hammered opened for its enlightened inspection; while the risk of all these commercial manipulations would be fully covered by the insurance. Such, however, was not the opinion of their professional agent. Duplicates of instruments were ordered of a peculiar and new construction, such as are usually expected to be two years in the hands of the artist. Standards were procured properly authenticated from both France and England. And on an examination of the dates of the several operations performed in

the four years' mission, an account of which covers two pages of the documents, there is found no space of time not devoted zealously to the object with which the government agent had been entrusted; the only possible source of misunderstanding being, that the government had one view of the subject and the agent another.

Besides the delay necessarily resulting from the very detailed nature of the mission, there occurred others from the hostilities then in progress between the two nations. In one instance (our information on this point is verbal) a passport was refused at the alien office in London, until after a personal application to the foreign Secretary, who is said to have granted it with the remark, "that the British government made no wars on science." The noble lord who made this remark is certainly entitled to some gratitude from us, and some admiration from his countrymen.

But, whatever impatience may have been manifested by the heads of departments, during the procurement of the instruments, it seems all to have disappeared when they were safely delivered in this country. On the 20th of July, 1816, the preliminaries having been discussed, and the rate of compensation fixed, Professor Hassler was appointed to superintend the work, and on the 27th of the same month operations were commenced in New Jersey. There appears, however, to have been no appropriation of funds for the expenses of that year, so that the whole of that season was spent simply in *reconnoissances* made by the superintendent. In the succeeding summer, that of 1817, the survey commenced under an organization certainly sufficient in numerical strength, but, as we may have occasion to shew hereafter, defective in consistence, and was terminated in the April of 1818, by a peremptory note from Mr. Secretary Crawford, (of which we regret that no entire copy is given with the documents,) and an act of Congress transferring the survey to the Army and Navy; at least so we believe the terms of the law are understood, as it authorizes only the employment of gentlemen from these departments of the public service. The superintendent immediately repaired to Washington, transferred his journals, instruments and authority into the hands from which he had received them, and with a coldness which we can scarce sufficiently estimate, suggested to the department the mode of preserving the work which had already been done.

But the department, being ignorant on one subject, was just as ignorant on another. It had no idea that any work had been done at all. It disregarded the suggestions of the superintendent, threw the journals into one of those limbos of documents, which the functionaries of the capital, being determined to have no secrets of state, keep therefore in a manner entirely public, and thought no more of the subject. No report from Mr. Secretary Crawford ever stated to the country what had become of the survey of the coast, and he undoubtedly supposed that the affair had ended. This unfortunately for him was not the case. The coast survey papers (the book first quoted) were read before the American Philosophical Society in 1820, and published in its regular course in 1825, and from it, in the absence of any official paper on the subject, we first learned the manner in which the whole business had been managed, and what had been done in the single year, out of eleven, in which there had been any operations at all. In that year, (we refer to 1817,) with a corps just organized, two bases, one of *9447 metres, and the other of 7753 metres, had been preliminarily measured, and the angles of the main triangles connecting them been determined. A zone of the coast comprehending in the meridian from the Palisades to the Highlands of the Neversink, and in longitude from the Springfield mountains to Hempstead, Long Island, had been covered with a series of primary triangles in the space of ten months, and not only this, but pyrometrical experiments, destined for an accurate determination of the expansion of the standard measures procured from Europe, had been instituted and perfected; the details, and the correspondence necessary to the organization of the service, having been all managed by a single person. And yet, at the commencement of 1818, we find the Secretary of the Treasury, the chief of a department, who should be supposed to know at least something of the detail of a project entrusted to his charge, stating, in a public document, that "the little progress hitherto made in the work had caused general dissatisfaction in Congress." The little progress! Under such circumstances so much work had never been done in the same time before. — But we will not expatiate on this disagreeable

* Base of 1817, measured	9447.005	7753.7018
Calculated from Base of 1834	9447.300	7753.7983
	.295	.0965

part of the subject. Let Mr. Crawford's scientific reputation have the benefit of the maxim ; " de mortuis nil," &c. And let others, dead and living, have their due praise. If the project, as conceived by the government, or, as explained by Mr. Gallatin, was first thought of only on the score of utility, as intended to put a view of the commercial advantages of the coast into the hands of the maritime interest, disregarding any ulterior advantage which might accrue to our national character for science, by the encouragement shown to the practice of *Haute Géodésie* and its auxiliaries ; yet it is to be remembered that, on the representations of Professor Hassler and probably others of the gentlemen whose opinions had been solicited in 1806, the more worthy project was adopted, and an appropriation of fifty thousand dollars for the purchase of instruments (thirty-seven thousand dollars of which only were expended,) made without scruple and without reserve. This candid departure from the limit of the original project, to one where the aim was farther removed but more honorable, reflects high honor on those who promoted it, and leaves us ground to believe that had Mr. Jefferson and his advisers been in office, the difficulty and discontinuance of 1818 would not have taken place.

The scheme of the survey therefore was disposed of for the time, having been prosecuted not quite twelve years ; for though the law of 1818 authorized further operations by officers of the Army or the Navy, and the instruments and the equipages were all on hand, no one lifted the fallen banner. — The instruments were mostly distributed among the officers at that time employed in topographical duty. The large telescopes remained at the Capital, and it is understood were principally used for teaching the Sacs, the Creeks, and Winnebagoes,who visited Washington, the principles of optical science ; while the delicate mechanism of the principal angular instruments, which had been two years in the hands of Troughton, has the credit of having been employed in demonstrating the varieties of circular motion to the Titans of the West. An astronomical clock (we believe by Hardy) was put in charge of one of the dignitaries of the Patent Office ; who, if report says true, having broken the maintaining power, kept it still going, moving the hands forward to make up the time lost in winding. The list of curious misusers might be much augmented, but the subject is offensive, and we have perhaps already said too much.

To account for the difficulty and discontinuance of 1818, we

have made use of the hypothesis, that the government was aiming at one project and the superintendent at another, a state of affairs which could scarce fail to produce misunderstanding and disorder. But there were other causes which exerted a powerful and disastrous effect, and which resulted from the circumstances of the nation at that time. We had, in the first place,* no military school previous to that year, at least the regulations of the establishment at West Point, anterior to the superintendence of Colonel Thayer, (which we believe commenced either in 1817 or 1818,) were so imperfect, that even the pupils destined to fill the higher grades of the army, were but imperfectly instructed, and it was rare, therefore, to find at that time any officer under the rank of major, with the science requisite even for a third place in the survey of the coast. In addition to this cause of destitution, we had just finished a war, the effect of which upon military establishments is always to elevate men, in proportion to their capacity for command and not for talent of any other description. Yet it was from the military that the assistants in the survey of the coast were to be selected, and this for the laudable purpose of perfecting them in the science and practice necessary to make them serviceable as *ingenieurs géographes* at some future period. Though the army and navy, both of this and of other countries, have been employed in the execution of similar functions to those requisite in the survey of the coast, there are inconveniences resulting from their employment, which can only be prevented or avoided by a peculiar organization. You cannot expect men, whose sole incentive to action is rank, (for in our country there is nothing that can be called emolument attached to either branch of the service,) whose education may have disqualified them for some, and their habits for other duties, which are necessary in the execution of such a project, to forget rank and station, and commence anew in a service in which no reputation can be gained, which is available in their profession, and in which much may be lost. Fancy a lieutenant of the Navy, of forty, (we understand there are some and will certainly be more of that respectable age in our service), acquainted only with the manly and technical part of his profession, placed in an operation of this kind in subordination to a midshipman of

* Vide Col. Roberdeau's paper read before the Columbian Institute, page 41 of the documents.

eighteen, who has more knowledge, and, as it may well be, less manhood than himse f. It is a situation not to be thought of by men of feeling and of honor, yet one that would be of frequent occurrence in such a service. The idea, that the military and naval force of the country may be used as a heterogeneous mass in such duties, is a false one, relied upon, and urged, probably, on the ground that the corps of *ingénieurs géographes* in France, and of the ordinance in England, have each been engaged in, and successfully executed operations of the same kind, without remembering that in both those nations the immense military establishment has given the chiefs of each the power of selecting for such projects from a large numerical force, without any interference either with rank or emolument. But, apart from this, the inaccuracies of the English survey committed during the first ten years of its progress, and while it was under the management of General Roy; and the appointment of Delambre and Méchain to conduct the triangulation necessary for the great Map of France, though it had been then for several years in the hands of the French Engineers, afford some evidence that military men are not of necessity peculiarly competent to the execution of such works.

From the termination of the survey in 1818, until the publication of the papers in the Philosophical Transactions for 1825, nothing appears to have been thought of such matters. But after the appearance of that publication, and the favorable notice taken of the work by foreign journals, the affair began to be thought of, and from that time till 1832, public opinion had changed so much, that though there were then many projects for a survey, each advocated by gentlemen of reputation, the original plan was again adopted, and the original superintendent again appointed, with the additional and necessary power of selecting his own assistants. From the recommencement of the survey in 1832 to the present time, a belt of the coast, extending from the Connecticut River to below the Neversink, has been covered with a series of secondary and tertiary triangles; detailed surveys have been made both for the topography and for soundings of considerable distance of the coast; a base, the longest that has ever been measured with any approach to similar accuracy, has been finished, and there is every indication of the future progress of the work with honor and credit to all concerned. It is true the documents show something of misunderstanding in the matter of accounts,

but such difficulties are the common attendants of new branches of any service, and will only exist until the accounting departments have time to introduce the system most accordant with the nature of the work. It is indeed gratifying to our national character, that after the temporary abandonment of a work, having such legitimate claims to our consideration, public opinion should so soon and so strongly revert in its favor. But throughout the whole of the interruption which it underwent in the period between 1818 and 1832, there were individuals of high distinction, who advocated it in terms commensurate with its importance, both in the private circles of the country and at the seat of government. Among them were the present and late President, the late Minister to France, and the present Secretary of the Navy, whose department has at present the charge of the survey.

Having said so much of the history of the survey, we will now briefly describe part of the apparatus used in its execution.

The instruments brought from Europe by Mr. Hassler, in 1815, are enumerated in page 246 of the Coast Survey Papers, in forty-nine items. The principal are :

"1. A Theodolite, by Troughton, of two feet diameter, with which the angles of the main triangle have been measured.

"2. Two double repeating Theodolites, also by Troughton, of one foot diameter.

"3. Two double repeating Circles, of eighteen inches diameter, also by Troughton.

"12. Two sets of apparatus for measuring Base Lines. [All these instruments are of a peculiar construction, the plan of which was made by Professor Hassler.]

"13. An English brass Scale of eighty-two inches, by Troughton, with an arrangement for comparison.

"14, 15 and 17. An Iron Toise, a Brass and an Iron Metre, all standarded by Lenoir.

"5 and 6, 31, 32, 33, 34. Six Achromatic Telescopes, by Troughton, Holland and Tully.

"Two Astronomical Clocks, ten Chronometers, and two Transit Instruments."

All the angular instruments, and, indeed, most of the other apparatus, were perfected under the superintendence of Mr. Hassler, and have peculiarities of construction which we have not space to describe. The double repetition in the circular instruments, is both simple and useful, and the double screws

by which the horizontal adjustments are made, seem an admirable mode of combining a very delicate with a very bold motion. But the contrivance most original is the arrangement substituted for verniers, on the large Theodolite, the principal instrument for measuring terrestrial angles in the collection. The objection to the vernier is its friction on the limb, which it must touch at least on the edge, and the consequent cramping of the motion and obliteration of the graduation. To remedy this inconvenience, divers expedients have been heretofore resorted to. The Germans and French make their verniers on an inner circle sunk down to the plane of the limb, so that both present only one surface to the microscope; the objection to this construction is the friction on the limb of the instrument. The English have used two circles turning over each other, and presenting one exterior surface inclined to the plane of the instrument. This is objectionable on the same ground as the other, namely, the friction. More recently, the verniers have been raised, touching the graduation only on its outer edge, and the limb, except where it is open opposite the scale of the vernier, covered by a case of light brass. This keeps off much dust, and diminishes the friction, but the limb is less easily cleansed from any dust which may reach it. The construction used by Mr. Hassler remedies successfully all these difficulties.

To three arms projecting from the axis are fixed three compound microscopes, having their optical axes over the middle of the graduation of the limb, and their object glasses at the proper adjustment for distinct vision and absence of parallax, elevated sufficiently above the limb to allow an adequate illumination. In the conjugate foci of these microscopes is fixed a rake, or notched lamina of steel, having a perforation for its zero, by which the large divisions of the graduation, seen on the limb, are divided in the focus of the microscope; and the seconds or fractions of the second division are measured by the turns of a micrometer screw, carrying a system of wires across the division of the rake. This contrivance is simple, necessarily accurate, and perfectly original. To make the description more intelligible, suppose a microscope, magnifying twenty times, applied to the limb of an instrument, graduated to five minutes. The space representing five minutes becomes enlarged to 1° 40′, and is easily divided into thirty parts each, equal to ten seconds, by divisions always constant in the focus of the

microscope, and across the last division a micrometer screw measures by its turns tenths of seconds. The contrivance appears to be perfect.

A still more original conception of Professor Hassler is exhibited in the *appareil* of the base. It would extend this paper beyond the proper limit to attempt a description of the different methods used to preserve standards, and to subject them to comparison. The first operation in the measurement of the base was to determine the ratio of the *unit* used, with the several lineal standards of Europe. This unit was made to consist of four iron bars, each of the length of a double metre, ground and rubbed on their ends in a plane perpendicular to their axes, so as to present, when joined together, a fine cut line to a microscope. The tool for cutting the bars is described on page 256. The bars had been accurately finished longitudinally in England, but were purposely left too long. They were now cut approximately to the proper length, and the ends accurately planished, after which, two butting pieces, cut from the same bar, also accurately planished, were applied to each end, so as to present a fine line to the microscope. In this way the bars and the standards brought from Europe, were successively submitted to the *comparateur* of Troughton, (described at page 255) and by trial ground down to the length of two standard metres of Paris. The detail of this process occupies from page 250 to 273, and is of much interest. The bars having their lengths thus verified are placed consecutively in a wooden box, having their ends in juxta position and their *allignement* accurately preserved. They are kept together by double steel clamps, and make therefore an unit of eight inches. The perfect contact of each with each, is determined by the line presented on each of the superficies of the bar, and is not disturbed during the manipulation necessary in measuring.

In all the former measurements of geodetic bases two, and sometimes three, units had been used; the contact between each pair being made mechanically or by touch. The objection to this is, that the very act of making the contingence, whether it be made on a point or surface, subjects the resting unit to a shock or pressure which may change its position. Aware of this objection in the measurement of the base of the *systéme métrique*, by Delambre and Méchain, a double system of measures, one of platinum and one of brass, were used, and the contacts read on verniers or graduated languelles at each

end of the bars, which answered the purpose also of a metallic thermometer. By this arrangement, however ingenious, the measurement was made tedious and the reductions complicated. Nor did it answer fully the object of its distinguished inventors, as will be seen by consulting *Base du Systéme Métrique, Tome* III, page 231.

Professor Hassler essayed to make the ends of his bars determinable by an optical line, and has succeeded. The description of the contrivance used for this purpose occupies from page 274 to 286. The ends of the last bars are hollowed out in the centre of their vertical section, so that a thin film or web can be drawn across their extremity, the middle of which is the end of the measure. Over these ends in the operation of measuring a base, are placed compound microscopes, fixed on strong stands. The microscope has a double object glass, one half of which makes in the focus an image of a wire or cross, cut on ivory below, and to which the optical axis of the microscope is adjusted; and the other half makes also in the focus, an image of the film on the bar. When the microscopes are fixed at both ends, the bars are removed, and the axis of the microscopes preserves in the air the extremities of the line measured. The description of the apparatus for *allignement* and for levelling is very detailed and will be readily comprehended. In the course of the last season a base has been measured in this manner, which, when reduced to the mean temperature, is 14,058.9912 metres, or 8.7397 miles in length. This base is on the sand beach of Fire Island, and as it is for its whole length nearly on the level of the sea, may be considered as an arc of the earth's surface.

The Coast Survey papers, published in 1825, contain many other interesting details relative to geodetic works, of sundry kinds, which it would exceed our limits to notice. Among others, the mode of observing with the large circular instruments, so as to compensate for the errors both of eccentricity, of level and of collimation, will be found very interesting. The second publication also contains detailed accounts of the progress of the work, and of its present organization. The main and secondary triangulation have already extended from the Connecticut River, or near it, to near the Delaware, covering a zone of the coast, of an average breadth in land, of twenty-five miles, including all the defensible portion of the sea-board.

We are happy therefore to consider that a work, so well calculated to promote our reputation abroad and our advantage at home, has at length begun to be properly appreciated, and that, with the patronage of its distinguished friends, it is certain now to proceed steadily onward to completion. What would have been the consequence of adopting for this national object a cheaper and less accurate mode of execution, instead of prosecuting it with all the aids which the science of the present day affords? Before even the details had been commenced, a comparison of the results with those derived from similar surveys in Europe would have made us ashamed, both of ourselves and our country. The preliminary survey, like the work of Roy, in England, and of the first engineers in France, would have been set aside, and the present mode resorted to as the only one worthy of the object.

It is not, however, for its direct utility to the commercial interest and the defence of the country, that we think the present work has the greatest claim to favorable consideration; but for the general impulse which will thus be communicated to every branch of science. Among the new sciences which have arisen during the last century, there is none which has conduced to so much practical improvement in the co-ordinate sciences as that of Geodæsia. Being entirely general in its subjects, and treating only of the measure and configuration of the planet on which we live, its actual operations, from the time of Cassini to the present, have tended more to the improvement of every species of instrument used in the exact sciences, than could have been effected by any patronage, however princely or munificent. The progress of astronomy had contributed to the perfecting of the Telescope, and the large murals of the English school had shewn what could be done in measuring simple angles on fixed arcs of a large radius. But the cultivation of Astronomy was necessarily limited to royal and academic foundations, which, after the impulse given by the founder had been expended, may be considered rather as conservative of the knowledge which has been acquired, than as judicious and persevering conquerors of any new domain. The effect of the introduction of practical Geodæsia upon optical and mathematical science of every kind, was such as is produced by a patronage at once bounteous, useful and intelligent. It brought the transcendental qualities of the higher analysis, and the delicate and almost inappreciable fabrications of the mathematical

artist, both of which had begun to be considered as the mere excrescences of a luxuriant philosophy, into every day use, improving in this way both the ingenuity of analysis and the skill of the scientific mechanic.

The principle of repetition in measuring angles, by which the errors of excentricity and of point are compensated or destroyed, had been commenced by Mayer as early as 1752. But it was not until after the commencement of the measures in France of the arc of the meridian; not till after the attempts had been made (finally with success) to measure, with *portable* instruments, angles, equal or approximating very nearly to the accuracy of the large and *fixed* instruments used in an observatory, that the repeating circles of the present day acquired delicate and accurate construction. The effect of the improved Geodæsia has indeed been to overthrow all the preconceived notions of accurate measurements; for, whereas, in the ordinary operation of surveying, it had been held orthodox to devote the strictest attention to the linear measures, determining as much as possible the angular elements from them; we now, on the contrary, from a single line accurately measured, and considered as constant, of which every other line in the survey becomes a function, determine every important point in a region of one hundred miles square, without an error greater than the diameter of one of the signals or objects used to observe upon. The practice of Geodæsia gave a new stimulus, which at that time was much wanted, to all the branches of art, which have been fostered by, and were auxiliary to astronomy. The Telescope and Microscope have subsequently been carried to their highest pitch of improvement, and their application to every angular instrument is now thoroughly understood. The invention of the Heliotrope; the improvements in Dividing Engines; in Horology; and even in Pyrotechny, from the necessity of using fire signals to be seen at great distances sea-ward, are all due, in great measure, to the spirit which has been infused into artists and men of science, since the commencement of the extensive geodetic surveys which have been pursued for the last half century in Europe and in Asia.

In addition to the adaptation of innumerable formulæ, to the invention of delicate and subtle mechanical contrivances, for the particular uses of Geodæsia, the two sciences of Descriptive Geometry and Topography may be considered as deriving their existence from it. The first mentioned science, as

known during the last century, under the name of Perspective, was crude and imperfect; indeed, there was no treatise, in which its elements had been intelligibly discussed. On beginning to fill up the details of the extensive geodetic operations in France, it was discovered that the old and arbitrary modes of delineation were not only uncertain but erroneous, and it became necessary to return to first principles; to create a new science, by which all the configurations of solids could be accurately projected; and by which, in its application to Topography, a map became a picture; presenting, at a single glance, either to the military or civil engineer, the plains, the elevations, the streams among which he was to operate; as well as the other accidents which had at first been more peculiarly the province of Topography, namely, the roads, towns, forts, woods, and farms. So perfect has this science of Topography now become that, on a scale of $\frac{1}{10000}$, the character of the crops of the cultivated part of a region are intelligibly designated.

It has been in this light, and for such purposes, that the governments of Europe, have encouraged, munificently, similar works. France has not only been covered with a net-work of triangles, but her parallel of Brest, has been carried eastward and connected with the Russian surveys, now in charge of Professor Tralles. The kingdom of Hanover had been triangulated about twenty years since by Gauss, it being during the progress of this survey, that this distinguished mathematician invented the Heliotrope. The triangulation of Switzerland had been commenced, and part of it (we believe the Canton of Berne) finished by Professor Hassler previous to his leaving that country, in consequence of the revolutionary troubles. It has, we believe, been continued by Professor Tralles. Professor Struve has now charge of the geodetic survey of Russia. The Eastern coast of Spain has been triangulated by Biot and Arago. — The trigonometrical survey of England, under the supervision of the board of ordnance, has been completed, and that of Ireland commenced. — By a joint commission of both the English and French academies, the meridians of Greenland and Paris have been connected. The English East India Company, with a laudable spirit, have, for the last twenty years, been carrying on similar operations over a large portion of their territories. The French have, during the last year, given to the public a geodetic survey of the Morea; and nearly the whole surface of Europe and Asia is

already covered with geodetic determinations, accurately and uniformly made. The distinguished atronomer Bessel has been some time employed in combining all these results, and deducing from them an accurate determination of the elements of the terrestrial spheroid: and has, in the course of the present year, communicated to his correspondent in this country the proximate results of the investigation.

Such being the state of Geodæsia in the old world, and such being its uses and effects upon science and the arts, it cannot be supposed that any consideration of false economy will again influence an administration in this country to look upon it otherwise than with favor. It is not by its immediate use, that we can most justly appreciate it, but by those more remote, though not less certain advantages, which have by similar means been produced elsewhere. It is to serve the country, by practising the young officers of the army and navy in operations requiring an intimate knowledge of the higher branches of the exact sciences; by contributing to the formation of a school of native artists, who may presently be able to furnish the requisite instruments of our own manufacture; and by bringing together into competition and acquaintance, the artists and scientific men of the country, thus forming a school of the highest and most useful talent in it. By such considerations it should be estimated both by the people and the government; for by such results it will be doubtless attended, should the patronage of the government be continued to it on a scale commensurate with the importance and dignity of the object.

ART. IV. — *Moore's Lectures on the Greek Language and Literature.*

Lectures on the Greek Language and Literature. By N. F. MOORE, LL. D. Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages in Columbia College. 12mo. New York. 1835.

PROFESSOR MOORE has long been known as an able and zealous teacher of the classics. From the academical lecture-room the reputation of his learning has noiselessly gone abroad, and he is now justly placed among the most distinguished American scholars. In 1834, he published an unpretending volume on the mineralogy of the Ancients, which is a model

of thorough research, clear arrangement, and elegant style. The student of antiquity will find in it all that has been said on the subject of which it treats.

Mr. Moore's next effort in the line of authorship was the volume of lectures, the title of which is placed at the head of this article. The subjects handled in these lectures may naturally be expected to excite a livelier curiosity in most readers, than the learned investigations in the work above alluded to. The principles which lie at the foundation of European literature, and the works in which those principles were first embodied, must be attractive topics of study and discussion, so long as the present civilization of Europe exists. The attempts of radical reformers in education to overthrow the system of classical learning, will have no important influence on the general estimation in which the classics are held. Do what they will, the first venerable teachers of wisdom and masters of song stand at the cradle of the intellectual culture of Europe. Do what they will, the ever busy mind of man will be curious to trace the course of human thought up to its fountain head; and if he finds there pure and sparkling waters, fresh from the living springs of Nature, he will slake the thirst of his spirit, in spite of the utilitarian enticements of the radical reformer, charm he never so wisely.

Mr. Moore's book contains six lectures, a part, as he tells us in his preface, of a short course delivered in Columbia college. In all of them he shews an intimate knowledge of his subject. His method is clear, his style simple and polished, rising sometimes into beauty and elegance. Occasionally it is rather stiff, and betrays a want of the easy flow of a practised writer. But it has the merit of being free from all the barbarisms and exaggerations, the new-fangled phraseology and hot-bed intensity, by which the writings of this age are disagreeably distinguished from those of every other. The book indicates a love of ancient learning, not springing from mere sentiment, not spoiled by affectation, a thing not wholly unknown in these times, but grown up from, and flourished by profound meditation, and interwoven with all the intellectual habits of the author. It is a love of genuine classical learning of the old sort, won by hard study, in the spirit of the precept so well expressed by the Roman poet,

> " Vos exemplaria Græca
> —— Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ."

But these lectures are too rapid and comprehensive to allow the introduction of much new matter, or any very deep criticism. Their merit consists in clearly grouping together the most striking facts, in the history of Greek literature, in the history and powers of the Greek language, and the character of that language in its present condition. We could have wished the Professor had gone more deeply into the spirit and tendency of ancient Greek Literature and art, and the influence they have exercised on the whole course of European thought. These are themes, which have indeed been often dealt with more or less profoundly, but are as yet very far from being exhausted. They open a field of inquiry of great and varied beauty, many parts of which are yet to be explored.

The first lecture contains a statement of the argument in defence of classical, particularly of Grecian learning. After some very just remarks on the mutual dependence of science and letters, the author proceeds to shew that classical studies are important, because the language of science is borrowed from Greece and Rome, and because a knowledge of the classical languages opens a way to rich sources of information in regard to the arts understood by the ancients. In the next place the Greeks were acute observers when they devoted themselves to Natural Science, and excelled in the collection and arrangement of facts. In these respects, Aristotle still ranks with the ablest philosophers in the world. A language, therefore, which contains such invaluable treasures as the writings of that great man on Natural History, can hardly receive too much attention even from men of science.

As literature deals more particularly with the taste and sensibilities of man, the effects of literary pursuits, being more strictly confined to the mind, are less obvious, and their claims less likely to be appreciated. But in proportion as the intellectual nature and moral sensibilities of man are more important than mere scientific attainments, in the same proportion those studies, connected with this nature and these sensibilities, ought to be held in higher estimation. Mr. Moore answers the objection to the study of the ancient languages, drawn from the great amount of time necessary to be spent in their acquisition, by shewing, that the study of language is particularly suited to the unfolding of the mental powers. From this part of the discussion we extract the following remarks.

"When the education of a youth is, according to the common

estimate, complete, how little, how very little does he know, in comparison with what may yet be learned! The whole amount of his knowledge is as nothing, in comparison with the extent to which he still continues ignorant. The chief value of his education, therefore, must consist in the cultivation it bestows upon his mind. The worth of youthful studies must be rated, less by the importance of the subjects on which they are employed, than by their adaptation to their great end; which is, to strengthen the intellectual powers; and train up the mind to activity and vigor, by sound discipline, and well ordered exercise. Hence the propriety of conducting through the same preparatory course of study those intended for different pursuits in life. And hence, too, may be derived a sufficient answer to an objection often urged; that the studies in question have no relation to the intended callings of many who pursue them. For, however paradoxical the assertion may appear, yet experience will approve it to be true, that a youth, who has pursued with diligence the study of the ancient languages, though he shall, upon going forth into the world, and engaging in the active duties of life, throw aside his books, never to open them again, is so far from having *wasted* the hours spent upon them, that he could not have employed the same portion of time with equal advantage in any other way. But if the mere study of a language be in this point of view important, the actual possession of it will appear no less so, when we consider, how much an acquaintance with *one*, facilitates the acquisition of a *second*, and a *third;* what essential aid a knowledge of the *ancient* affords to the student of *modern* tongues, as respects the utility of which there is no dispute; and that it is difficult, if indeed it be possible to know well even our own language, otherwise than through the medium of the Latin and Greek. But, not to dwell on these, and other like arguments; is it not enough, that Greek lays open to us, and renders accessible, the richest treasures of human wisdom; the fairest creations of the mind of man? Can we need a more persuasive motive to the study of a language than that it contains the most perfect models of poetry, of history, of eloquence? That it is the language in which Homer sang; in which Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon record events they were actors in, or describe scenes they saw? In which Demosthenes roused or allayed at will the passions of his hearers? Can we be indifferent, lastly, to that language, in which are contained the sacred scriptures of the New Testament, and the most ancient and venerable version of the Old?" pp. 17 — 19.

The following passage contains some observations, which strike us as particularly seasonable and just.

"That in a country like our own, where few men are without some calling or employment in life, from which they derive subsistence; and to engage in the active duties of which, they are hurried away from their youthful studies, with an impatience natural enough, perhaps, in a society circumstanced as ours is; that in such a country, the complaints elsewhere made, of the devotion to classical learning of so great a portion of the time of youth, have been renewed in even a louder tone, and have found more attentive listeners, ought not, perhaps, to excite surprise. These complaints, though founded in error, appeal to the prejudices of an age possessed with such a love of innovation, that it looks with an evil eye at systems of instruction established on the sure basis of long experience, *merely* because they are *ancient;* of an age so devoted to the pursuit of gain, that it regards with little favor what has not a tendency to promote some pecuniary end; as though there were nothing suited to advance the condition of society, or to grace and embellish life, except improvements in railways; the devising new applications of steam; the opening new channels of trade; or the discovery of some new process in the arts. These complaints, I say, have their foundation in error, for they suppose, that one employed in the study of classical literature is employed upon empty sounds; is acquiring nothing that can aid him in the serious pursuits of life. But this is far from being true. And if it were so, we might still with truth maintain, that the object of youthful studies is not so much to *furnish*, as to *form* the mind. Classical studies, however, while they, in the most effectual manner, attain this chief end of youthful discipline, do much besides. They not only *form* the faculties, but supply the *memory* with a rich stock of information. The student spends much time in learning words, no doubt; but he cannot learn the signs, without at the same time gaining some acquaintance with the things signified. Does he not learn the history, geography, and chronology of the ancient world; the civil, military and religious institutions; the private life, manners, and customs of the most interesting nations of the earth; as also, the wisest systems of philosophy and morals, that unassisted human reason has been able to invent? Does he not become acquainted with the most sublime and beautiful monuments of human wit and genius? And is it possible that all this should be unattended with most sensible advantage? What does experience teach us on this head? Let us use that of England; the country with which, next to our own, we are most familiar. Shakspeare alone excepted, (who, it has been well remarked, is an exception to all rules,) what great poet, historian, orator, statesman, lawyer, or divine, has she produced, who was not a classical scholar? Hear the testimony which Chatham, one of the great-

est of her statesmen and orators; one of those few who may be compared with the best of Greece or Rome; bears to the value of the studies we are called upon to defend. Writing to his young nephew, he expresses his joy to hear that he has begun Homer's Iliad, and has made great progress in Virgil, and his hope that he tastes and loves particularly authors, who are not only the two greatest poets, but who contain the finest lessons for his age to imbibe; lessons of honor, courage, disinterestedness, love of truth, command of temper, gentleness of behavior, humanity, and in one word, virtue in its true signification. He exhorts his nephew to drink deep of those divine springs; and assures him that the pleasure of the draught equals the prodigious advantage of it to the heart and morals. Milton teaches, both by precept and example, the great value of these studies, and prays God to recompense a father, whose 'exceeding great care had caused him to be diligently instructed in the tongues.' Locke states with his own entire approbation the opinion of La Bruyère, that languages are the proper study of our early years; that they are useful to men of all conditions, and open an entrance, to the most profound, as well as to the more entertaining parts of learning." pp. 19—23.

The concluding observations of this lecture are expressed with much elegance and force. But the remark that the finest productions of genius in the arts, strike with less admiration at first than afterwards, must be received with some qualification. There are some works, which, from their curiously elaborated structure and learned details, cannot be wholly understood at first. These must grow in our esteem, in proportion as they become familiar. A Paradise Lost, and a Mécanique Celeste, must await the verdict of patient meditation. But the Homeric rhapsodies doubtless gave as much delight when chanted to the assembled multitudes at the Panathenæa, as they now give the scholar "in the still air of delightful studies." A tragedy of Æschylus or Sophocles was as truly understood and as highly appreciated by the thirty thousand critics who thronged the theatre of Bacchus, as by the learned commentators, who pour out their ponderous opinions "in notes of many a winding bout," of the most unreadable Latinity. The Apollo Belvidere was doubtless welcomed with as deep an enthusiasm, when the glory of his form first burst from the marble, as that now felt or pretended by the multitudes who crowd to his presence in the Vatican.

After all, the main argument for classical studies, is neither

the necessity of knowing Greek and Latin, to a thorough knowledge of English, nor the adaptation of the study of language to the powers of childhood and youth. The strongest argument lies in two considerations; the excellence of the classical authors, taken independently of every thing else, and the fact of their antiquity. As works of taste and genius they stand, if not at the head, at least in the foremost ranks of literature. The authors which we have, are the choice authors, the picked men of all antiquity; and within their narrow circle we have the best representatives of every species of literary work. When letters awoke from the sleep of the dark ages, the classics became the teachers of taste and elegance to the reviving intellect of Europe. They were made the basis of a learned education, and intermingled with the delightful associations of the dewy morning of life. Much of the charm and splendor of Modern Literature is imparted to it by the veins of golden thought which run through every part of its structure, from the inexhaustible mines of Antiquity. The voice of British Eloquence was trained in the schools of Athens and Rome; and the stately song of Greece sustained the majestic march of Milton.

But there is much, as we have said, in the fact of their antiquity to claim our respect. One of the most foolish whims of this age is to deride a love of the old. Those who are absurd enough to do so, forget, or perhaps never knew, that there lies deep in the human heart, an inextinguishable reverence for the past. As time goes on, all the meannesses that encompass human life disappear, and the grand features in the characters of the Ages alone remain as objects of our contemplation. The venerable forms of antiquity stand before us in severe relief, and we bow down in a willing homage of the heart to their unutterable majesty. The love of the old is connected with the best and highest feelings of our nature. The past is sacred. It is set beyond the revolutions of nature and the shifting institutions of man. So much of beauty, of experience, of wisdom is secure from the touch of change. He who would destroy this treasury of the heart and mind, by rudely assailing our reverence for the old, would rob human life of half its charm and nearly all its refinement. Let no enthusiastic student then, permit his ardor to be chilled by the fear that his love has been wasted on an unreal thing; that he has been bewildered by an idle dream; and that he has lost so

much precious time, which ought to have been given to the stirring interests of the present; for he may rest assured that the study of antiquity has a noble power to elevate his mind above the low passions of the present, by fixing its contemplations on the great and immortal spirits of the past.

In the second lecture, Mr. Moore gives a general view of Greek Literature, from the earliest ages down to the period of its decline and fall. A subject of such immense variety and extent, can be handled within such narrow limits, only in the most summary manner. The prominent points may be touched upon, and an outline drawn, but the filling up and the coloring must be omitted. Such a view is useful to collect the facts and opinions, gathered from a long course of study, into some appearance of system and order. Mr. Moore succeeds uncommonly well in distributing the parts of his subject, and compresses into a small compass a great deal of information. He divides the subject matter of this lecture according to the following events or dates; — the capture of Troy; the Age of Homer; the Legislation of Solon; the Conclusion of the Persian War; the accession of Alexander to the throne of Macedon; the capture of Corinth and establishment of the Roman power and influence in Greece; and the Removal of the Seat of Empire to Byzantium. With these dates as points of division, he proceeds to consider Greek Literature by the epochs called the Fabulous, the Poetical, the Athenian, the Alexandrian, and the Byzantian ages.

Of the Fabulous age, we have only a few mighty names. Olen, Thamyris, Orpheus, and Musaeus gained a celebrity far back in antiquity, which has preserved their memories much longer than their works. Mr. Moore examines the so called remains of Orpheus, in this part of the discussion, and after stating the opinions of distinguished scholars on the question of their genuineness, seems, if we understand him, to incline towards a belief that they may, after all, be the productions of the poet, whose name they bear. From this view we entirely dissent, and hold, with the generality of critics, that they are impudent forgeries of a later age.

In sketching the history of the Poetic Age, our author passes over the poems of Homer for the present, and occupies himself with those of less note, stating what is known of Tyrtæus, Mimnermus, Archilochus, and the "Sententious Poets," and concluding with some excellent remarks on the union of Poetry and Music in that age.

We quote the following rapid view of Athenian Literature.

"We shall find a suitable occasion hereafter to consider this interesting portion of our subject; and must for the present content ourselves with a mere passing notice. It might at first view seem possible to examine this so brief period in at least the cursory, and superficial manner hitherto adopted; but, to be convinced of the contrary, we need only call to mind the names of those, who by the splendor of their genius now illumined the walks of history, the drama, philosophy, eloquence and art; shedding over the whole of this period such a blaze of intellectual light, that, not confined to Athens, nor that age, it has beamed through all succeeding times, and still fixes our admiring gaze. Into the causes of this phenomenon we will inquire hereafter; that it is one which may well excite our wonder, will be evident if we consider, that beside the many others whose works are wholly lost to us, there flourished during this brief period of one hundred and fifty years, such dramatists as Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes; the historians Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon; the father of medicine, Hippocrates, the Great, the Divine, as he was styled; in oratory, Lysias, Isocrates, Isæus, Æschines, Demosthenes; in philosophy, Plato and Aristotle, not to mention Socrates, the great teacher and master of them all; nor the many others, who, though distinguished for the arts of war or peace, do not now properly come under our consideration; as Themistocles, Aristides and Cimon; Pericles, Alcibiades and Phocion; Phidias, Myro and Praxiteles; Panænus, Apollodorus, Polygnotus, Parrhasius, Zeuxis and Apelles. By all these and many more besides, was this period illustrated, and they were all, with two or three exceptions, either native citizens of Athens, or dwelt and flourished there." pp. 49 — 50.

In some respects, the Alexandrian age is a particularly interesting epoch in the history of Greek Literature. There was unquestionably much talent, various learning, and even some fine poetry, at the splendid court of the Ptolemies. Theocritus carried pastoral poetry to its highest point of perfection. He described the manners of rural life with inimitable graphic power; and in one of his admirable dialogues gives a lively representation of the tittle-tattle of half a dozen women, at a public festival held by the queen of Egypt. But in general, there was a great lack of correct taste, and a still greater lack of original genius. The conceits of the Italian *Trecentisti* give but a faint idea of the puerilities, — the axes, altars, birds, and eggs, — that sprang up in full vigor, to the disgrace of letters,

during the Alexandrian Age. The old spirit of Greek life, the animating sentiment of liberty had departed, and the freshness of Grecian genius, its free and living flow, its bright, sparkling, ever-working soul, had departed with it. The dews of morning, the full rich light of noon-day, had passed by the shadows of evening had set in, and the fantastic forms of night had begun to come forth. Yet, though the sun of Grecian genius had gone down, a bright procession of stars, Apollonius, Theocritus, Moschus, Bion, Callimachus, and the "Tragic Pleiades," shone with a mild lustre in the sky.

The Roman age dates from the capture of Corinth, by Mummius, the Roman Consul. After this event, the arts and letters of Greece were spread by slow degrees over the Roman empire. Public libraries were formed in Rome and elsewhere, and a love of elegant literature, softened the harsh and warlike spirit of the masters of the world. The subjects most copiously treated by the Greek writers of this age, were those connected with history, and political philosophy; and the productions of these authors, though deficient in taste and purity of style, may safely be reckoned among the most important remains of antiquity. Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus — the geographers, Strabo and Pausanias — with many other writers of less note, have a high and indestructible value. We are inclined to think, if this portion of ancient literature were to be as carefully studied as the elegant authors of the best days of Athens, and the Latin writers in the time of Augustus, it would be found even more rich in the teachings of human experience, and the materials of political philosophy.

The following remarks on the Byzantine age conclude the second lecture.

"The last division of our subject, the *Byzantine* age, extends from A. D. 328 to 1453 of our era, a period of one thousand one hundred and twenty-five years. Though this long night of ages produced a multitude of authors whose works still remain, they are not such, as on the present occasion should engage our notice. The most important amongst them are the Byzantine writers Procopius, Agathias, Cedrenus, Zonaras, Anna Comnena, Cinnamus and others; whose works, contained in thirty-six folios, constituted the principal source from which Gibbon drew the materials for his history. These times possessed, too, poets, such as Quintus of Smyrna, and Nonnus; grammarians

and philologists, as Hesychius, Suidas, Gregory of Corinth, and Eustathius; ingenious romancers, some of whom, as Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, Longus, and Xenophon of Ephesus, are distinguished even for the beauty of their style. One of the greatest men, and perhaps the most voluminous writer of this period, was St. John Chrysostom, the Demosthenes of the Greek church, as he has been styled by some, though critics think he should be compared rather with the Roman orator. Of him, and other fathers of the church, who lived in this age, as of those also, who with the inspired writers of the New Testament, belong to the Roman age, and of the translation of the Seventy in the age preceding, I have declined all other mention, because of the extent and nature of the subjeet; which is not one to be dealt with in that hasty and superficial manner I of necessity adopt.

"It may perhaps excite surprise, that those who treat this subject should descend in their consideration of it to so low a period; and speak of Grecian literature as that of a living tongue, so late even as the middle of the fifteenth century. But it is notwithstanding true, that the subjects of the Byzantine throne were, even to this time, and in their lowest servitude and depression, possessed, as the historian of this period observes, of a golden key that could unlock the treasures of antiquity. Philelphus, giving a picture of the state of society in Constantinople, where he lived but thirty years before its fall, a picture somewhat highly colored we may suppose, by his Italian imagination, says, that those who had preserved their language free from the corruption of the vulgar tongue, spoke in ordinary discourse, even at that day, as the comic Aristophanes, the tragic Euripides, the orators, philosophers and historians of classic Greece; that all persons about the Imperial Court, and especially the noble matrons, had retained the dignity and elegance of the ancient tongue." pp. 67 — 69.

The history of the Greek language is one of the most interesting subjects of literary investigation. Men of the clearest judgment unite with enthusiastic scholars in declaring it to be unrivalled for richness, copiousness and strength. The old Ionic form, with its sounding combinations of vowels, gives a beautiful and liquid flow, while its happy descriptive and imitative epithets impart the liveliness of painting itself, to the stately hexameter. The Doric is sweet and simple in pastoral poetry, but rises to a severe grandeur in the lyrics of Pindar, and the choral songs of the Tragedians. The Attic is the language of dramatic dialogue, history, logic and philosophy; the language of the high-wrought, impassioned argument of Demosthenes, the smooth eloquence of Isocrates, the refined subtlety of Ly-

sias; the language of the wire-drawn reasonings of Socrates, and the stern truths of Thucydides. Now, whence came this curiously contrived instrument of human thought? What strange coincidence of happy influences wrought out of the simple elements of sound, its extraordinary variety of expressive powers? What finely organized people first gave utterance to its immortal harmonies? From what region, blest with Heaven's selectest influence, came they to the shores of Greece? These are questions which have exercised the wits of the acutest men, and the learning of the ablest scholars, but with no very satisfactory result.

Mr. Moore marks out three periods in the history of the language. The first comprehends the seven or eight centuries before the Trojan war. The second extends from this war to the reign of Alexander the great, and the third from Alexander to the present time.

During the first period, the Ionic and Doric Dialects received their highest cultivation; and became respectively the languages of Epic and Lyric poetry. In the second period, Ionic prose composition, and Attic prose and verse, were carried to their highest point of perfection. Within this period the drama, history, philosophy and eloquence poured their concentrated light on the city of Athens.

In the third period, the language began to decline in purity, with the decline of correct taste and simplicity of thought. The Alexandrian and Roman ages afforded, it is true, some specimens of chaste writing; but the downward progress of the language, was unceasing and increasing.

After some remarks on the obscurity that hangs over the origin of the Greek language, Professor Moore states an opinion, which like an hypothesis in natural science, reconciles all the known facts with each other. The language of the old Pelasgians was either the Sanscrit, or some dialect closely allied to the Sanscrit. The Greek is this Pelasgian dialect modified by time and the exigencies of society. The Pelasgians came from central Asia, spread over the North of Europe as well as Greece, and left traces of their language wherever they happened to settle. This hypothesis accounts for the affinities pointed out by Dr. Jamieson between the Greek and Gothic, and for the similarity discovered by Bopp, between the conjugations of the Sanscrit, and those of the Greek, Latin, Persic and German. Mr. Moore lays out of the question the notion

of Valckenaer, that the Greek was deliberately constructed on a system of philosophical principles, independently of all other languages; and he considers the hypothesis which derives the Greek wholly or chiefly from the Hebrew, altogether inadmissible, inasmuch as the two languages have no radical affinity with each other. He coincides with the opinion of Ihre, a learned Swede, that the Scythian or Gothic, the Greek and the Latin, have a common origin; that the Scythian or Gothic is the oldest of the three; that Greece was originally inhabited by Scythians, and that to them many Greek words are to be traced. This opinion is confirmed by the result of Sir William Jones's inquiries, namely, that the earliest Persians, the Indians, the Goths, Greeks and Romans, together with the old Egyptians or Ethiops, spoke originally one language; and that the Jews, Arabs and Abyssinians spoke another, a primitive dialect, wholly different. From which it follows, if this opinion be correct, that the Sanscrit, the old language of the Indians, and the Greek, were, at some remote period, the same.

The following historical facts are given by Mr. Moore, in further illustration of this subject.

"We learn from Thucydides and others that the first inhabitants of Greece led a wandering life, without any fixed abode; and from this their mode of life it is supposed their name, πελασγοί, (Pelasgians,) was derived. But this same people, who from their way of life were styled Pelasgians, were also called Ἴωνες, or Ἰάονες, Ionians or Javans; a name, the origin of which, those who bore it were themselves unable to ascertain. Some, with Herodotus, thought it derived from Ion, son of Xuthus; an opinion which Bochart and other learned writers have clearly shown to be unfounded. Others merely say it descended to them 'from their ancestor, or from a king who once reigned over them.' Thus, Greeks unacquainted with the sacred scriptures; but Josephus, when speaking of the settlements made by the several sons of Japheth, says, 'from Javan, Ionia and all the Greeks derive their origin;' and this Bochart declares to be the sentiment 'of the ancients and the moderns all.' The sure ground, upon which this generally received opinion rests is the Bible; which teaches us, far more correctly than the Greeks themselves could do, who this ancestor of the Ionians was. In the tenth chapter of the book of Genesis we find Javan mentioned among the sons of Japheth, by whom 'the isles of the Gentiles were divided in their lands, every one after his tongue, after their families in their nations;' and since in several passages of scripture, Greece is in the original called Javan; an appellation which some modern translations have

retained; the inference, considering the practice of the sacred writers, is unavoidable; that this country was originally settled by that son of Japheth from whom it derived its name."—pp. 83, 84.

Mr. Moore next discusses that remarkable phenomenon in the Greek language, the existence of several dialects, equally the instruments of literary composition, each appropriated to one particular kind. The modern languages, as he observes, are spoken in a similar variety of local dialects, but choice or accident has fixed upon some one, and made it exclusively the language of elegant literature. Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio spoke and wrote the Tuscan, and their works being the first productions of high poetic talent, in any form of the Italian, stamped the Tuscan forever, as the polite language of Italy. Calderon, Lopez de Vega and others, exercised the same influence in setting the Castilian over all the other dialects of Spain. The reformers of the sixteenth century made the dialect of Misnia, the literary language of Germany. In English, the dialect of Allan Ramsay's Gentle Shepherd, and of many of the sweetest songs of Burns, corresponds in no slight degree with the Grecian Doric. Mr. Moore assigns the existence of these several dialects, to three principal causes; first, the mutual rivalry of the different states; secondly, the dependence of the richer and more cultivated classes on the lower orders, which made them more ready to adopt their forms of speech; and, lastly, "the existence in their dialects, while they were as yet altogether, or chiefly oral, of the finest productions of poetic genius, caused to be retained afterwards in a written shape, distinctions that were inherent in the form and structure of the verse." We conclude this part of the subject with the following extract.

"We shall view this subject in its true light if we consider, that one and the same primitive tongue came to be spoken in different parts of Greece and her colonies, and by different tribes, with a great variety of modifications, which are commonly classed under one or other of four dialects; the Æolic, the Doric, the Ionic and the Attic; and these are again, with great propriety, reduced to two; the Doric and the Ionic, this two-fold division of the dialects of Greece corresponding with that of its inhabitants into those of Dorian, and those of Ionian race; by whom, respectively, these dialects were used. The Ionian colonists of Asia Minor were the first to soften the asperities of the ancient ruder tongue, and to give it consistency and polish. Their example was afterwards followed by Attica, their mother country. The Dorian colonists in Italy

and Sicily seem to have been the first to cultivate their dialect to any great extent. The Æolian, departing least of all from the primitive form, continued to retain most traces of the rudeness and harshness of the ancient tongue; yet this was the language in which Sappho, Erinne, and Corinna sang. Anacreon struck his lyre to the softer sounds of the Ionian; esteemed most musical of all the four.

"As out of one common language these four dialects by degrees arose; so each particular dialect in process of time underwent considerable change. It is obvious, however, that this must have been gradual; and that it cannot be easy to determine with accuracy the limits between old, and new; or old, middle, and new, for so they are distinguished. Every living language must be in a state of change; and though its motion be slow and imperceptible, yet, being constant, it produces in time very sensible effects.

"As each of these dialects changed, from time to time, its general character; so did it also, at any given time, vary from place to place. And these varieties were called local dialects. The Grecian writers, however, seldom used with all its local peculiarities, the language of the particular place or people to which they happened to belong; but adopted, in greater or in less degree, the dialect of which their vernacular tongue was a local subdivision. Thus Pindar did not write the language spoken at his native Thebes; nor Theocritus that used at Syracuse; but they adopted, though in different degrees, the general Doric dialect of the period at which, respectively, they lived and wrote.

"It is further to be observed, that writers living at the same time, in the same place, and making use of the same dialect, modified it variously, and adopted more or less of its peculiarities, according as the nature of the subject required them to descend to or rise above the familiar phraseology of ordinary life. The dialect, moreover, in which an author wrote was not always that of his country, or that he was accustomed to employ in speech; but his choice was regulated by the nature of his subject, the place at which he chanced to be, or the persons whom he wished to gratify. Thus the same writer, perhaps, would use the Ionic-poetic dialect, as that of Homer has been called, if he wrote heroic verse; the Doric, in a pastoral poem; and Attic, if he attempted tragedy. The dialect of Pindar was not that of his fair countrywomen Myrtis and Corinna. Simonides of Ceos, who on other occasions used Ionic, when at the court of Hiero, and writing for Doric patrons, adopts their dialect. Callimachus, too, when he writes at Argos, makes use of the dialect prevailing there; as in his hymn on the Bath of Minerva, and in that addressed to Ceres. Herodotus and Hippo-

crates, though both Dorians, adopt in their writings the Ionic dialect, because in that the earliest prose compositions were contained.

"The choral parts of Grecian tragedy adopt in some particulars the Doric dialect; a fact for which, as yet, no reason altogether satisfactory has been assigned. But there have been different conjectures; as that, these Doricisms are traces of the original rusticity of the chorus; that they add to the language a certain dignity; that, the most eminent lyric poets having used the Doric dialect, it had in consequence, become more appropriate to the lyric parts of tragedy. Since almost the only Doricisms are occasional substitutions of the letter α for the long vowels η and ω; and since the music of the choral parts was, as shall be shown hereafter, of a more impassioned character than that by which the dialogue was accompanied, and appears to have differed from it somewhat as the airs and choruses of the Italian serious opera do from the recitative; one motive for the adoption of the Doric dialect, in the limited extent just mentioned, may have been that the letter α was especially suited to the musical divisions of the chorus; as the same vowel sound has by modern musicians been preferred to any other, for that same purpose of running their divisions. An ancient Greek writer upon music, Aristides Quintilianus, observes, that of the doubtful vowels, α is best adapted to melody; being, because of the broadness of its sound, most easily prolonged; and that of the consonants, which, to avoid hiatus, must of necessity be united with the vowel sounds, the best is τ. We find him, therefore, pointing out as best suited to musical modulations the very syllable τα, which is still a favorite with musical composers.

"But to return from this digression. It was observed that a writer of heroic verse among the Greeks would adopt the dialect of Homer. It will be proper to extend somewhat our remarks upon this head. This dialect or language of Homer, which has been called Hellenic, was no one of the dialects we have been considering; but the common source of all. It was the language of the country and the age in which he lived; and, because of his great excellence, it continued to be that of poetry, especially of epic and heroic poetry, through all succeeding times. But though the language of Homer continued to be the language of that kind of poetry to which it had been consecrated by his use, it gradually ceased to be the tongue of any one people. Some terms and forms of words were retained in the dialect of one place or people; others in that of another. Some forms and modes of expression became obsolete, except in so far as they were retained in use by poets, in imitation of their great exemplar. These were called poetic licenses; and characterized the poetic dialect. Of the ancient Homeric language each dialect preserved some part, that

in the kindred dialects fell into disuse; and in after times grammarians spoke of such Homeric forms, as being according to this or that dialect in which they were so preserved. And when it has happened that a particular word survived only in some single tribe, or state, we hear of the Bœotian dialect, the Cyprian, Pamphylian, Sicilian, Chalcidian, Cretan, Tarentine, Lacedæmonian, Argive, Thessalian, and others. Hence we may discover the reason why

"Smyrna, Rhodos, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos, Athenæ"

could all lay claim to the honor of having given birth to Homer. He used a language which had once been common to them all; but afterwards the language spoken at Rhodes and Argos was called Doric; at Colophon and Chios the dialect used was Ionic; and at Salamis and Athens, Attic; distinctions in the tongue of these several cities that grew up amongst them after Homer's age.

"Viewing the matter in this light, we shall easily account for the difference of opinion between those who maintain that Homer was an Ionian; and call his dialect, Ionic-poetic; and those again, who think he was an Æolian, and that the basis of his language is Æolic. It will be evident that Homer, as respects his dialect, was neither Æolian nor Ionian; but used a language, which contained the germs of all those peculiar dialects that afterwards arose.

"Until after the conclusion of the Persian war, or during the first of the periods before mentioned, the dialects chiefly cultivated were the Ionic, the Æolic, and the Doric; and in the first of these dialects, towards the close of this period, Grecian prose was first written; either by Anaximander, or by Cadmus of Miletus, or by a disciple of the former, Pherecydes of Syros, who, though commonly regarded as the earliest prose writer among the Greeks, died less than forty years before the battle of Salamis.

"During the second of our periods, or from the Persian war until the death of Alexander, the genius of Athens shone forth with such brightness as to throw into shade the literature of every other part of Greece; and the drama, history, philosophy, and eloquence, having been all brought to perfection in the polished dialect of Athens, it has to them, consequently, ever since remained appropriate; and upon the wide diffusion of the Greek language through the extensive regions over which Alexander's successors reigned, the Attic dialect, in consequence of the superiority of Attic literature, became the basis of the general language of composition; though certain kinds of poetry still continued to retain the dialect that had ever been appropriated to them. Athens, it is true, lost together with her political independence her literary pre-eminence; but her language still maintained its

empire, even at the court of the Ptolemies; where Grecian arts and letters again revived, after their almost extinction during the wars that succeeded the dismemberment of the Macedonian empire." — pp. 87 — 94.

The remainder of this lecture is occupied with some particulars concerning the Romaic or Modern Greek; a dialect that, from its intimate relations with the ancient, and from its lately acquired importance, as being spoken by the people of an independent kingdom, bids fair to become one of the most interesting languages of Europe. The principal changes it has undergone from the ancient forms are the following. It has adopted the use of auxiliaries to nearly as great an extent as the languages of Latin parentage. The terminations of cases are fewer; prepositions are constructed with different cases, and in different senses, from the ancient; modern particles are parts of old Greek words, as δὲν from οὐδὲν, νὰ from ἵνα; ancient Greek words are changed by adding Turkish terminations; derivative or secondary, or accidental meanings of old words, are made the ground-meanings of the new. Mr. Moore gives several striking examples of this change. Besides this, a large body of words, borrowed from Italy and Turkey, have been incorporated into the Romaic, and many terms, expressive of ideas and combinations unknown to the ancients, have been added by the obvious necessity of the case. But yet, the language is radically and substantially the same as the ancient, to a surprising degree, when we consider the political changes which that unhappy people have been subjected to during so many centuries. It can be accounted for only by the fact, that a portion of the Grecian people guarded themselves with jealous care from the polluting contact of their barbarian oppressors, and preserved the fire of the Greek character unextinguished amidst the storms that swept with desolating fury over their devoted land.

The modern Greek is daily drawing nearer to the form and character of its venerable parent. Educated writers take great care to lop off the barbarous additions of the Turks, and are gradually bringing back the variety of ancient declension. They borrow largely from the Hellenic, not only words in their old meanings, but the elements to compound new words. This process will undoubtedly go on until the language has assumed a permanent form, and adapted itself to all the exigen-

cies of polished literature. The rhythmical beauty of the ancient is unquestionably lost. The united flexibility, complexity and simplicity, which gave it its unexampled harmony, can never be restored. Ancient versification can never lend its variety and majesty to the Romaic. We must be content to leave the union of accent and quantity, to which the Attic ear was so exquisitely sensible, among the lost secrets of antiquity. But the Romaic is equal to the French in logical clearness of construction, and almost to the Italian, in the music of its sound. If it has lost the charm of quantity, it has gained the attraction of rhyme. If it has lost something of the stateliness of antiquity, it has gained the simplicity and copiousness, which belong to modern times.

Mr. Moore is hardly correct in saying that the modern Greeks have no literature. The Greek language has been used by innumerable writers, both of prose and poetry, at every period of its history since the capture of Corinth. Within the last fifty years authors of no mean merit have sprung up in almost every department of letters ; logic, philosophy, theology, have not been unattempted by them. Dramatic and lyric poetry have been cultivated, the former with moderate, the latter with remarkable success. The Aspasia of Ritzos has been republished in America. The language of this work is polished and pure. The verse is modelled after the French Alexandrian, and like the French, it has even the modern ornament of rhyme. In imitation of the ancients, the author has introduced the chorus. In the conception and delineation of character, it must be confessed that Ritzos never rises above mediocrity ; that in essential dramatic talent, in creative poetic genius, he is utterly deficient ; and that the Aspasia with all its rhymes and choral songs is rather hard reading.

But there is a large class of poems, peculiarly modern, and essentially popular ; — the Klephtic songs. These have grown out of the singular condition of the mountain tribes, who maintained themselves in a wild independence, beyond the reach of Turkish despotism. They are mostly short, commemorating some striking event or wild exploit, and are full of picturesque beauty, breathing a fiery genius worthy of the best days of the Grecian lyre. Of late years they have excited a lively interest among men of letters in Europe.

The lively genius of the Greek has given birth to a great variety of other popular songs. The elegant Anacreontics of

Christopulus, will always be admired for graceful expression, lively imagery, and a delightful gaiety of sentiment. But besides the beautiful productions of their original genius, the modern Greeks have been busily employed in translating a large number of the best works in European literature. Dr. Coray has but lately ended a long and active life, devoted to the literature and the liberty of his country. No man has done so much to raise the standard of style, to free the language from barbarism, to spread the love of sound learning among his countrymen, as this admirable scholar. He edited in Paris a select library of the ancient classics, chosen according to their supposed applicability to the existing condition of the nation, and prefixed to them introductions in modern Greek, which are models of chaste composition and stirring eloquence. It is true that the modern Greeks have not yet had a Dante, a Shakspeare or a Milton; but they have done enough to show that they have a prodigious strength of national character; that they cherish an enthusiastic pride of country and ancestry; and that they have the genius to restore the long lost glories of their intellectual dominion. They read and study the works of their great ancestors, in the spirit and with the pride of fellow countrymen. Their education is founded on their ancient literature; and with what advantages for the full comprehension of its sublimest beauties! the soil beneath them, the hills around them, hallowed by the thronging associations of history, moistened by the blood of the defenders of freedom, and now redeemed from the pollution of barbarian footsteps. The institutions of modern civilization are rapidly forming. With a young prince on the throne of Greece brought up at a court distinguished for literary and classical taste, under the care of a father whose ruling passion is the study of ancient learning and art, and educated in an enthusiastic love of Grecian letters, by one of the most illustrious scholars of Germany; the Greeks may reasonably expect a system of government in genial union with the spirit of their nation, and anticipate a speedy revival of poetry and art, in something approaching their ancient splendor. The enlightened councils of Bavaria, supported by the unanimous approbation of Europe, can hardly fail of rapidly removing every obstacle to the complete regeneration of Greece.

The next two lectures contain a discussion of the "Analogy of the Greek language," or the principles of derivation, inflex-

ion, and classification according to termination, which prevail throughout its whole structure. In treating this subject, Mr. Moore avails himself of the works of three distinguished scholars; Valckenaer, Von Lennep, and Cattier. The theories of these profound philologists are stated in a very clear and succinct form. We must content ourselves with recommending these two valuable lectures to the particular attention of young students, without further comment.

The sixth and concluding lecture is wholly taken up with the subject of Greek pronunciation. The discussion contains, first, a brief statement of the Reuchlinian and Erasmian systems; then a more particular examination of the Reuchlinian system, and the arguments which lead the author to give it a decided preference. Connected with the foregoing, Mr. Moore handles the subject of Greek accents, treating of their history, import, and use. We acknowledge the ability, learning and candor which the Professor shows in the management of all these topics, but we are obliged to dissent wholly from his opinion of the superiority of the Erasmian over the Reuchlinian pronunciation. The question is attended with many difficulties, and perhaps can never be settled to the satisfaction of all. Without going into the endless field of argument and conjecture, we will attempt to illustrate our view of the merits of the question by a hypothetical example. Suppose the English nation were to be overrun in the course of ages by hordes of barbarous invaders. Suppose their literature to degenerate, and their language to become corrupt. A portion of the people, however, remain unsubdued, and the language continues, under certain modifications, to be written and spoken in the country; so that, in its worst state, it bears so strong a resemblance to the old form, that a good English scholar may learn it in a month. Who, in the case just imagined, would have the best right to settle the pronunciation of old English, the descendants of the ancient English people, or the French, Germans, and Italians? Which would be the best method of approximating to the pronunciation of antiquity, to take the fact of the existing pronunciation, as a basis, or to assume a probability, and by reasoning on abstract principles, infer what it was from what we imagine it ought to have been? What sort of work would a Frenchman make of English, or an Englishman make of French, were he to proceed in the spirit of such a preposterous method? Now the Greeks of this age are descended

from the Greeks of the age of Demosthenes. There never has been an interregnum in their language; there never has been a time when any other language has taken the place of their own. Corrupted as their language is, the substance of it is Greek. Bad as their pronunciation may be, ours must be worse. If they have departed from the pronunciation of their ancestors, Erasmus and his followers must have departed from it still more. The one has at least the authority of tradition, the other has little more than the authority of conjecture. We confess we are inclined to let the Greeks teach us how to pronounce the language of their country and ancestry. We find it hard not to sympathize with the ludicrous perplexity with which an accomplished Greek gentleman listens to the sounding hexameters of Homer, as they are read to him by an English or American scholar. We have before remarked that, in our opinion, the power of uniting accent and quantity, precisely as the ancients did, is now lost. But we have no doubt that if Demosthenes could rise up to day, and go to a council of state in Athens, he would comprehend with tolerable ease the drift of the arguments there used, provided King Otho's councillors should not take it upon them to discuss the affairs of Greece in High Dutch. But if the awful Shade were to enter a classroom in one of our universities, and hear a Freshman glibly construing his own magnificent oration on the crown, would he not stare with amazement, when told that the young gentleman was reciting the very eloquence he had himself, at the height of his powers and renown, "fulmined over Greece?" Would he be likely to cry out, with the jealous dramatist of Queen's Anne's age, "*that's my thunder?*"

The subject has been ably treated, as the literary world well know, by the Honorable John Pickering, in a paper printed in the transactions of the American Academy. The argument in that paper, has always seemed to us scarcely less than conclusive. But the whole matter is likely to undergo a fresh discussion, as soon as the present Greek nation shall have come into close political and literary relations with the rest of Europe.

The new interest, which the study of classical antiquity will acquire from connecting it with a living, commercial, and literary language, will lead, as we think, to a departure from the present conjectural method of pronunciation. The present language of Greece will have to be studied as an important

subsidiary aid to the full understanding of the ancient; and our scholars will find it hard, if not impossible, to pronounce the one like a living language, without extending that pronunciation to the other.

We look for much instruction from the native scholars of Greece. We doubt not the beauties of classic literature will be more learnedly and fully displayed than they have ever yet been. There must be in the scenery of the country, in the modes of thought, expressions, customs, traditions of the people, an immense amount of interesting and important illustration. And as to verbal criticism, and conjectural emendation of corrupted passages, who would not prefer the native tact and the sure feeling of a born Greek, to the learned guesses of the ablest commentator in any German University?

ART. V. — *Biographies of Wayne and Vane.*
The Library of American Biography. Conducted by JARED SPARKS. Vol. IV.

THE preceding volumes of this miscellany have been noticed in our journal. We learn with satisfaction, that it will be continued. The volumes, which have hitherto appeared, present an interesting and instructive variety of historical and biographical research. A work conducted on the plan of the library of American biography occupies an important middle ground, between a biographical dictionary and a history. It affords a convenient vehicle for information relative to distinguished individuals and memorable occurrences, which might run into too great length, for the opposite purposes either of a biographical dictionary or a general history. The experience of all ages has pronounced in favor of works of this description. Plutarch's parallel lives may be considered as their representative specimen, and perhaps for all classes of readers, Plutarch's lives is as great a favorite as any work ever composed, the bible excepted.

The present volume of the biographical library contains less variety than some of its predecessors, but it is equally valuable. A memoir of Anthony Wayne occupies the first portion of it, but the greater part of the volume is devoted to a life of

Sir Henry Vane. The life of Wayne is from the pen of General John Armstrong. It is a narrative of great interest. The grandfather of General Wayne, bearing also the name of Anthony Wayne, emigrated from England to Ireland in 1681, where he established himself as a farmer. He fought on the popular side, at the battle of the Boyne. Not satisfied with the government which he had contributed to establish, nor with the manners of the people among whom he had settled himself, he removed from Ireland to Pennsylvania in the year 1722, at the age of sixty-three years. He established his family in Chester county, where on the first of January 1745, his grandson and namesake, the general Anthony Wayne of the American army, was born. He was the only son of his father, Isaac Wayne, and was sent to school to his uncle Gilbert. Almost all that is known of his boyish days is contained in a letter from Gilbert the uncle, to Isaac the father, of the youthful chieftain, in which the former expresses himself in no very promising terms of his pupil. "I verily suspect," says he, "that parental affection blinds you; and that you have mistaken your son's capacity. What he may be the best qualified for, I know not; but one thing I am certain of, he will never make a scholar. He may make a soldier; he has already distracted the brains of two thirds of the boys, under my direction, by rehearsals of battles, sieges, &c. They exhibit more the appearance ef Indians and Harlequins than of students; this one, decorated with a cap of many colors; and others habited in coats as variegated as Joseph's of old; some laid up with broken heads and others with black eyes. During noon, in place of the usual games and amusements, he has the boys employed in throwing up redoubts, skirmishing, &c. I must be candid with you, brother Isaac; unless Anthony pays more attention to his books, I shall be under the painful necessity of dismissing him from the school."—

The writer of this sketch of the life of the future hero regards the foregoing letter as a hasty report, "and far from prophetic in its forebodings." But it really strikes us as an extraordinary instance of foresight as to future character. We read "mad Anthony" in every line; and if such a thing as phrenology had existed in Chester county, in the middle of the last century, and worthy Mr. Gilbert Wayne had been an adept in that noble science, we should suppose, that he must have found, on the cranium of the youthful hero, language mod-

erate, combativeness large, and made his report accordingly. The account of the uncle drew forth an earnest and affectionate remonstrance from the father. Anthony returned to school with the best resolutions; abandoned his redoubts and skirmishes, stuck to his books, and in the words of our author, "at the end of eighteen months, not only satisfied his teacher that he possessed a capacity for scholarship, but even drew from him a confession, that 'having acquired all, that his master could teach, he merited the means of higher and more general instruction.'" His father was not slow in acting on this more favorable estimate of his son's capacity, and the young Anthony was accordingly sent to the Philadelphia academy to complete his education. There he remained till his eighteenth year, when, having acquired a competent knowledge of the lower branches of the mathematics, he returned to his native county, and opened an office as a land surveyor.

After the peace of 1763, a land company was formed at Philadelphia, with a view to the settlement of a portion of the back country. Young Wayne, then in his twenty-first year, was selected, on the recommendation of Dr. Franklin, as the agent to visit the territory, inspect the soil in reference to its agricultural character and commercial facilities, and finally to *locate* the settlement. He acquitted himself in this trust so much to the satisfaction of his employers, as to be still farther entrusted by them, with the actual superintendence of the infant settlement; which, however, was broken up in 1767, by the increasing embarrassment of the relations of the Colonies with the mother country. In the course of this year, young Wayne married the daughter of Benjamin Penrose, an eminent merchant of Philadelphia, and, returning to Chester county, resumed his occupation as a surveyor, devoting himself, in the intervals of his employment in that capacity, to agriculture.

Wayne was prompt in foreseeing the issue of the controversy with England, which had now reached its height. The military passion of his youth revived. He gave himself wholly up to preparation for the impending crisis, and devoted his time to the instruction, in tactics and drill, of the voluntary associations of Chester county. Such was their aptitude and his diligence, that in the space of six weeks, he had organized a volunteer corps, "having more the appearance of a veteran than of a militia regiment."

These indications of military talent and a patriotic spirit at-

tracted the public notice. In January, 1776, Mr. Wayne was appointed to the command of one of the four regiments raised by Pennsylvania, in the continental service. He was ordered to join the northern army under Major General Sullivan. He commanded one of the three regiments, detached under General Thompson, for the unsuccessful expedition to Trois Riviéres on the 3d of July ; and on the capture of the commander in chief, General St. Clair, the next senior officer being disabled by a wound, the duty of conducting the retreat devolved on Wayne. Though wounded himself, he performed this duty successfully, and brought the greater part of the brigade back to the American camp at the mouth of the Sorel. On the forced retreat of General Sullivan from this post, the duty of covering the movement was assigned to Wayne with the Pennsylvania regiments, and so critical was it in point of time, that the boat latest in getting into motion was not beyond the reach of musket shot, when the head of the enemy's column entered the fort.

The army remained at Ticonderoga the rest of the year 1776; and on the march of General Gates, with a large portion of the men under his command, to reinforce General Washington, Col. Wayne was left in command, with two thousand five hundred men. This arrangement was sanctioned by Congress, who soon conferred on him a commission as Brigadier General. He remained in command of the fortress till the spring of 1777, when at his own request he was transferred to head-quarters. He joined the main army under General Washington on the 15th of May, and was immediately placed at the head of a brigade, "which," as Washington remarked on the occasion, "could not fail, under his direction to be soon greatly distinguished."

This prediction was shortly fulfilled. In the movements and manœuvres of the early part of the summer of 1777, directed by Washington to countervail the demonstrations of the British army, General Wayne bore a conspicuous part, and received the public commendation of the commander-in-chief, in his report to Congress. At the battle of Brandywine, General Wayne was posted at Chad's ford, and sustained a vigorous attack by the troops under Knyphausen. He maintained his position with great gallantry, till learning the defeat of the American force in his rear, he deemed it necessary to fall back on the main army. In the affair of the 20th, the conduct of

Wayne was impeached by a subordinate, to whose own failure to perform his duty the losses of the night were imputable; but the Court Martial, which Wayne demanded, acquitted him with honor. In the unfortunate battle of Germantown, General Wayne bore a prominent part, and his own conduct and that of his brigade were mentioned with applause by the commander-in-chief, in his official despatch. In the following winter, General Wayne rendered essential service, by the successful manner in which he conducted the foraging department; a branch of duty rendered as difficult as it was odious, by the necessity of resorting to force, in the entire exhaustion of the military chest. In the battle of Monmouth, the conduct of Wayne was marked by Washington, with particular expressions of approbation. The summer of 1779 was signalized by the capture of Stony-point, achieved by Wayne, at the head of a light brigade, organized at the commencement of the campaign. This affair is pronounced by General Armstrong the most brilliant of the war. It acquired to the fortunate commander a military reputation of the most enviable character. At the commencement of the attack, Wayne was struck by a musket-ball on the head and sunk to the ground. He immediately rose on one knee, and exclaimed, "march on, carry me into the fort; for, should the wound be mortal, I will die at the head of the column."

The author of this biography has taken renewed occasion of the narrative of the capture of Stony-point, to correct the alleged errors of the late Chief Justice of the United States. We confess ourselves not wholly gratified with the tone, in which these corrections are made. In the present case, as the statement of Marshall is substantially a repetition of that of Washington, in his despatch to Congress of the 20th of June 1779, the effect of the correction appears to be to impugn the accuracy of Washington, in a statement of facts necessarily within his own knowledge. In the body of that despatch Washington makes the statement explicitly, and repeats it in the postcript, that, owing to some misconception on the part of General Wayne, of the officers of the guard, or of Captain Fishbourn, the despatches of Wayne to Washington, containing the intelligence of the capture of Stony-point, were not forwarded to General M'Dougall. This failure is declared by Washington to have occasioned a loss of several hours, and is mentioned by him as one of the causes, why the projected attack on

Verplanck's point did not take place. General Armstrong, in citing the passage of Marshall on which he comments, does not cite it as it stands, either in the first or second edition ; and his statement accurately quoted, does not appear to us obnoxious to all the exceptions, which the biographer takes to it ; and where it is, it appears to us to be borne out by Washington's despatch already alluded to.

The next service rendered by Wayne, was the attack of Fort Lee on the 21st of July, 1780, and with this affair the active service of the campaign closed. In the following winter, and at the close of the festivities of the 1st of January, 1781, the memorable revolt broke out in the Pennsylvania line, threatening the most disastrous consequences. The address and temper of General Wayne were signally manifested, in bringing the troops to a sense of their duty, and arranging the terms of the accommodation.

In the summer of this year, General Wayne acted under the orders of Lafayette in the campaign in Virginia, which preceded the capitulation of Yorktown. In an affair on the 5th of July, when he unexpectedly found himself, with a small force, opposed to the whole British army, and about to be turned on both flanks, by a bold onset, as happily conceived as gallantly executed, he threw the enemy at once on the defensive, compelled him to call in his detachments, and then, by a rapid retreat, extricated himself from the imminent danger of losing his whole corps.

General Wayne had an active command in the army concentrated at Yorktown, and shared in the honor of the glorious event there consummated. In the month of December following, notwithstanding a wound received in the Virginia campaign, he was detached by General Greene, with a small force, to hold the enemy in check, and to establish the authority of the United States in Georgia. The manner in which he performed this duty, with a force greatly disproportioned to the seeming magnitude of the work to be performed, is truly admirable. The British were shut up within Savannah, the open country wrested from the tories, the auxiliary force of Choctaws and Creeks successively defeated, and all the objects of the campaign effected with singular success. General Wayne remained on this station till the close of the war, and finally granted a capitulation to the garrison of Savannah, honorable to his own clemency and advantageous to the country.

On the conclusion of the peace, he retired to his native county of Chester, with a reputation for bravery, enterprise, and conduct, not perhaps surpassed by that of any of his brother officers.

He was soon elected to the Council of Censors of Pennsylvania, and afterwards a member of the Convention, which was called to revise and amend the Constitution of the State. He performed the duties thus devolved upon him, with laborious assiduity; but for private reasons, withdrew from any further pursuit of public life. A large grant of land was made to him by the State of Georgia, in consideration of his great services there rendered, at the close of the war; but the unfortunate donation proved a source of serious and long continued embarrassment, which ended only with the sacrifice of the property.

After ten years' retirement, Gen. Wayne was again called to the field. Hostilities, as is well known, had never ceased on the western frontier. A cruel border war had been waged between the settlers and the Indians; and the expeditions of Harmar and St. Clair had successively terminated in disaster. In the year 1793, after a vain resort, for the last time, to negotiation, preparations were made by the general government for another appeal to arms. Wayne was placed in command of the force called into the field; but it was not till mid-summer 1794, that he was enabled to take up his march from Cincinnati. On the 8th of August, he reached the spot where the Indian and Canadian force was concentrated, at the junction of the Auglaize and the Miami of the Lake. On the 19th he attacked them in their entrenchments, from which, with a small loss on his own side, he drove the enemy with great slaughter. Pursuing his advantage, he penetrated the Indian country to Greenville, laying waste the territory of the enemy. Taught by their experience the impolicy of continuing the war, the savages were brought to reasonable terms of pacification, by a treaty of which the basis was settled on the 1st of January 1795, and which was definitively concluded in the course of the following summer. From this treaty, may be dated the efficient settlement of the territory North West of the Ohio.

The biography before us terminates with this event, and in the following terms: —

"Plaudits and thanks, public and private, now accumulated upon Wayne. The Congress, then in session, unanimously

adopted resolutions highly complimentary to the General and the whole army. The President of the United States conveyed to him expressions of the warmest approbation and the highest respect. His entry into Philadelphia was triumphal. All business in the city was suspended; he was met on his approach by its militia in mass, and conducted through the streets amidst the ringing of bells, the roaring of cannon, and the acclamations of a grateful people. Such was the spontaneous burst of public admiration; and such the high evidence of the universal sense entertained of the important services he had rendered. Nor, (if estimated by the number and character of the benefits they conferred on the nation,) will it be thought that these were overrated Besides putting an end to a war, brutal as bloody, and waged without the smallest respect for age or sex throughout our western frontier, they had the further effect of quieting Indian excitement in both the north and the south; of opening to a civilized population the fine region, which had been the theatre of the late hostilities; and of eventually adding to this a large territory equally inviting to settlement and culture. A further and most useful effect was to allay the feverish and factious feeling at home; which, availing itself of the unfortunate issue of Harmar's and St. Clair's campaigns, had gone far to shake the confidence of the people in the executive branch of the government; while, abroad, it hastened the execution of the pending negotiation with Great Britain, by which, the American posts, so long and pertinaciously held by that power, were at last given up.

"Appointed by the government sole commissioner for treating with the North-western Indians, and receiver of the military posts given up by the British government, General Wayne again returned to the West; and, after a prompt and faithful discharge of the duties attached to these new functions, while descending Lake Erie from Detroit, was attacked by the gout, which in a few days put an end to his life and his labors. His remains, temporarily buried on the shore of the Lake, were removed by his son in 1809 to the cemetery of St. David's Church, in Chester county, Pennsylvania; where a monument, raised to his memory by his comrades of the revolution, exhibits the following inscriptions.

"*North Front.* — Major-General Anthony Wayne was born at Waynesborough, in Chester County, State of Pennsylvania, A. D. 1745. After a Life of Honor and Usefulness, he died in December, 1796, at a military Post on the Shore of Lake Erie, Commander-in-chief of the Army of the United States. His military Achievements are Consecrated in the History of his Country, and in the Hearts of his Countrymen. His Remains are here deposited.

"*South Front.*— In Honor of the distinguished Military Services of Major-General Anthony Wayne, and as an affectionate Tribute of Respect to his Memory, this Stone was erected by his Companions in Arms, the Pennsylvania State Society of the Cincinnati, July 4th, A. D. 1809, Thirty-fourth Anniversary of the Independence of the United States; an Event which constitutes the most appropriate Eulogium of an American Soldier and Patriot."—pp. 78 — 81.

And now shift we the scene; from the cemetery of St. David's and the peaceful resting-place of a revolutionary officer, to Towerhill and the bloody scaffold of a murdered witness of the truth; from the glorious battle fields of the war of independence, from Brandywine and from Yorktown, where Wayne, in defence of American liberty is found at the head of his division in the army, in which the militant hopes of the awakened continent, the allied armies of France, and the brave adventurers of half Europe, are assembled, — to the cradle of New England, the little band of austere and high-souled patriots, founders of the republic, agitating the great questions, which disturbed their entire Commonwealth, at a period when its whole population might have been bestowed on one of the large islands in Boston harbor. The scenes are laid on the same continent. A span of time only has intervened. The mighty unities of time and of place are preserved in this stupendous drama, and the Action, in its great principles, is also one; but what mighty expansion of interests what a marvellous chain of events, what an unexampled a connection of feeble beginnings, with a consummation, to which even we who have witnessed it, strive in vain to do justice!

On the third of March 1635, a young nobleman, but lately arrived in Boston from old England, was admitted to the freedom of the colony. He has come, a youth of twenty-three years of age, to a region, where a purely scriptural respect for age is a leading trait of character, a fixed point of manners. Not closely associated with the founders of the colony before their emigration, he follows them across the ocean, after an interval of five years, and when the services, the hardships, and the experience of the first lustre would seem naturally to entitle the active leaders of the great undertaking to a preference, which no new comer, at the eleventh hour, could possibly expect to surmount. Nevertheless, a twelvemonth has scarcely passed away, before the Winthrops, the Dudleys the Endi-

cotts, the Haynes are set aside, and the youthful stranger, at the age of twenty-four, is chosen governor of the colony. It is plain from this fact, that he must be no common personage. The proverbial *notionalness* of the Boston folks did not surely go the length of thus taking up the last new comer, merely as such. When we look into the English books, we find his name buried almost, it is true, under the bloody ruins of the scaffold, where he shed his blood, and we discern something, amounting almost to a conspiracy against his fame, among the popular writers of his own and following times; but one or two bright witnesses reveal the truth and vindicate the choice of our ancestors. Milton's single sonnet is of itself a charter of immortal renown; and the testimony of Sir James Mackintosh, after the interval of a century and a half, stamps upon that charter the seal of time, of posterity, and of truth. The caprice of the little colony was the prompt perception of merit. The leaders of New England were not disparaged, but temporarily set aside, for one

> " young in years, but yet in counsel old,
> Than whom a better senator ne'er held
> The helm of Rome."

When the people called him, hardly a resident of the country, hardly a citizen of age, to the chief magistracy of the colony, they paid not a servile homage to an emigrating scion of nobility; but a just tribute to a mind of the highest order, — a bold spirit which had sought liberty, on the outer verge of the habitable world, at an age when, in most men, the deep ground swell of the stormy passions has not yet begun its heavings. With that sharpness of perception, which springs from extremities of fortune, strangeness of circumstances, and conscious purity of purpose, they saw at once the man, to whom Sir James Mackintosh has ascribed " one of the most profound minds, that ever existed, not inferior perhaps to Bacon;" and if not inferior to Bacon in the intellectual, how vastly above him in the moral properties of a man!

Mr. Upham, in the biography before us, has discharged the debt of long delayed justice to this extraordinary person; another brilliant instance of the " sera numinis *justitia*." The judgment of Sir James Mackintosh, pronounced in 1819, at a public meeting in London, and afterwards more emphatically reported by an American traveller from his memoranda of Sir James's conver-

sation, and given to the world, in the pages of this our journal, may be considered as the indication of a great re-discovery of a noble character, almost lost to fame. It is like the report of the scientific geologist, that, in the dark caverns of the earth, he has discovered a fossil fragment of some gigantic but perished animal. "His works," says Sir James, "which are theological, are extremely rare, and display astonishing powers. They are remarkable, as containing *the first direct assertion* OF THE LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE!" From this doctrine no doubt, Sir James argued to the profundity of his intellect and to the wonder of his powers. He had disinterred from one of the rare volumes of Vane's theological writings that glorious truth. It was but one bone of the buried behemoth, but the skilful eye of the philosopher could discover in it the whole form of the *megatherium*. Mr. Upham, with affectionate assiduity, with a research animated and guided by a congenial enthusiasm for liberty and for truth, has gone further and gathered up from their dispersion all the mangled and scattered members; has reproduced us not a single fragment but the entire and noble form; not the mere outline, the dry skeleton of a great character, but the perfect speaking man. He has restored to America and to England, to the cause of freedom and truth, the name of a glorious champion, whom his own succeeding times had almost left to perish.

We hail the happy omen. The time cannot be distant, when that whole chapter of English history, the age of the puritans, will be written with new perceptions of its connexion with the great cause of free government, of liberty of conscience, and political reform. Nothing can be narrower, less generous, less philosophical, than the tone, in which those lofty spirits have been alternately assailed and defended. The English of the present day, who owe it to the Puritans that they are not tossed, like a shuttlecock, from the pikes of an enraged populace to the bayonets of a military police, as their neighbors in France, hurry over the history of the commonwealth with a kind of compassionate or supercilious *non-chalance;* and even we, we, to our shame be it said, we, descendants of that noble stock; we, sprung from the best blood of that high-souled race, we are eternally tasking our wits to find apologies and excuses for our fathers. Apologies for the asserters of the liberty of conscience; excuses for the men that invented representative government; and broke the iron yoke of feudalism!

Exquisite degeneracy; dainty unworthiness of our origin! What, could Burke himself, loyal to the core, — with the streaming horrors of the French revolution before his eyes, and wrought by them to a political, and almost to a physical phrenzy, could even he say of the leaders of the great English rebellion, "whilst they attempted or affected changes in the commonwealth, they *sanctified* their ambition, by advancing the dignity of the people whose peace they troubled. They had long views. They aimed at the rule not at the destruction of their country. They were men of great civil and great military talents, and if the terror, the ornament of their age. The compliment made to one of the great bad men of the old stamp, (Cromwell,) by his kinsman, a favorite poet of that time, shews what it was he proposed, and what indeed to a great degree he accomplished, in the success of his ambition:

> "Still as *you* rise, the *State*, exalted too,
> Finds no distemper, while 'tis changed by *you*;
> Changed like the world's great scene, when without noise,
> The rising sun night's vulgar lights destroys."

These disturbers were not so much like men usurping power, as asserting their natural place in society. Their rising was to illuminate and beautify the world. Their conquest over their competitors was by outshining them. The hand, that, like a destroying angel, smote the country, communicated to it the force and energy under which it suffered!" Abstract from this splendid eulogium, the qualifications manifestly attached to the praise, to the end that the praise might be forgiven by himself and his age, and what a tribute remains! Cromwell and the men with whom and by whom he subverted the British monarchy, sanctifying their ambition by promoting the dignity of the state, men of great civil as well as great military talent, the ornament of their age; proposing as they rose to elevate their country with them, and to a great degree effecting what they proposed; not so much the usurpers of the places of other men, as asserters of their own; illuminating and beautifying the world, as the rising sun illuminates and adorns the heavens; outshining, not trampling down their competitors; and if they smote their country like a destroying angel, imparting to it at the same time, the force and energy of the destroyer, to smite down and blast its enemies! And shall this be said of Cromwell and his peers; — this by Burke; — this at

the height of the panic of the French Revolution; this in a discourse intended as a warning cry, a *vox clamantis*, to rouse England and Europe into a crusade against revolutionary France! And shall we, the citizens of a free republic, founded by the long suffering puritans, the inhabitants of a mighty continent, by their nerve and counsel added to the civilized world; shall we, who live in an age when even the heaven-defying horrors of that French revolution begin to be partly forgotten, in the brilliant development of power and talent which it occasioned; begin to be in some measure excused, for the ages of crying oppression which preceded it; begin to be in no small degree atoned for, by the civil regeneration of feudal Europe to which it gave the impulse; shall we, while the whole civilized world, struggling on triumphant, with joyous strides or convulsive starts, is shaping its institutions of civil polity more and more upon the principles first practically set forth and exemplified by our puritan fathers; — shall we, being what we are, and whence we are, and where we are, shall we basely qualify the homage due to these illustrious shades, the men who were faithful when Cromwell and his associates were faithless? Miserable prudery! Why do we not boldly and roundly, without strain or qualification, vindicate their fame, defend their characters, and assert that their very faults were the instruments, with which Providence vouchsafed to accomplish this great work? "They were dark and austere." They needed to be; the children of sunshine would have drooped and fainted under the terrors and gloom of the enterprise. "They persecuted those who differed from them." They had a right to do that, which is falsely called persecuting those who differed from them. The man, who possesses the power at home, and persecutes his brother who differs from him; the man who at home will not let his neighbor live in peace and die in his bed, because he differs from him, is a tyrant. But the victims of persecution, the men who have given up native land, and home, and forefather's graves to those who will not tolerate their difference, and crossed the awful deep, and found out a place of refuge in the horrid wilderness, where hardships and danger are their constant attendance, those men have a right to their own way, in their own desert. They have a right to be undisturbed by sights and sounds and doings and sayings, which shock their sense of religious decency. No wandering melancholic, or fanatic opinionist has a right to

invade their place of voluntary exile, and claim the toleration and protection of the banished society, for his own annoying peculiarity. The utmost he can demand is a right to do what they have done, quit them in peace, and seek a wilderness still more remote, where he, in his turn, may claim a right to worship God according to his own peculiarity. "But the puritans were cruel, and hung persons charged with witchcraft;" and what should we do? If we honestly believed, as they honestly believed, that the wretched victims of these delusions, were in personal league with the enemy of man; if we saw the incarnate principle of Evil where they saw it; if the state of philosophy, of public sentiment, of popular theology, was to us what it was to them, and we believed ourselves to be fighting a perilous battle, amidst the flashing fires of the opening pit; are we quite sure, that we should go into the ghastly contest, with soft and elegant phrases on our lips, and mild and placid affections in our bosoms? No, no. Let it suffice us to be ourselves tolerant and merciful. Let us be content with our own liberality; our own abhorrence of persecution, which in us would be our crime; but let us not judge great and honored names of other days, by a standard either of opinion or duty, which does not apply to their age, their circumstances, or their vocation. Do not let us quarrel with the noble and massy edifice, because it was the work of successive generations; because it did not rise like an exhalation from the soil; because they who laid the foundation did not carry up the head-stone. Let us not murmur at the oak, because it did not shoot up from the acorn like a mushroom, in a single night. Let us not impeach the wisdom of our forefathers for not bringing to perfection, in a day, the system of social institutions, which required for its perfection that it should not be the work of a day; which required precisely, more than every thing else, the operation of successive years, the seasoning of long time, the discipline of experience, the rectification of errors by their results, the preparation for one stage of advancement in the training of a former stage, the enthusiasm caught from prophetic glimpses of a gradually unfolding future.

But it is more than time, to revert to Mr. Upham's biography of Vane, and it is no exaggerated praise to pronounce it a production of the most distinguished excellence. The character of Vane, to which full justice had never before been done, is conceived in all its dignity, originality, and spirit. In turning

the pages, we pass through not a dry accumulation of dates and facts, but through the successive passages of a real life; the strong and significant manifestations of a decided character, skilfully drawn. We take for granted that almost every one, who peruses this volume, will admit that he has acquired much valuable knowledge, which he did not before possess, of a great and strangely undervalued benefactor of mankind. This result is produced, by the great diligence employed by Mr. Upham, in exploring and collecting the authorities, particularly as contained in the works of Vane himself; by the penetration, with which he has seized and harmonized the traits of the character portrayed; and above all by the strong sympathy, which animates the biographer with the lofty, varied, and tragic fortunes of his hero.

It is impossible to bring into an analysis the entire contents of the life of Vane, forming as it does the chief part of the volume before us. Our only object is to give a general conception of its character; and adequate specimens of the mode in which it is executed.

Emigrating to America at the age of twenty-four, and chosen to the chief magistracy of the colony of Massachusetts, the following year, the active life of Vane, of course, commenced here. The events of his brief administration are related with spirit and judgment. It was distracted by the Antinomian controversy, of which Mr. Upham has given a very clear and philosophical account. In this part of the subject, Mr. Upham introduces the following sound and ingenious remarks on the topic, on which we have ourselves just hazarded a few observations.

"It has often been remarked that our fathers were guilty of great inconsistency in persecuting the followers of Mrs. Hutchinson, the Quakers, and others, inasmuch as they settled the country in order to secure themselves from persecution. They are often reproached as having contended manfully for the rights of conscience when they were themselves sufferers, and as then turning against others and violating their rights of conscience, so soon as they had the power and the opportunity to do it. But the remark and the reproach are equally founded in error. It was for religious liberty *in a peculiar sense*, that our fathers contended, and they were faithful to the cause *as they understood it*. The true principle of religious liberty, in its wide and full comprehension, had never dawned upon their minds, and was never maintained by them.

"In their own country they were oppressed and in various ways afflicted in the exercise of their consciences, and in the expression and enjoyment of their own religious principles and way of worship. They saw no prospect of a remedy, because it was then universally supposed, that, in order to live in peace and liberty, Christians must agree in sentiment and speculation. Such an agreement was manifestly impossible in the old world. They were therefore led to conceive the plan of withdrawing from Christendom into a wilderness beyond the ocean, where, without disturbing others, they themselves might enjoy 'freedom to worship God.' It did not occur to their imaginations, that any, besides those who sympathized with them in views and feelings, would voluntarily join them in encountering the perils of the deep, and the sufferings of a new settlement, on a foreign and savage shore. It was their solemn and most sacred purpose to rear up their children in the faith they cherished; and they rejoiced in having, as they thought, devised a scheme of society, in which, far removed from all who differed from them, they might enjoy their own institutions and profess their own principles, without giving or suffering molestation, and free from all division or dissent.

"Such was the theory upon which New England was planted. It was, as the event has abundantly proved, visionary and impracticable. Without considering the difficulty of excluding persons of discordant opinions, coming from abroad, it was utterly in vain to attempt to bring any system of education to bear with such complete effect upon a whole people as to prevent difference of opinion among their descendants. It was however a beautiful vision, and, upon the whole, very creditable to those who indulged it. While we cannot lament that it failed of being realized, it is impossible not to sympathize with our fathers in the disappointment they so bitterly experienced, when, after all their sacrifices, and toils, and privations, and sufferings, and before they had got comfortably settled in their new abode, they discovered, to their amazement, that they had not escaped the differences and dissensions which they so much dreaded. It seemed hard, that, after having left Christendom, country, and home itself, and effected a lodgment in a far-off wilderness, where their only hope was a peaceful harmony of opinion, beyond the reach of oppression, and rescued from all temptation to oppress,—it was indeed hard to be pursued and tormented by those very disputes, which they had sacrificed their very all to avoid. It ought not to be wondered at, as a strange or inconsistent thing, that they used every effort to drive from their territory those who advocated discordant opinions, and that they employed every device to prevent their introduction. In so doing they did not violate, but on the contrary fully acted out the principles, upon which

they emigrated to America, and planted the colony. The law to which we have just referred was but an expression of those principles, and indicated the only probable policy by which they could be developed and preserved. It was regarded with disapprobation at the time, not because it was inconsistent with the principles of the commonwealth, but because it presented those principles in an aspect so naked and palpable, that their narrowness and deformity were more exposed to view than they had ever been before."—pp. 147 — 150.

On his return to England, Vane was drawn at once into the vortex of affairs. Notwithstanding his known attachment to the doctrines and discipline of the puritans, his alliance was sought by the court, and he received the honor of knighthood. On the 13th of April 1640, he took his seat in parliament, as the member from Kingston-on-Hull. That parliament, being dissolved, and another (the long parliament) convened, Sir Henry Vane was again returned a member of this body, which according to Warburton, comprehended "a set of the greatest geniuses for government, that the world ever saw embarked together in one common cause." Vane, young as he was, "from the first hour of its deliberations," to use the words of Mr. Upham, "was one of the foremost leaders, and was destined to secure by far the brightest, purest, and most enviable fame."

In the eighth chapter, is related the extraordinary history of Strafford's impeachment and fate, an event in the consummation of which Sir Henry Vane was called to a singular and painful participation. The passage, however, is too long to be quoted and would suffer by abridgment. The religious character of Vane forms the subject of the ninth chapter; and the opposite opinions, of which his theological views and writings have been the subject, form no uninstructive commentary on the contrariety of human judgment and the violence of party prejudice. On this subject, Mr. Upham observes:

"But his religious character, as it shone in his daily life, will be best illustrated by tracing the history of that life. I proceed therefore to the examination of his religious views and principles. And here, again, I shall adopt the plan of quoting what his enemies and calumniators have said respecting him, and then, after presenting the actual truth to the reader, leave him to form his own conclusions.

"Anthony Wood's view of his religious character has already been presented. Clarendon gives the following account. 'Vane was a man not to be described by any character of religion; in

which he had swallowed some of the fancies and extravagances of every sect or faction, and was become (which cannot be expressed by any other language than was peculiar to the time) *a man above ordinances*, unlimited or unrestrained by any rules or bounds prescribed to other men, by reason of his perfection. He was a perfect enthusiast, and, without doubt, did believe himself inspired; which so far corrupted his reason and understanding (which, in all matters without the verge of religion, was superior to that of most men,) that he did, at some time, believe he was the person deputed to reign over the saints upon earth for a thousand years.' Clarendon, in another place, expresses his wonder, that in Sir Henry's writings there was none of 'that clearness and ratiocination, in which, in discourse, he used much to excel the best of the company he kept.'

"Burnet thus describes him; 'For though he set up a form of religion in a way of his own, yet it consisted rather in a withdrawing from all other forms, than in any new or particular opinions or forms; from which he and his party were called Seekers, and seemed to wait for some new and clearer manifestations. In these meetings he preached and prayed often himself, but with so peculiar a darkness, that, though I have sometimes taken pains to see if I could find out his meaning in his works, yet I could never reach it. His friends told me, he leaned to Origen's notion of an universal salvation of all, both of devils and the damned, and to the doctrine of preëxistence.'

"Hume, after expressing an enthusiastic admiration of Vane's dying deportment, thus speaks of his religious writings. 'This man, so celebrated for his parliamentary talents, and for his capacity in business, has left some writings behind him. They treat, all of them, of religious subjects, and are absolutely unintelligible. No traces of eloquence or even of common sense appear in them.'

"Nothing is more curious than the entirely different views, which discerning and discriminating minds sometimes take of the same subject. In 'The North American Review' for October, 1832, the editor (Mr. Alexander H. Everett) relates a conversation held between Sir James Mackintosh and himself, at London, in 1817. On that occasion Sir James, speaking of the English Calvinists, says; 'Sir Henry Vane was one of the most profound minds that ever existed, not inferior, perhaps, to Bacon. His works, which are theological, are extremely rare, and display astonishing powers. They are remarkable as containing the first direct assertion of the liberty of conscience.'

"Thus we see, that the writings, which to the mind of Hume were 'absolutely unintelligible,' and exhibited 'no traces of eloquence or common sense,' in the estimation of Mackintosh dis-

played 'astonishing powers,' and entitled their author to the superlative praise of being 'one of the most profound minds that ever existed!' In such a case, we must each exercise an impartial and independent, discernment, and judge for ourselves what is right." — pp. 201 — 204.

In all the transactions of the great struggle between the parliament and the Crown, Vane was a leader. He was one of the commissioners, who were sent to engage the co-operation of the Scotch, and Lord Clarendon having mentioned this circumstance adds, "therefore the others need not be named, since he was all, in any business where others were joined with him;" and after relating the negotiation of the memorable instrument of the solemn league and covenant, he remarks of Sir Henry Vane, "there needs no more be said of his ability, than that he was chosen to cozen and deceive a whole nation, which excelled in craft and cunning, which he did with notable pregnancy and dexterity." But it was not in his diplomatic successes, that the glory of his character lies. The consistency of Vane might have shielded him from the sneers of Hume and of Clarendon. The moment the designs of Cromwell were unmasked, and the freedom of Parliament invaded, Vane retired, indignant and disgusted, to private life. He was guiltless of the blood of the king, and so well known was his disapprobation of his execution, that, on the organization of the Council of State after that event, which he was with great reluctance induced to join, the proposed oath of office, which contained a clause approving the king's trial, was altered in consequence of Vane's unwillingness to take it, in that form. The following passage from this portion of the history, will convey a just and satisfactory idea of his talent for business and the energy of his mind:

"He took his seat in the Council nine days after its instalment, and immediately entered, with his accustomed energy and ability, upon the duties of the office. He continued to be in the Council from 1649 to 1653. The powers exercised by that body were very great. They were entrusted with the entire command of the military force of England and Ireland, and were authorized to raise and control a navy, and to conduct the whole administration of the country in reference both to its offensive and defensive operations in war. Sir Henry Vane was for some time President of the Council, and, as Treasurer and Commissioner for the Navy, he had almost the exclusive direction of that branch of the public

service. The foreign relations were wholly under his management. He planned and conducted the war with the United Provinces, in which Blake gathered his laurels, and won for his country the proud title of mistress of the seas; and he imparted his own patriotic and generous spirit to his countrymen by exhibiting an example of disinterested devotion to the public cause. In order to lighten the burden of the war, and to encourage the people to carry it on with vigor, he voluntarily relinquished, as has been before observed, the profits of the immensely lucrative office he held, and appropriated them to the common treasury.

"It was in this period that the genius of England, 'both in the cabinet and on the waves,' shone forth with its most resplendent lustre. The fire of liberty seemed, for a time, to burn bright and clear in every heart, and its spirit to nerve every arm. The trident was shaken from the hand of Holland. The world resounded with the fame of the Commonwealth, and every place in the empire became subject to its power. Scilly, Jersey, Guernsey, the Isle of Man, Virginia, and Barbadoes, one after another, all submitted.

"But it was not without a desperate struggle that the Dutch surrendered their supremacy on the ocean. For more than three years the contest continued, and a series of naval engagements took place, which for the courage and resolution manifested on both sides, have never been surpassed. As the war advanced, the Dutch and English increased their naval armaments, and seemed to gather strength from exhaustion. In November, 1652, Van Tromp, after immense preparations, in which the power of Holland was strained to the utmost, took the sea with a fleet of more than seventy ships and falling in with Blake in the Downs, a most sanguinary and long protracted action took place. They fought as though they felt that the fate of both nations was suspended on the issue. Blake's fleet was much less numerous than that of Van Tromp. After maintaining the conflict from noon until night, the English admiral retired, with considerable loss, up the river, and the victorious Hollander rode master of the ocean, and paraded his fleet up and down the English channel with a broom fixed to his mast-head, thus vaunting that he had swept his enemy from the sea.

"The effect of this defeat was felt throughout England, as a deep misfortune. The national pride was wounded, and a general gloom and despondency pervaded the people. It was, of course, particularly disastrous to Sir Henry Vane, as he had promoted and conducted the war, which seemed to have been brought to so inglorious a close. It was supposed that the power of Britain was permanently broken down, and the period was commonly spoken of, at the time, 'as the present day of England's adversity by her wars with Holland.'

"But Vane was not disheartened. His energy rose with the difficulties of his position. The battle was fought on the 29th of November. He reported the estimates of the expenses of the navy immediately to the House. On the 4th of December it was resolved, that one hundred and twenty thousand pounds per month should be appropriated to the support of the armaments by land and sea, of which forty thousand were for the navy. The next point was, to raise the revenue to meet such an appropriation; and the genius of Vane was not for a moment at a loss to devise the means. On the 6th of December a bill was introduced and read a first and second time, to sell Windsor Park, Hampton Court, Hyde Park, the Royal Park at Greenwich, Enfield Castle, and Somerset House, the proceeds of the whole to be for the use of the navy; and, by the beginning of February, Blake put to sea with eighty ships of war, and soon fell in with Tromp, at the head of a squadron of equal size, convoying two hundred merchantmen. A battle commenced on the 18th of February, off the Isle of Portland, which, for the weight of the armaments engaged, the determined bravery of the combatants, the length of time during which it lasted, and the brilliancy of its results, far transcended every previous naval action on record, and, all things considered, may safely be said not to have been surpassed since. The battle raged incessantly for three days. The power of England at length prevailed. The Dutch lost seventeen or eighteen of their ships of war, and seventy of their merchantmen. From that moment to the present day, the supremacy of England, as a naval power, has never been, to any decisive extent, reduced or shaken.

"But the genius of Sir Henry Vane was not confined to the conduct of foreign wars, brilliant and wonderful as was its exercise in that department. At this period of his life his labors were so various, so complicated, and so constant, that they were regarded as almost incredible. From an early hour in the morning until late at night, he was every moment engaged in the actual transaction of business. In May, 1649, he had been placed at the head of a committee of which Ireton and Algernon Sydney were members, to consider the state of the Representation; and, after the death of the King, and when the Commonwealth had become established, he reported a bill for REFORM in Parliament, which continued for a long time to engage the attention of the House whenever they had the necessary leisure to deliberate upon so important a measure. Every Wednesday was set apart for the discussion of its details, and there was good reason to indulge the hope that the bill would finally pass. The plan of the reform was this. The House was to consist of four hundred members, the small boroughs were to be disfranchised, the elective privilege was to be

secured equally to persons of all religious persuasions, and the rights of the people were carefully guarded against corruption and oppression.

"It was while Sir Henry Vane was thus conducting operations, which were covering the name of England with glory, and securing to her the position of the first commercial nation and naval power in the world, and at the same time contriving and constructing a just, and equal, and free government for her people, that his career of usefulness and honor arrested the attention of the great POET OF LIBERTY. John Milton addressed to him the following just tribute of praise.

"'Vane, young in years, but in sage counsel old,
Than whom a better senator ne'er held
The helm of Rome, when gowns, not arms, repelled
The fierce Epirot and the African bold,
Whether to settle peace, or to unfold
The drift of hollow states hard to be spelled;
Then to advise how war may best upheld
Move by her two main nerves, iron and gold,
In all her equipage; besides to know
Both spiritual power and civil, what each means,
What severs each, thou hast learnt, which few have done;
The bounds of either sword to thee we owe;
Therefore on thy firm hand Religion leans
In peace, and reckons thee her eldest son.'"

pp. 231—236.

The scene of the final dissolution of the long parliament, and of Cromwell's frantic behavior on that occasion, is finely told by Mr. Upham. On the consummation of the despotic designs of Cromwell in this wild act, Vane once more sought the retirement of his patrimonial seat, Raby Castle, and solaced himself with the composition of his principal theological work, "The Retired Man's Meditations," a quarto volume of four hundred pages. He also published, "A Letter from a True and Lawful Member of Parliament to one of the Lords of his Highness's Council." About this period Cromwell issued a declaration, calling upon the people to observe a general fast, "for the purpose of applying themselves to the Lord, to discover the Achan who had so long obstructed the settlement of these distracted kingdoms." By this and other expressions, an invitation was seemingly given to all so disposed, to discuss the situation of affairs. Vane took the Protector at his word, and produced "The Healing Question," which Mr. Upham pronounces "one of the most remarkable political papers ever written." "It contains," continues Mr. Upham, "the great principles of civil

and religious liberty, in a complete exposition, and lays down the rules to be observed in constructing a civil government. It developes and illustrates, and perhaps it may with safety be said, for the first time, the idea of a written constitution; or body of fundamental law, by which the government itself is to be controled, restrained, and limited." The general strain of this pamphlet was, of course, entirely adverse to the usurpation of Cromwell, and the views and judgment of the high-minded and courageous author were expressed, at its close, with too much directness to be mistaken. For this publication, he was peremptorily summoned before the council. He acknowledged without scruple the authorship of the work, and was ordered to give bonds in five thousand pounds, "to do nothing to the prejudice of the present government and the peace of the Commonwealth, or to stand committed." He refused to give the proposed security, boldly denied the legality of the proceedings against him, and rebuked the Protector for deserting the cause of liberty. The consequence was his imprisonment in Carisbroke Castle, in the isle of Wight. His confinement was of short duration, but was followed by the more insidious and vexatious policy of subjecting his estate to ruinous litigation and vexatious suits, conjured up to strip him of his possessions. But none of these things moved him.

The death of Cromwell brought about a new crisis in affairs. A new parliament was summoned. Those interested in the continuance of the system established by the Protector desired to perpetuate it through the instrumentality of his son. Measures were in train to effect this object, and no part of Vane's eventful career reflects higher honor on his memory, than the part then taken by him.

"Those, whose desire it was to have the government continue under the Protectorate of Richard Cromwell, considered it an object of the greatest possible importance to prevent the election of Sir Henry Vane to the ensuing Parliament; and they resorted to the most extraordinary and extreme measures to keep him out. He offered himself at Kingston upon Hull, of which place he claimed, as of right, to be considered the lawful representative, having sat as such in the Long Parliament. His right was confirmed by the electors. He was re-chosen by a full majority of their votes; but the managers of the election, being creatures of Richard's party, in defiance of justice and public sentiment, gave the certificate of election to another. Sir Henry was determined

not to be defeated, by such means; he, therefore, proceeded to Bristol, entered the canvass, and received a majority of the votes. Here, also, the same bold and high-handed outrage was committed by the officers; and others whose names stood below his on the poll-books were declared to be elected. He still persevered and was finally returned from Whitchurch in Hampshire.

"On the opening of the Parliament it was proposed that their first proceeding should be to confirm the government of Richard, and to sanction the House of Peers which his father had created. The republican party opposed these propositions from the first, and, although they were in a minority, finally succeeded. Their measures were taken with the skill and spirit for which their leaders were so preëminently distinguished. The consultations of the party were generally held at Sir Henry Vane's house, near Charing Cross, and he managed the debates, on their behalf, in the House of Commons. In opposing the further continuance of Cromwell's House of Peers, he reminded the Commons of their former protestations against the bishops holding seats in the upper House, during the royal government, the ground then taken having been that bishops, receiving their appointments from the Crown, would naturally be nothing better than the instruments of the King; and he proved that the argument was good also against the whole House of Lords as such, they all having been raised to the peerage by the late Protector, and being inclined therefore to sustain the government of his son, with implicit and servile obedience.

"While the republicans were advancing these doctrines in the lower House, the members of the other House, and the principal military leaders, were endeavoring to resist their measures, and defeat their designs. And, in order to prevent the results, which might be apprehended in case the discussion continued much longer, a petition was drawn up by the leading officers of the army, and forwarded, through the hands of Fleetwood, his brother-in-law, and Desborough, his uncle, to Richard, requesting him to dissolve the Parliament, and intimating very plainly, that, if he did not do so without delay, the army would proceed to deprive him of his power, and assume to themselves the whole government of the country. Richard accordingly despatched the Keeper of the Seal, as he was bidden, to dissolve the Parliament; but, having gotten information of the design, the House determined not to be dissolved, ordered their doors to be closed, and the gentleman usher of the black rod was not permitted to enter. It was on this occasion, that Sir Henry Vane delivered a speech which produced an overwhelming effect upon the House and nation, and entirely demolished the power of the Protector. It has fortunately been preserved, and is now presented entire to the reader. When it is

remembered, that this speech was addressed to a House in which Sir Henry was in a minority, that it was spoken almost within the hearing of Richard Cromwell himself, when he was in possession of the whole power of the country, and at a moment when he was backed by the army, and acting in compliance with the will of its generals, we can in some degree appreciate the courage of the speaker, and the effect upon the House of his fearless eloquence.

"'Mr. Speaker,

"'Among all the people of the universe, I know none who have shown so much zeal for the liberty of their country, as the English, at this time, have done. They have, by the help of Divine Providence, overcome all obstacles, and have made themselves free. We have driven away the hereditary tyranny of the house of Stuart, at the expense of much blood and treasure, in hopes of enjoying hereditary liberty, after having shaken off the yoke of kingship; and there is not a man amongst us, who could have imagined that any person would be so bold as to dare attempt the ravishing from us that freedom, which has cost us so much blood and so much labor. But so it happens, I know not by what misfortune, we are fallen into the error of those, who poisoned the Emperor Titus, to make room for Domitian, who made away Augustus that they might have Tiberius, and changed Claudius for Nero.

"'I am sensible these examples are foreign from my subject, since the Romans, in those days, were buried in lewdness and luxury; whereas the people of England are now renowned, all over the world, for their great virtue and discipline; and yet suffer an idiot, without courage, without sense, nay, without ambition, to have dominion in a country of liberty.

"'One could bear a little with *Oliver* Cromwell, though, contrary to his oath of fidelity to the Parliament, contrary to his duty to the public, contrary to the respect he owed to that venerable body from whom he received his authority, he usurped the government. His merit was so extraordinary, that our judgment and passions might be blinded by it. He made his way to empire by the most illustrious actions. He held under his command an army that had made him a conqueror, and a people that had made him their general.

"'But as for *Richard* Cromwell, his son, who is he? What are his titles? We have seen that he has a sword by his side, but did he ever draw it? And, what is of more importance in this case, is he fit to get obedience from a mighty nation, who could never make a footman obey him? Yet, we must recognise this man as our king, under the style of Protector! — a man without birth, without courage, without conduct. For my part, I declare, Sir, it shall never be said that I made such a man my master.'"

"This impetuous torrent swept away every thing before it. Oratory, genius, and the spirit of liberty never achieved a more complete triumph. It was signal and decisive, instantaneous and irresistible. It broke at once and for ever, the power of Richard and his party, and the control of the country again passed into the hands of the republicans. Richard immediately abdicated the Protectorate, having at the same time issued a Proclamation dissolving the Parliament; and the general voice of the country was so clearly and strongly uttered, that the military factions bowed to its demand, and the famous Long Parliament which Oliver Cromwell had dispersed in 1653, was once more summoned to assemble, by a declaration from a council of officers dated on the 6th of May, 1659." — pp. 289 — 294.

On the downfall of Richard Cromwell, Sir Henry Vane was appointed one of the Council, to which supreme power was delegated. He was of course active, conscientious, and disinterested in his attempts to restore and constitute the State, but other events were in train. Monk's splendid treachery was consummated, and Charles the Second brought in.

Vane was one of the first victims. At first secluded in his dwelling-house, and for a short time removed to the Tower, he was afterward confined for two years, in a fortress, on one of the isles of Scilly. During his imprisonment he occupied his mind with the noble studies of theology and philosophy, and composed several elaborate works. The titles of these productions, with an account of the most considerable of them, are contained in the fifteenth chapter of the work before us. Mr. Upham deserves great credit, for the diligence, with which he has studied the writings of Vane. They are found collected in none of our public or private libraries; and it is only by great pains that they could have been procured from England, for the composition of the present work. A beautiful and pathetic letter to his wife will be found at the close of the chapter, but our limits do not allow us to cite it.

On the 7th of March, 1662, Sir Henry Vane was removed to the Tower of London, and the grand jury, having found a bill against him, he was arraigned on a charge of treason, the 2d of June following. His trial was conducted with that disregard of the principles of justice, and that contempt of all the bulwarks, which the law of England has thrown round the life of the accused citizen, which will render the reigns of Charles the Second and James the Second infamous, even after their other

titles to the execration of honest men, shall be forgotten. And yet, unprincipled as was the conduct of the court, it whitens into purity, compared with the meanness and treachery of the king, who broke the solemn stipulation, into which he had entered, on the passage of the indemnity bill, to spare the blood of Vane.

The closing scene of his life, his demeanor before the Court, and his last noble stand, when brought up to receive sentence; his intercourse with his friends and family in the Tower, his prayers, his valedictions, his address to the people on the scaffold, and his deportment in the last trying moment, form a narrative of the most pathetic and thrilling interest. It is scarcely surpassed by the death of Socrates. When his wife and children left him for the last time, he was heard to say, "There is still some flesh remaining yet; but I must cast it behind me, and press forward to my father."

The following account of his removal from the prison to the scaffold seems, says Mr. Upham, to have been written by an eye-witness.

"'One of the sheriff's men came and told him, there must be a sled; to which Sir Henry replied, "Any way, how they please, for I long to be at home, to be dissolved and to be with Christ, which is best of all." He went very cheerfully and readily down the stairs from his chamber, and seated himself on the sled; (friends and servants standing about him;) then he was forthwith drawn away towards the scaffold. As he went, some in the Tower, prisoners as well as others, spake to him, praying the Lord to go with him. And after he was out of the Tower, from the tops of houses and out of windows the people used such means and gestures as might best discover at a distance their respect and love towards him, crying aloud, "The Lord go with you, the great God of heaven and earth appear in you and for you;" whereof he took what notice he was capable of in those circumstances, in a cheerful manner accepting their respect, putting off his hat and bowing to them. Being asked several times, how he did, by some about him, he answered, "Never better in all my life." Another replied, "How should he do ill, that suffers for so glorious a cause?" To which a tall man in black said, "Many have suffered for a better cause;" "And many for a worse," said Sir Henry; "and when they come to seal their *better cause* (as you call it) with their blood, as I am now going to seal mine, may they not find themselves deceived; and as to this cause," continued he, "it hath given life in death, to all the owners of it, and sufferers for it."

"'Being passed within the rails on Tower Hill, there were many loud exclamations of the people, crying out, "The Lord Jesus go with your dear soul," &c. One told him, that was the most glorious seat he ever sate on; he answered, "It is so indeed," and he rejoiced exceedingly.

"'Being come to the scaffold, he cheerfully ascends, and being up, after the crowd on the scaffold was broken in two pieces, to make way for him, he showed himself to the people on the front of the scaffold, with that noble and Christian-like deportment, that he rather seemed a looker-on, than the person concerned in the execution. Insomuch that it was difficult to persuade many of the people that he was the prisoner. But when they knew that the gentleman in the black suit and cloak, with a scarlet silk waistcoat (the victorious color,) showing itself at the breast, was the prisoner, they admired that noble and great presence he appeared with. "How cheerful he is!" said some; "He doos not look like a dying man," said others; with many like speeches, as astonished with that strange appearance he shined forth in.

"'Then, (silence being commanded by the sheriff,) lifting up his hands and eyes towards heaven, and then resting his hands upon the rails, and taking a very serious, composed, and majestic view of the great multitude about him, he spake as followeth.

"Gentlemen, fellow countrymen, and Christians,

"'When Mr. Sheriff came to me this morning, and told me he had received a command from the king, that I should say nothing reflecting upon his Majesty or the Government, I answered that I should confine and order my speech, as near as I could, so as to be least offensive, saving my faithfulness to the trust reposed in me, which I must ever discharge with a good conscience unto death; for I ever valued a man, according to his faithfulness to the trust reposed in him, even on his Majesty's behalf, in the late controversy. And if you dare trust my discretion, Mr. Sheriff, I shall do nothing but which becomes a good Christian and an Englishman; and so I hope I shall be civilly dealt with.

"'When Mr. Sheriff's chaplain came to me last night about twelve of the clock, to bring me, as he called it, the fatal message of death, it pleased the Lord to bring that scripture to my mind, in the third of Zachary, to intimate to me, that he was now taking away my filthy garments, causing mine iniquities to pass from me, with intention to give me change of raiment, and that my mortal should put on immortality.

"'I suppose you may wonder when I shall tell you, that I am not brought hither according to any known law of the land. It is true, I have been before a court of justice, (and am now going to appear before a greater tribunal, where I am to give an account of all my actions.) Under their sentence I stand here at this

time. When I was before them, I could not have the liberty and privilege of an Englishman, the grounds, reasons, and causes of the actings I was charged with, duly considered. I therefore desired the judges, that they would set their seals to my bill of exceptions. I pressed hard for it again and again, as the right of myself and every freeborn Englishman, by the law of the land; but was finally denied it.'

"'At this point, Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, whose duty did not call him to the scaffold, and who attended the execution, undoubtedly for no other purpose than to prevent any dangerous impression being made by the prisoner, interrupted him, saying, in a most furious manner, which gave great dissatisfaction, even to the loyalists who were present, 'Sir, you must not go on thus, you must not rail at the judges; it is a lie, and I am here to testify that it is a lie."

"'Sir Henry replied, "God will judge between you and me in this matter. I speak but matter of fact, and cannot you bear that? 'Tis evident the judges have refused to sign my bill of exceptions." The trumpeters were then ordered to approach nearer to the prisoner and blow in his face to preven his being heard, at which Sir Henry lifting up his hand, and then laying it on his breast, said, "What mean you, gentlemen? Is this your usage of me? Did you use all the rest so? I had even done (as to that,) could you have been patient; but seeing you cannot hear it, I shall only say this, that, whereas the judges have refused to seal that with their hands, that they have done, I am come to seal that, with my blood, that I have done."

"'Sir Henry then proceeded briefly to relate the history of his life. After alluding to his birth and education, he referred, particularly, to his early youth, when "he was inclined to the vanities of this world," a course which was thought "the only means of accomplishing a gentleman." He then spoke of his conversion to a life of virtue and piety in the following beautiful and admirable manner.

"'When my conscience was thus awakened, I found my former course to be disloyalty to God, profaneness, and a way of sin and death, which I did with tears and bitterness bewail, as I had cause to do. Since that foundation of repentance laid in me, through grace I have been kept steadfast, desiring to walk in all good conscience towards God, and towards men, according to the best light and understanding God gave me. For this, I was willing to turn my back upon my estate, expose myself to hazards in foreign parts; yea, nothing seemed difficult to me, so I might preserve faith and a good conscience, which I prefer before all things; and do earnestly persuade all people, rather to suffer the highest contradictions from men, than disobey God by con-

tradicting the light of their own conscience. In this it is I stand with so much comfort and boldness before you all, this day, and upon this occasion; being assured that I shall at last sit down in glory with Christ, at his right hand.

"'I stand here this day, to resign up my spirit into the hands of that God that gave it me. Death is but a little word, but 'tis a great work to die. It is to be but once done, and after this cometh the judgment, even the judgment of the great God, which it concerns us all to prepare for. And by this act, I do receive a discharge, once for all, out of prison, even the prison of the mortal body also, which to a true Christian is a burdensome weight.

"'In all respects, wherein I have been concerned and engaged as to the public, my design hath been to accomplish good things for these nations.'

"Then, lifting up his eyes and spreading aloft his hands, he made this solemn declaration, 'I do here appeal to the God of heaven, and all this assembly, or any other persons, to show wherein I have defiled my hands with any man's blood or estate, or that I have sought myself in any public capacity or place I have been in.'

"As might have been expected, and as the government had most seriously apprehended, a great impression had by this time been made by the prisoner upon the vast multitude that surrounded him. The people remembered his career of inflexible virtue and patriotism. They had been roused to indignation by the treatment he had received at the hands of Cromwell, and of the restored monarch. His trial had revived the memory of his services and sufferings. The fame of his glorious defence had rung far and wide through the city and nation. The enthusiasm with which he had been welcomed by weeping and admiring thousands as he passed from prison to Tower Hill; the sight of that noble countenance; the serene, and calm, and almost divine composure of his deportment; his visible triumph over the fear of death and the malice of his enemies, all these influences, brought at once to bear upon their minds, and concentrated and heightened by the powers of an eloquence that was the wonder of his cotemporaries, had produced an effect, which, it was evident, could not, with safety to the government, be permitted to be wrought any higher.

"When Sir Henry, therefore, had commenced another sentence after the appeal quoted above, the trumpets were again sounded. The sheriff attempted to catch a paper from his hands. "Sir John Robinson, seeing some persons taking minutes of the speech, ordered their reports to be destroyed. Six note-books

were delivered up to the officers. In this scene of confusion, Sir Henry preserved his usual firmness, patience, and dignity of manner, merely remarking that it was hard he might not be suffered to speak; 'but,' said he, 'my usage from man is no harder than was my Lord and Master's; and all that will live his life, in these times, must expect hard dealing from the worldly spirit.' The trumpets were again blown, and Sir John Robinson, with two or three others, rushed upon the prisoner and endeavored to seize his papers. He, however, kept them off from his person, and after a while, tearing the papers himself, handed the remnants to one of his friends, from whom they were forcibly taken. The officers then attempted to thrust their hands into the prisoner's pockets, and a scene of disorder and brutal violence occurred upon the scaffold, which filled the multitude of all parties with horror and indignation. Such was the bearing of Sir Henry, however, that all were loud in the admiration of it; and in the midst of the tumult a zealous loyalist was heard to exclaim, in terms which to him were expressive of the highest possible commendation, 'He dies like a prince.'

"Finding that it was determined that he should not be heard, and unwilling to have the few moments of life broken in upon by such disagreeable incidents, he desisted from all further attempts to address the people, merely remarking, 'It is a bad cause, which cannot bear the words of a dying man.'" — pp. 357—366.

When order and silence had been restored, he commenced his more immediate preparation for death by offering a prayer of the most sublime elevation and truly evangelical spirit. This being finished, the great sacrifice was consummated.

"At the conclusion of the prayer, and when his garments had been adjusted to receive the stroke, he looked up, and said, 'I bless the Lord, who hath accounted me worthy to suffer for his name. Blessed be the Lord, that I have kept a conscience void of offence to this day. I bless the Lord, that I have not deserted the righteous cause, for which I suffer.'

"As he bowed his head to the block, he uttered these words, 'Father, glorify thy servant in the sight of man, that he may glorify thee in the discharge of his duty to thee and to his country.' In an instant, and at a single blow, the executioner discharged his office.

"Thus fell Sir Henry Vane. In his death the first age of English liberty reached its termination. It commenced, and it closed, in blood. Lord Strafford was the earliest victim of the incensed spirit of liberty as it entered upon the triumphant possession of the government; and Vane was the last great sacrifice offered

up to the vengeance of restored despotism. They perished on the same scaffold." — p. 370.

We must pass over the closing eloquent chapter of the work before us, and bring our remarks to a conclusion. Mr. Upham will receive the grateful acknowledgments of the friends of constitutional liberty for this Life of Vane. It is truly a fortunate incident, that his brief residence in this country should thus have given him a hold on the affections of the student of American history. It is doubtful whether his life could have been written, with equal enthusiasm and fondness, in England. His memory, it is true, has found eloquent vindicators there; but a portion of their zeal is required to roll off from his name the load of a mighty prejudice. Nor is it possible that in any country but this, full justice can be done to the truth and depth of Vane's conceptions; ideas are yet deemed chimerical in in England, which may be found plainly indicated, often fully set forth, in the writings of Vane, and which have been reduced to settled practice in America. Thus, on the subject of constituting a government; he states that it should be done by a FULL CONVENTION of the People. The boldest radical reformer has not, that we know, comprehended the simplicity, the justice, the efficacy of this conception, in which the whole science of free constitutional government is wrapped up. With all that is boldly, rationally, and patriotically said, in England, of a government existing by and for the people, it has escaped us, if in either house of parliament, by reformer or agitator, radical or whig, a glimpse has yet been caught of the only way, in which a free government can possibly be constituted, with any pretence to a solid basis in the consent of the governed, to wit, *the act of the people, in convention assembled;* an idea which, if conceived in England, is kept out of sight, as another name for the wildest form of political chaos, an unsettling of all the elements of society; but which our experience has so often and so amply shown to be the great *irenicon* of agitated states. To this mode of forming a constitution Vane alludes in terms.

His biography by Mr. Upham will make this extraordinary man better known. As there will be many readers, both in England and this country, who will wish to possess it in a separate form, we would suggest the expediency of a new edition, in which it should appear by itself. In that shape it will com-

pose a volume of rare interest, reflecting credit alike on its author, and the illustrious name which he has first effectually rescued from obloquy, misconception and forgetfulness.

ART. VI. — *Richard Lovell Edgeworth.*

Practical Education. By MARIA EDGEWORTH and RICHARD LOVELL EDGEWORTH. New York. 1835.

THE reprint in this country of this useful and popular work, affords us an opportunity to say something of Mr. Edgeworth, the father of the celebrated writer. This is the description by which he is generally known. This of itself is no small distinction, to have aided in forming a mind to which the world has been so much indebted; and not only so, but to have borne a part in those efforts by which her fame is established; for an age that ascribes to education almost unbounded power, must allow that the success of the scholar affords strong presumptive evidence in favor of the teacher and his system. If there were any doubt as to his agency in this respect, it is removed by the express testimony of his daughter, who is too sagacious to claim for him more than he could rightfully demand. She evidently considers herself under obligation to her father, not only for the formation of those intellectual habits which have led to her brilliant success, but for a large and efficient share in the compositions of her best works. She is a good, if not impartial witness; if there were no other proofs of his merits, this alone would to our minds be clear and convincing.

But however plain it may be that a teacher has a right to be honored for the ability and success of the scholar whom it has been the business of his life to form, such honor is not apt to be given, we mean by public applause, though private gratitude be ever so warm in its acknowledgment. It is always found that an illustrious name eclipses other distinguished names beside it; instead of shining in its brightness, they are exceedingly apt to be lost in its light. In ordinary associations there is no help for this unequal distribution of favor; and the secondary party must bear neglect as he may; but in a case like this before us, a father may be supposed, so far from lamenting this circumstance, to take as much pride and de

light in the reputation of his daughter, as if it were his own; in fact to regard it as his own. This Mr. Edgeworth appears to have done. Without any anxiety to establish his own claims, his whole ambition was to advance his daughter's success, by lending counsel and aid to make her works as perfect as possible. Such manly and self-denying affection was honorable to his name.

The result has been, that all the literary reputation has been carried away by the daughter, or rather given to the daughter; for she certainly has not been ambitious to claim more than is fairly her own. Mr. Edgeworth is little known in this country as a literary man; it is not even known that his tastes inclined decidedly in that direction; it is commonly thought that the aid which he furnished her was of the kind, which in intellectual matters, would be called mechanical; such for example, as supplying subjects and materials; suggesting improvements, and occasionally throwing in some of those sagacious and practical maxims in which her writings abound. Assistance of this kind, though very important to the intellectual laborer, is not estimated by the public, who concern themselves with what has been accomplished, and care little how, or by whose aid it was done. So that Mr. Edgeworth, though his name has been so often associated with his daughter's, as on the title-page of the work before us, has been little known as a literary man. He is generally considered as a man who possessed a remarkable inventive talent with which he amused his idle hours; constructing engines of various kinds, which were better calculated to exercise his ingenuity than to increase the comfort and convenience of life. There is of course nothing wrong in this playful employment of a mechanical genius, nor is this a disparaging view of an able man, living apart from society, and requiring amusement as a relief from various labors; still it is plain, upon examining his life and writings, that amusement was not his object; his desire was to be useful; and to this purpose he devoted talent, time and money, for which, like too many others, he received no other reward than the consciousness of doing good.

It is much to his honor that he did not, like too many who profess to make utility their object, profane and abridge the meaning of the word. One would suppose from the language of many on this subject, that man had nothing but a body to provide for; they account nothing useful but that which tends

to increase the comfort and supply the wants of the present existence; but to those who have hearts and souls, and who feel that the well-being of the moral and spiritual nature is a thing to be regarded, such a view of the subject and such language on the subject, seems untrue as it is unworthy. They think that there are things of the moral kind, quite as essential in domestic life as cooking-stoves; and that railroads, convenient as they are, are not the only things that deserve the name of public improvements. Every suggestion that throws light on the subject of education, and shows us how to bring the means and agencies of improvement to bear upon our children, every discussion that tends to make men aware of their rights and responsibilities, every philosophical investigation that teaches us the mystery of our own nature, and even all those efforts of taste and imagination which raise us above the bondage of the senses, are useful in the highest acceptation of the word, and he is a stranger to himself and his duty, who does not receive the word utility with all this breadth of meaning. Mr. Edgeworth saw the subject in this light; and after he had retired from social life, in which he bore an enviable part, to the seclusion of his own estate, he devoted much of his time, not only to what are called improvements, but to the cultivation of the minds of his children. Those of his daughter's productions in which he took most interest, were those in which education was the prominent object; probably it was the strong direction of his mind to the subject, which turned her attention to the intellectual paths in which she has travelled with so much fame.

Mr. Edgeworth had the opportunity of learning what good education is from his mother, whose early lessons he well remembered. She became, by some mismanagement in sickness, a cripple for life: and being suddenly thrown upon her own resources, devoted her time to the education of her children. By her calm and judicious firmness she acquired remarkable influence over them. Never following the usual course of parental discipline which varies between severity and indulgence, she took favorable moments to make impressions upon them, teaching them the necessity of putting restraints upon themselves. His temper was naturally fiery and ungovernable, but she taught him that unless his own good sense restrained it, it would be his ruin. Her suggestions and warnings were remembered; and his daughter bears witness to the fact, that in his

later years, though he had many things to try the goodness of his disposition, he never gave way to anger or any passion, but always kept himself under firm and resolute control.

She also taught him to take correct views of all subjects without being misled by feeling. The manner in which the character receives its bent is shown by some examples in his own history ; particularly by the case of a young man of fortune, who married an inferior woman, and filling up his house with her relations led a life of riot and sensuality. The natural consequences of self-indulgence came, and he was confined by sickness to his own apartment. Here he was regaled by crusts of bread, which were cast away as refuse by those who were feasting at his expense below. He was so wounded by this treatment that he sunk away and died. Mr. Edgeworth, in his childhood, having this case before him, became sceptical as to the gratitude of mankind. But before he could form permanent habits of jealousy and suspicion, his mother came to his aid, and showed him the subject in its proper light. This timely aid saved him from that distrust approaching to misanthropy, by which so many are unfitted for social life and its duties. He remarks in his sketch of his own life, that he is convinced, that more ingratitude arises from the unjudicious conduct of benefactors, than from the want of proper feeling in those whom they have obliged.

Mr. Edgeworth was able to remember the manner in which his mind was determined to engage in those experiments and inventions in which he afterwards delighted. His mother had received some strangers with hospitality, and in return for her kindness, the gentleman whom she had laid under obligation, brought her an electrical machine, hoping that it might restore the use of her limbs. It was tried with some beneficial results; but on one occasion, the shock was not given, and the operator was at a loss to account for it. Mr. Edgeworth, then very young, observed that the wire used as a conductor touched a hinge of the table, and asked if that might not be the reason of the failure. It was the cause, as he suspected ; and the operator was so much pleased with this instance of observation, in a child, that he paid him the utmost attention, and took pleasure in exhibiting to him his philosophical instruments, and teaching him their uses. This encouragement confirmed his taste for mechanical constructions ; and thus by an early association he acquired his decided interest in the business of inventions.

Examples of this kind show how tastes of any kind may be formed and encouraged, and how the mind may be set at work in any pursuit, by watching, and drawing out those marks of early intelligence on which the formation of characterso much depends.

His mother was particularly attentive to his moral education. We refer here not only to religious principle but to rules of action, such as the young need for the conduct of life, and which they are commonly left to learn by their own experience, which is the best way certainly, if its lessons are not too costly and do not come too late. Observing his peculiar tendencies, she took pains to show him the necessity of quick and decided action. She pointed out examples in which that easiness of temper which finds it hard to say *no*, leads to fatal indulgences, and at last to absolute ruin, while by exciting in others expectations that cannot be answered, it brings unusual anger and reproach on those who would, if it were in their power, do favors to all mankind. Good nature too often appears in the form of a fault; having no power to resist importunities, the easy tempered man is always at the mercy of others; he does not gratify them by his compliances, since what he does for one he does for all; meantime he feels all the misery of a dependent spirit, and goes through life like a drifting vessel entirely at the mercy of the waves and storms. Happy are they who have a parent who has judgment to discern and power to control the early elements of character, and who does not leave to accidental influences that which parental instruction is bound to do.

As Mr. Edgeworth passed from childhood to that age when he became more his own master, he felt the benefit of this early instruction. When he was fourteen, being at an entertainment at Pakenham Hall, Lord Longford put five guineas in his hands and desired him to try his fortune; he won with it in the course of the evening a hundred guineas. The next evening he lost it all, and his lordship offered to lend him more; but he steadily declined and did not again sit down at the table. He was then congratulated by his mother on his self-command, which would secure him from the vice of gambling. The nobleman was rather a perilous moralist, and the experiment might in many cases have led to most injurious results; in this instance however the effect was happy, and he never was tempted to engage in such amusements again.

He never seems to have been deficient in energetic decision. While he was at Oxford he was present in the courts when a prisoner was on trial for a felony, and observed that the foreman of the jury was completely inattentive to the testimony. While the judge was engaged, the foreman, having observed that Mr. Edgeworth was interested in the trial, asked him what verdict he ought to give. Mr. Edgeworth rose and requested permission to speak. The judge ordered him to sit down; he remained standing, and was threatened by the judge, but still he persevered. He at length obtained a hearing, and stated to the court the manner in which the juror was trifling with his obligations. For this he received the thanks of the court, expressed in terms of strong approbation of the course which he had pursued.

He was still young though a married man, when he lost this parent to whom he was indebted for such judicious instructions. He describes her as a woman of fine understanding, who had read much and thought more on the subject of education, and had applied the results of her thought and study to practice, not fettering herself by servile adherence to any system, but watching carefully the young minds under her control, and giving each the restraint or encouragement, the counsel and warning which it happened to need. She set to her children the example of unpretending piety, and generous benevolence; and enforced all her lessons by the commanding authority of a clear and cultivated mind, which inspires confidence even in children, though they know not why, by producing that consistency of feeling and action, which is always sure to be respected.

The taste for mechanical inventions, which seems to have been natural, or, what perhaps is the same thing, early inspired in Mr. Edgeworth, was never lost in the domestic and social cares and interests of later years. Before he had entered upon professional business, he employed himself in making under unfavorable circumstances, and with indifferent tools, a wooden orrery which required accurate calculation and ingenious contrivance. Though no one cared for his pursuits or sympathized with his success, he kept up his interest in the employment, devoting most of his time to scientific researches. He regretted that his wife had so little regard to his favorite indulgences; but she fortunately had domestic qualifications which were of more importance to his welfare, and by her prudence and good

management, he was able to live in this manner without a very ample income. When he went to London to keep term at the Temple, he became acquainted with some persons of note who are described at large in his memoirs. Among these was Sir Francis Delaval, one of those men of genius whose ability is admired perhaps more than it deserves, in consequence of the indifference with which it is regarded by its possessor.

Sir Francis Delaval was a man of similar taste in some respects with Mr. Edgeworth. We do not refer to moral tastes in which the baronet was not the best example; but he had never failing resources of invention, which were employed in various wild pranks which served to amuse an idle hour. He often aided his friends with suggestions which saved them from the consequences of foolish wagers, a kind of child's play, which was then as now very common among those who neglected the serious business of life. Mr. Edgeworth, though he had no sympathy with these follies, was interested in Sir Francis as a man of talent, and it was this association which led to the first construction of a telegraph, by which the name of a winning horse at Newmarket was to be transmitted to London some hours before the intelligence could be carried by express.

Mr. Edgeworth's claim to the invention of a telegraph, which was used on this occasion, has exposed him to much abuse, which, as in many other cases, loses its power to injure by reason of the malice with which it is given. He said that he had read the work of Wilkins, and had seen in Stooke's works some suggestion of such communication. Every one knows that such things were in use in ancient times. What he claimed was to have revived this invention; and this claim is evidently made in reference to the French experiments which were many years subsequent to his own. Now that Mr. Edgeworth did construct and use a telegraph in 1767, cannot well be denied; nor is there any question that the French invention was made public many years after; and these facts, so far as we can discover, go to the full extent of his claim. As to his originating the idea of a telegraph in modern times, he does not even pretend it; he expressly says that he took the suggestion from Wilkins and Stooke. It is not easy to state his claims in a more modest and inoffensive form. But a certain journal, notorious for its base and narrow prejudices, made

a venomous attack upon his veracity in reviewing his memoirs, and founded its charge upon this very invention. Mr. Perrot, Mr. Edgeworth said, was witness to his experiments, and assisted him; and he procured Mr. Perrot's letter, in which he testifies that he had conversations with Mr. Edgeworth on the subject, and recollected the experiments which were made. Now says this amiable journal, Mr. Edgeworth implies that Mr. Perrot gave *practical* assistance, and his letter proves that he did not. It is evident enough to all who can read that Mr. Edgeworth neither says nor implies any such thing. All the assistance implied is such as would be given by suggestions in conversation upon the subject in connexion with his own experiments. This same poor spirit of criticism can deprive Fulton and every other man of genius of the honor of his acknowledged inventions, since nothing is so new under the sun as never to have been suggested before.

When Sir Francis Delaval was dying, he expressed to Mr. Edgeworth his bitter regret that he had wasted the resources of his inventive genius in trifles, and strongly exhorted his young friend, if he wished to escape remorse in his closing scene, to make himself useful to mankind. Mr. Edgeworth does not seem to have needed this advice; it was always his ambition to turn his powers to this account. Beside the many inventions by which he increased the comfort of his household, and others which seem like playful suggestions of an active and original mind, he acted the part of a good citizen, and gave his country or rather offered his country the benefit of his services, and at a critical moment attempted to revive the plan of transmitting intelligence by means of his telegraphic signals. In 1794, the apprehension of a French invasion was general in Ireland, and rumors of the landing of hostile armies kept the country in constant agitation. Mr. Edgeworth asked of the government nothing more than the privilege of putting up a telegraph at his own expense, or in any way that the public authorities might approve. After establishing the practicability of his plan, he submitted a memorial to the government on the subject, which was approved and encouraged so far as to leave no doubt in his mind that his offer would be accepted, but after he had spent several hundred pounds, and given much of his time to the subject, he was informed that nothing would be done. Whether it was that the government had changed its mind, or that it never intended to engage in

the undertaking, does not appear. He himself always ascribed it to the fetters which statesmen and leaders of parties are compelled to wear. Men in power are apt to be men under authority; and while all are envying their high station of command, they are themselves compelled to submit to the dictation of some unseen masters. Shortly after the rejection of his telegraph, the French were on the coasts. Without taking exception at his former treatment, he renewed his offers; but they were accepted in form, and declined in reality, as before. It is much to his credit that this kind of experience never overcame his good nature, nor abated his zeal for the welfare and honor of his country.

As to the extent to which the government was pledged to him, there can be no doubt that it encouraged him to go on with his experiments, and it was not till he had incurred considerable expense that he was informed that the plan would not be adopted. If it were a case between two individuals, there can be no doubt as to the obligation of the party which thus encouraged the other; although there was no positive promise, there was an equitable claim created, which could not honorably be disregarded. Mr. Edgeworth published a letter to the Earl of Charlemont, containing a temperate statement of all the circumstances; the tone in which it is written is philosophical and high-minded.

At a much later period of his life, Mr. Edgeworth published a work on Roads and Wheel-carriages, describing the results of many intelligent experiments. These were of various kinds; among other things, he pointed out the benefit of springs in carriages to the animals that draw them. It was well known, that the person conveyed was benefited by the springs of the vehicle, but it was not suspected that the horses were also laid under obligations; in fact, the contrary was taken for granted. By these and many other suggestions, of great value, but not ostentatiously proclaimed, he lent efficient aid in preparing the way for the great improvements of modern times. He even struck out the idea of a railway, and applied it on his own estate, to the transportation of materials from one part of it to another. In reclaiming the bogs of Ireland, he proposed to employ wooden railways shod with iron; these were supported on piles driven into the bog; not permanently attached to them, but so constructed that the rail and its support could be removed at pleasure, to any line in which it was necessary for the cars to go. After having

tested the value of this invention, by using it to convey limestone over his farm, he undertook to apply it on a great scale to public works, and entered upon an engagement with the proprietors of extensive iron-works, to carry all their materials and productions upon railways of this description. Finding however, that the company was not prosperous, he never carried the plan into effect; but his successful experiments on his own estate, showed that the conveyance could be employed to advantage; and as to the honor of the invention, what great public improvement was ever carried to perfection or applied to all its purposes by a single hand?

But we pass from subjects of this kind to consider what Mr. Edgeworth did in the great cause of education, which now inspires so general an interest, that we can hardly conceive how little it was regarded thirty years ago. He always had the highest views of its importance. At some times, he seemed inclined to ascribe to it all the moral and intellectual varieties which are found in the civilized world; but he appeared at last to settle down in the conviction, that while there were certain original differences in minds, by far the greatest differences are those which arise from education. Regarding the subject in this light, he felt how great was the obligation which rested on parents, on teachers, and on statesmen also, who can do more to influence the destinies of their respective nations by giving or withholding encouragement to instruction, than by any other means or measures in their power.

Mr. Edgeworth undertook to educate his eldest son, according to the system of Rousseau, which was then new to the world, and from the novelty of the subject and the method of treating it, made a great impression upon enlightened minds. It was not then known that the fervent pleader of the claims of childhood on parental care, was in the habit of sending his own children to be educated in the Foundling Hospital, where he might never hear of them again. It is curious to observe the enthusiasm with which Day, the author of Sandford and Merton, speaks of Rousseau, as the greatest and best of men. Mr. Edgeworth was not a slave to the system, and he was soon convinced by the results of his experiment that the system was unsound. So far as physical education went, there was nothing to desire; the boy was active, hardy and strong; but the spirit of independence which had been systematically encouraged in him, outgrew all control. Having no taste for

study, and being somewhat unsettled in his disposition, he went to sea, and afterwards came to South Carolina, where he died in 1776. It is not easy to tell how far the system or the manner of applying it produces such results. Let the course be shaped as direct as possible, there will always be sidewinds and under-currents against which no human wisdom can guard. Mr. Edgeworth was still more painfully disappointed in a daughter by his second wife. She was always an object of inspiring hope; her personal beauty and intellectual accomplishments attracted the admiration of all. Upon her he tried his favorite theory, which maintained that by cultivating the habit of attention, a new direction could be given to the youthful mind. She was deliberate and exact. He wished to awaken an interest in literature, particularly such as excites the imagination. By reading to her, according to his practice in his family, passages from poems and works of fancy, and pointing out their beauties, he effected the desired change, and gave her a decided literary taste. But while she promised to reward his affectionate care, she became the victim of hereditary consumption, and died at the age of fifteen.

It is quite possible to write and reason well on the subject of education without much practical ability; neither is success in a few cases always to be regarded as a test of the merit of the system. But Mr. Edgeworth was in general, very happy in his laborious attempts to educate his children, and in one instance he has given the world ample assurance of his power. In the works of his celebrated daughter, there is a union of talents which do not often exist together, of clear sagacity with brilliant invention; the imagination was evidently the gift of nature, while the just discernment was the result of education. This was according to his theory, which maintained that the resources should be carefully drawn out by attentive care, so as to balance one against another; to remove that which is excessive, and supply that which is wanting. So important did this process appear, that he recommended to parents to keep a private journal in which the peculiarities of the child's character, as they manifested themselves, should be noted down. In short, his opinion was, that parents should make it a serious object to educate their children, and always keep it before them, as an indispensable and sacred duty; not leaving young minds and hearts at the mercy of chance and time; but doing the work which Providence assigns them when it places the children under their care.

The work which is now republished on the subject of Practical Education, has been more than thirty years before the public, and many of our readers are well acquainted with it; still we have thought the appearance of a new edition an occasion not unsuitable for giving to the author the credit which he deserves. We say the author, for, although it was published in connexion with his daughter, she describes the principles and suggestions as his, and herself as bearing a part only in the execution. The suggestions must have proceeded from one who had thought much on the subject, and corrected his theories by patient and attentive observation. It is full of illustrations, which show that no partiality for systems interfered with his penetrating discernment of truth. In fact, in the latter part of his life he became an observer by profession, devoting much of his time to his family, and steadily following the advice given by his penitent companion, formerly alluded to, to be useful to the very last.

In the works published in conjunction with his daughter, the public, knowing her ability better than his, may have assigned her more than her share of credit; but in 1808 he published a work on Professional Education, which was entirely his own. It is not very generally known in this country; but those who have read it, will agree in pronouncing it one of the best, as well as most interesting works upon the subject. The prevailing idea on which his system is founded, that natural differences can be greatly modified by devoting the attention for the purpose, seems to us judicious and true. But even those who care nothing for the subject, will find entertainment and instruction in the intellectual character of the work, which abounds with sagacious remark and shrewd observation, such as implies extensive knowledge of the mind and heart.

We have made these few remarks upon the literary character and services of Mr. Edgeworth, because justice has not yet been done to his memory, in this country; those who feel the warmest interest in the works and reputation of the daughter, have, unintentionally "done her sire some wrong." But those who read his writings, will see that he was an intellectual man of high order, and though in the early part of his life, he made rather a sportive use of his great mechanical genius, afterwards, in maturer years, he discharged the duties of a father, a friend, and a patriot, with such exemplary fidelity, that his greatest enemies allowed him the praise of a useful man; which, properly

understood, is the highest praise that ambition can covet, or the world bestow. And those who read, (as who does not?) the works of his daughter, will remember, that he was the diligent former of her mind, both in youth and maturity, so that we are in part indebted to him for the admirable works with which she has favored the world.

Art. VII. — *The Linwoods.*

The Linwoods; or Sixty Years since in America. By the Author of Hope Leslie, &c. 2 vols. 12mo. New York. 1835.

We think this work the most agreeable that Miss Sedgwick has yet published. It is written throughout with the same good taste and quiet unpretending power, which characterize all her productions, and is superior to most of them in the variety of the characters brought into action and the interest of the fable. It also possesses the great additional attraction, that it carries us back to the period of the revolutionary war, the heroic age of our country, which, although only sixty years distant, begins already to wear in the eyes of the degenerate money-making men of the present times, a poetical, we had almost said fabulous aspect, and consequently offers the finest scenes and materials for romance.

The fair and unaffectedly modest author disclaims in the preface any competition which might seem to be suggested by the title with the "sixty years since" of the great Scottish enchanter; but it is nevertheless certain that the plan has something of the same general character, and the work, though executed with less power, possesses in part the same charm. It spreads before us a map of New York, the young emporium of our western world, now rivalling in wealth, population, splendor and luxury, the proudest capitals of Europe; as she was in her day of small things, a few Dutch-built streets interspersed with gardens and grouped round the battery. We visit the encampment of Washington, nor has our author shrunk from the somewhat hazardous attempt to introduce into her group of characters the grand figure of the hero himself. In this enterprise, she has on the whole acquitted herself with success.

There is no attempt at effect in any of the scenes where Washington appears, but the propriety of his character is always well sustained. Miss Sedgwick has also transported us to the interior of one of the quiet villages of New England, and has delineated very happily from the living models around her, the simple virtues, which then as now distinguished their inhabitants, and at that period were heightened into heroism by a universal, all-absorbing devotion to country. Upon this rich canvas of historical fact, our author has embroidered a very ingeniously contrived and pleasantly told story, diversified, as we have said, with rather more than the usual variety of incidents and characters. Of heroes and heroines the supply is ample, there being, independently of Washington, Lafayette and their illustrious companions in arms, not less than three of each class. The work is wound off by three well assorted marriages. The party dissensions of the day afford a very convenient and natural machinery for creating the distress of the story, and keeping the lovers asunder for the necessary length of time. Some of the characters are well drawn. Isabella Linwood is a splendid vision. Bessie, though we suspect, a favorite with the author, is not quite so much so with us; nor has Kizel secured a very high place in our good graces. But in order to make ourselves more intelligible, we will give a rapid sketch of the story, interspersing, as we proceed, such remarks as occur to us, with occasional extracts as specimens of the style.

The work opens with the appearance of two of the heroines entering Broadway through a wicket garden gate in the rear of a stately mansion fronting on Broad street, which, it seems, was then the court end of our Hesperian London. The house belongs to Mr. Linwood, the patriarch of the plot, and the young ladies are his daughter Isabella and her friend Bessie Lee, who is making her a visit. The young ladies present in their appearance the usual contrast of brown and fair. Isabella is rather young for a principal heroine, having just entered her teens. She is, however, robust and tall for her years, with the complexion of a Hebe, very dark hair, an eye, albeit belonging to one of the weaker sex, that looked as if she were born for empire, it might be over hearts and eyes, and the step of a young Juno. Bessie, who it seems is still younger, and of course not yet in her teens, is a less pretending beauty. She was of earth's gentlest, softest mould, framed

for all the tender humanities, with the destiny of woman written on her meek brow, "thou art born to love, to suffer, to obey; to minister, and not to be ministered to." These charming persons are accompanied by a colored attendant named Jupiter, a slave of Mr. Linwood, who, with a female character of a similar description, yclept Rose, makes a considerable figure in the story. We cannot say, that the attempt to imitate the negro jargon produces in this or any other work in which we have seen it made, any great effect. The object of the expedition upon which the young ladies are setting forth, is no other than to have their fortunes told by a personage called Effie, who then exercised the profession of a Pythoness in the good city of Gotham. On their way to the oracle, the girls meet with Herbert Linwood the brother of Isabella, and his friend Jasper Meredith, returning from a hunt, and the whole party proceed together to the place of destination. The scene with the Pythoness furnishes perhaps as good a specimen of the dialogue as any other passage, and gives the reader some obscure hints of the subsequent adventures of the persons who are brought into action. We copy the greater part.

"'What wild goose chase are you on, Belle, at this time of day?' asked her brother. 'I am sure Bessie Lee has not come to Gallows hill with her own good will.'

"'I have made game of my goose, at any rate, and given Bessie Lee a good lesson, on what our old schoolmaster would call the potentiality of mankind. But come,' she added, for though rather ashamed to confess her purpose when she knew ridicule must be braved, courage was easier to Isabella than subterfuge. 'Come along with us to Effie's, and I will tell you the joke I played off on Jupe.' Isabella's joke seemed to her auditors a capital one, for they were at that happy age when laughter does not ask a reason to break forth from the full fountain of youthful spirits. Isabella spun out her story till they reached Effie's door, which admitted them, not to any dark laboratory of magic, but to a snug little Dutch parlor, with a nicely-sanded floor, a fireplace gay with the flowers of the season, pionies and Guelder-roses, and ornamented with storied tiles, that, if not as classic, were, as we can vouch, far more entertaining than the sculptured marble of our own luxurious days.

"The pythoness Effie turned her art to good account, producing substantial comforts by her mysterious science; and played her cards well for this world, whatever bad dealing she might have with another. Even Bessie felt her horror of witchcraft diminished before this plump personage, with a round, good-humored face

looking far more like the good vrow of a Dutch picture than like the gaunt skinny hag who has personated the professors of the bad art from the witch of Endor downwards. Effie's physiognomy, save an ominous contraction of her eyelids and the keen and somewhat sinister glances that shot between them, betrayed nothing of her calling.

"There were, as on all similar occasions, some initiatory ceremonies to be observed before the fortunes were told. Herbert, boylike, was pennyless; and he offered a fine brace of snipe to propitiate the oracle. They were accepted with a smile that augured well for the official response he should receive. Jasper's purse, too, was empty; and after ransacking his pockets in vain, he slipped out a gold sleeve-button, and told Effie he would redeem it the next time he came her way. Meanwhile there was a little by-talk between Isabella and Bessie; Isabella insisting on paying the fee for her friend, and Bessie insisting that 'she would have no fortune told; that she did not believe Effie could tell it, and if she could, she would not for all the world let her.' In vain Isabella ridiculed and reasoned by turns. Bessie, blushing and trembling, persisted. Effie at the same moment was shuffling a pack of cards, as black as if they had been sent up from Pluto's realms; and while she was muttering over some incomprehensible phrases, and apparently absorbed in the manipulations of her art, she heard and saw all that passed, and determined that if poor little Bessie would not acknowledge, she should feel her power.

"Herbert, the most incredulous, and therefore the boldest, first came forward to confront his destiny. 'A great deal of rising in the world, and but little sinking for you, Master Herbert Linwood; you are to go over the salt water, and ride foremost in royal hunting-grounds.'

"'Good! — good! — go on, Effie.'

"'Oh what beauties of horses, — a pack of hounds — High! how the steeds go — how they leap — the buck is at bay — there are you!'

"'Capital, Effie! — I strike him down?'

"'You are too fast, young master, — I can tell no more than I see, — the sport is past, — the place is changed, — there is a battle-field, drums, trumpets, and flags flying. — Ah, there is a sign of danger — a pit yawns at your feet.'

"'Shocking!' cried Bessie; 'pray, don't listen any more, Herbert.'

"'Pshaw, Bessie! I shall clear the pit. Effie loves snipe too well to leave me the wrong side of that.'

"Effie was either offended at Herbert's intimation that her favors might be bought, or perhaps she saw his lack of faith in his laughing eye, and, determined to punish him, she declared that

all was dark and misty beyond the pit; there might be a leap over it, and a smooth road beyond, — she could not tell, — she could only tell what she saw.

"'You are a croaking raven, Effie!' exclaimed Herbert; 'I'll shuffle my own fortune;' and seizing the cards he handled them as knowingly as the sibyl herself, and ran over a jargon quite as unintelligible; and then holding them fast, quite out of Effie's reach, he ran on — 'Ah, ha — I see the mist going off like the whiff from a Dutchman's pipe; and here's a grand castle, parks, and pleasure-grounds; and here am I, with a fair blue-eyed lady, within it.' Then dashing down the cards, he turned and kissed Bessie's reddening cheek, saying, 'Let others wait on fortune, Effie, I'll carve my own.'

"Isabella was nettled at Herbert's open contempt of Effie's seership. She would not confess nor examine the amount of her faith, nor did she choose to be made to feel on how tottering a base it rested. She was exactly at that point of credulity where much depends on the sympathy of others. It is said to be essential to the success of animal magnetism, that not only the operator and the subject, but the spectators, should believe. Isabella felt she was on disenchanted ground, while Herbert, with his quizzical smile, stood charged, and aiming at her a volley of ridicule; and she proposed that those who had yet their fortunes to hear should, one after another, retire with Effie to a little inner room. But Herbert cried out, 'Fair play, fair play! Dame Effie has read the riddle of my destiny to you all, and now it is but fair I should hear yours.'

"Bessie saw Isabella's reluctance, and she again interposed, reminding her of 'mamma, the coming night,' &c.; and poor Isabella was fain to give up the contest for the secret conference, and hush Bessie, by telling Effie to proceed.

"'Shall I tell your *fortin* and that young gentleman's together?' asked Effie, pointing to Jasper. Her manner was careless; but she cast a keen glance at Isabella, to ascertain how far she might blend their destinies.

"'Oh, no, no, — no partnership for me,' cried Isabella, while the fire which flashed from her eye evinced that the thought of a partnership with Jasper, if disagreeable, was not indifferent to her.

"'Nor for me, either, mother Effie,' said Jasper; 'or if there be a partnership, let it be with the pretty blue-eyed mistress of Herbert's mansion.'

"'Nay, master, that pretty miss does not choose her fortune told, — and she's right, — poor thing!' she added, with an ominous shake of the head. Bessie's heart quailed, for she both believed and feared.

"'Now, shame on you, Effie,' cried Herbert; 'she cannot

know any thing about you, Bessie; she has not even looked at your fortune yet.'

"'Did I say I *knew*, Master Herbert? Time must shew whether I know or not.'

"Bessie still looked apprehensively. 'Nonsense,' said Herbert; 'what can she know? — she never saw you before.'

"'True, I never saw her; but I tell you, young lad, there is such a thing as seeing the shadow of things far distant and past, and never seeing the realities, though they it be that cast the shadows.' Bessie shuddered, — Effie shuffled the cards. 'Now just for a trial,' said she; 'I will tell you something about her, — not of the future; for I'd be loath to overcast her sky before the time comes, — but of the past.'

"'Pray, do not,' interposed Bessie; 'I don't wish you to say any thing about me, past, present, or to come.'

"'Oh, Bessie,' whispered Isabella, 'let her try, — there can be no harm if you do not ask her, — the past is past, you know, — now we have a chance to know if she really is wiser than others.' Bessie again resolutely shook her head.

"'Let her go on,' whispered Herbert, 'and see what a fool she will make of herself.'

'"Let her go on, dear Bessie,' said Jasper, 'or she will think she has made a fool of you.'

"Bessie feared that her timidity was folly in Jasper's eyes; and she said, 'she may go on if you all wish, but I will not hear her;' and she covered her ears with her hands.

"'Shall I?' asked Effie, looking at Isabella; Isabella nodded assent, and she proceeded. 'She has come from a great distance, — her people are well to do in the world, but not such quality as yours, Miss Isabella Linwood, — she has found some things here pleasanter than she expected, — some not so pleasant, — the house she was born in stands on the sunny side of a hill.' At each pause that Effie made, Isabella gave a nod of acquiescence to what she said; and this, or some stray words, which might easily have found their way through Bessie's little hands, excited her curiosity, and by degrees they slid down so as to oppose a very slight obstruction to Effie's voice. 'Before the house,' she continued, 'and not so far distant but she may hear its roaring, when a storm uplifts it, is the wide sea, — that sea has cost the poor child dear.' Bessie's heart throbbed audibly. 'Since she came here she has both won love and lost it.'

"'There, there you are out,' cried Herbert, glad of an opportunity to stop the current that was becoming too strong for poor Bessie.

"'She can best tell herself whether I am right,' said Effie, coolly.

"'She is right, — right in all,' said Bessie, retreating to conceal the tears that were starting from her eyes.

"Isabella neither saw nor heard this, — she was only struck with what Effie delivered as a proof of her preternatural skill; and more than ever eager to inquire into her own destiny, she took the place Bessie had vacated.

"Effie saw her faith, and was determined to reward it. 'Miss Isabella Linwood, you are born to walk in no common track,' — she might have read this prediction, written with an unerring hand on the girl's lofty brow, and in her eloquent eye. 'You will be both served and honored, — those that have stood in kings' palaces will bow down to you, — but the sun does not always shine on the luckiest, — you will have a dark day, — trouble when you least expect it, — joy when you are not looking for it.' This last was one of Effie's staple prophecies, and was sure to be verified in the varied web of every individual's experience. 'You have had some trouble lately, but it will soon pass away, and for ever.' A safe prediction in regard to any girl of twelve years. 'You'll have plenty of friends, and lots of suiters — the right one will be — '

"'Oh, never mind, — don't say who, Effie,' cried Isabella, gaspingly.

"'I was only going to say the right one will be tall and elegant, with beautiful large eyes, — I can't say whether blue or black, — but black, I think; for his hair is both dark and curling.'

"'Bravo, bravissimo, *brother* Jasper!' exclaimed Herbert; 'it is your curly pate Effie sees in those black cards, beyond a doubt.'

"'I bow to destiny,' replied Jasper, with an arch smile, that caught Isabella's eye.

"'I do not,' she retorted — 'look again, Effie, — it must not be curling hair, — I despise it.'

"'I see but once, miss, and then clearly; but there's curling hair on more heads than one.'

"'I never — never should like any one with curling hair,' persisted Isabella.

"'It would be no difficult task for *you* to pull it straight, Miss Isabella,' said the provoking Jasper. Isabella only replied by her heightened color; and bending over the table, she begged Effie to proceed.

"'There's not much more shown me, miss, — you will have some tangled ways, — besetments, wonderments, and disappointments.'

"Effie's version of the 'course of true love never does run smooth,' interrupted Jasper.

"'But all will end well,' she concluded; 'your husband will be the man of your heart, — he will be beautiful, and rich, and great; and take you home to spend your days in merry England.'

"'Thank you, — thank you, Effie,' said Isabella, languidly. The 'beauty, riches, and days spent in England' were well enough, for beauty and riches are elements in a maiden's *beau-ideal;* and England was then the earthly paradise of the patrician colonists. But she was not just now in a humor to acquiesce in the local habitation and the name which the 'dark curling hair' had given to the ideal personage. Jasper Meredith had not even a shadow of faith in Effie; but next to being fortune's favorite, he liked to appear so; and contriving, unperceived by his companions, to slip his remaining sleeve-button into Effie's hand, he said, 'Keep them both;' and added aloud, 'Now for my luck, Dame Effie, and be it weal or be it wo, deliver it truly.'

"Effie was propitiated, and would gladly have imparted the golden tinge of Jasper's bribe to his future destiny; but the opportunity was too tempting to be resisted, to prove to him that she was mastered by a higher power; and looking very solemn, and shaking her head, she said, 'There are too many dark spots here. Ah, Mr. Jasper Meredith, disappointment! disappointment! the arrow just misses the mark, the cup is filled to the brim, the hand is raised, the lips parted to receive it, then comes the slip!' She hesitated, she seemed alarmed; perhaps she was so, for it is impossible to say how far a weak mind may become the dupe of its own impostures. 'Do not ask me any farther,' she added. The young people now all gathered round her. Bessie rested her elbows on the table, and her burning cheeks on her hands, and riveted her eyes on Effie, which from their natural blue, were deepened almost to black, and absolutely glowing with the intensity of her interest.

"'Go on, Effie,' cried Jasper; 'if fortune is cross, I'll give her wheel a turn.'

"'Ah, the wheel turns but too fast, a happy youth is uppermost.'

"'So far, so good.'

"'An early marriage.'

"'That may be weal, or may be wo,' said Jasper; 'weal it is,' he added, in mock heroic; 'but for the dread of something *after*.'

"'An early death!'

"'For me, Effie? Heaven forefend!'

"'No, not for you; for here you are again a leader on a battle-field, the dead and dying in heaps, pools of blood, there's the end on't,' she concluded, shuddering, and throwing down the cards.

"'What, leave me there, Effie! Oh, no, death or victory!'

"'It may be death, it may be victory; it is not given to me to see which.'

"Jasper, quite undaunted, was on the point of protesting against a destiny so uncertain, when a deep-drawn sigh from Bessie attracted the eyes of the group, and they perceived the color was gone from her cheeks, and that she was on the point of fainting. The windows were thrown open, Effie produced a cordial, and she was soon restored to a sense of her condition, which she attempted to explain, by saying she was apt to faint even at the thought of blood!

"They were now all ready, and quite willing to bid adieu to the oracle, whose responses not having been entirely satisfactory to any one of them, they all acquiesced in Bessie's remark, that 'if it were ever so right, she did not think there was much comfort in going to a fortune-teller.'" — pp. 19—30.

Our readers have been made acquainted by this extract with several of the prominent characters in the work. Eliot Lee, the only remaining personage of much note, is the brother of Bessie, and was educated for professional life. At college, he forms an acquaintance with Meredith, but their characters are essentially different. Eliot unites all sorts of intellectual and personal advantages, as a hero of romance naturally should, but is withal an upright, single-hearted, straight-forward yankee, and engages with great fervor on the patriotic side of the revolutionary struggle. Meredith, with nearly the same natural and acquired endowments, is a smooth, polished, hollow-hearted worldling. The characters of both are well sustained and contrasted throughout the work. Meredith, on a visit at the home of his friend Eliot, during a college vacation, falls in love with the fair Bessie, and forms a sort of engagement with her, which occasions the principal distress of the plot. Meredith, upon entering the gay world at New York, and finding himself the glass of fashion and the mould of form at the brilliant assemblies of the British General, soon forgets his little village conquest. On being informed of his desertion, Bessie takes it so much to heart, that she loses her reason, and becomes a sort of modern Ophelia. It seems to be intimated indeed, that the madness of Bessie, and with it perhaps the plot of the work, were suggested by seeing Fanny Kemble in that character. The description of Bessie's insanity occupies a pretty large space, and is, as we have said, the most ambitious portion of

the work, though not perhaps, on the whole, the most successful. While in this state, she sets off from her native village, upon a pilgrimage to New York, for the purpose of returning to Meredith certain locks of hair and other presents, which she had received from him, as tokens of love. In this particular, she seems to copy the example of her fair prototype in Shakspeare.

"*Ophelia.*—My Lord, I have remembrances of your's
That I have long longed to re-deliver,
I pray you now receive them.

"*Hamlet.*—No, not I.
I never gave you ought.

"*Ophelia.*—My honored lord, you know right well you did,
And with them words of so sweet breath composed
As made the things more rich. Their perfume lost,
Take these again; for to the noble mind,
Rich gifts seem poor when givers prove unkind."

On her way to New York, Bessie is taken ill, and detained for a considerable time, under rather embarrassing circumstances, from which she is finally relieved by an accidental encounter with Lafayette, who sends her forward to the city. Here she recovers her reason, but not her lover, who proves unworthy of her, and finally meets with poetical justice, by falling into the toils of a professed coquette. Bessie returns to her native village. "Her pilgrimage was not a long one, and when it ended, the transition was gentle from the heaven she made on earth, to that which awaited her in the bosom of the Father." We extract the passage which describes the commencement of her insanity.

"The issue of Eliot's second interview with Washington is already known, so far as it appeared by the despatches sent to New York. He had the consolation of being assured that not a shadow of distrust remained on Washington's mind. Never man more needed solace in some shape than did Eliot at this conjuncture of affairs. On first going to his quarters he found there a packet from his mother. He pressed it to his lips, and eagerly broke the seal. The following is a copy of his mother's letter.

"'My Dear Son,—I perceive by your letters of the first, which, thanks to a kind Providence, have duly come to hand, that it is now nearly three months since you have heard from us. Much good and much evil may befall in three months! Much good have I

truly to be grateful for; and chiefly that your life and health have been thus precious in the sight of the Lord, and that you have received honor at the hand of man (of which our good Dr. Wilson made suitable mention in his prayer last Sabbath); and, as I humbly trust, approval from Him who erreth not.

"'We have had a season of considerable worldly anxiety. The potato-crop looked poorly, and our whole harvest was cut off by the blight in the rye, which, as you see in the newspapers, has been fatal through Massachusetts. This calamity has been greatly aggravated by the embargo they have laid on their flour in the southern states. The days seems to be coming upon us when "plenty should be forgotten in our land, and sore famine overspread the borders thereof." — Our people have been greatly alarmed, and there have been fasts in all our churches, at which the carnally-minded have murmured, saying it would be time enough to fast when the famine came. It is indeed a time of desolation in our land — "there is no more in our streets the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness — the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride" — the step of the father and the brother are no more heard on the thresholds, and we stretch our ears for tidings of battles that may lay them in the dust. Think you, my son, that our children's children, when they bear their sheaves rejoicing, will remember those who sowed in tears, and with much patience and many prayers?

"'For my own part, my dear Eliot, I have had but little part in this worldly anxiety, for divers reasons which you will presently see. One care eats up another.' (Bessie's name was here written and effaced.) 'Let me tell you, before I forget it, that the Lord has smiled on our indian corn. I had an acre put in the south meadow, which you know is a warm soil, and Major Avery tells me it will prove a heavy yield. He is a kind neighbor (as indeed we all try to be in these times), and called yesterday to ask me to get into his wagon, and take a ride, saying it would cheer me up to see the golden ears peeping out of their seared and rustling leaves; but I did not feel to go.' — (Here again Bessie's name was written, and again effaced — the tender mother shrunk from giving the blow that must be given.) 'Do not have any care, dear Eliot, about our basket and our store; they are sufficiently filled. The children are nicely prepared for winter, even to their shoes. Just as I was casting about to see how I should get them made, there being no shoemaker left short of Boston, Jo Warren came home, his term of Service having expired, and he, as he says, "liking much better the clack of his hammer and lap-stone than bloody-soldiering."

"'My dear son, I have written thus far without touching on

the subject which fills heart and mind, day and night. I felt it to be suitable to mention the topics above; but I knew if I left them to the last you would read without reading, and thereby lose the little comfort they might give you. Fain would I finish here! God grant you may receive with submission what follows. You know, that never since you went away have I been able to hold out any encouragement to you about your poor sister. The dear child struggled, and struggled, but only exhausted her strength without making any headway; I shall always think it was from the first more weakness of body than any thing else, for she had such a clear sense of what was right, and this it was that weighed her down — a forever tormenting sense that she was wasting in idle feelings the life and faculties that God had given to her. She tried to assist me in family duties, but she moved about like a machine; and often her sewing would drop from her hands, and she would sit silent and motionless for hours.

"'In the first part of Herbert Linwood's visit she was more like her former self — old feelings seemed to revive, and I had hopes — but oh! they were suddenly dashed, for immediately on his going away she seemed to have such self-reproach — such fear that she had foregone her duty, and had forever forfeited your confidence. All night she was feverish and restless, and during the day she would sit and weep for hours together. She never spoke but to accuse herself of some wrong committed, or some duty unperformed. When the clock struck she would count the strokes, and you could see the beatings of her heart answer to each of them, and then she would weep till the hour came round again. Dr. Wilson and some of our godly women hoped she was under conviction; but I did not favor their talking to her as often as they wished, for I knew that her health was much broken, her mind hurt, and that in this harp of a thousand strings (as Dr. Watts says) there were many they did not understand.

"'Through the summer her flesh has wasted away till she seemed but the shadow of her former self. Her eyes appeared larger, and as the shadows deepened about them, of a deeper blue than ever — sometimes as I looked at her she startled me; it seemed to me as if all of mortality were gone, and I were standing in the presence of a visible spirit. There was such a speaking, mournful beauty about her, that even strangers — rough people too — would shed tears when they looked at her.

"'She never spoke of ——. If the children mentioned his name, or but alluded to him, she seemed deaf and palsied. She never approached the honeysuckle window where they used to sit. She never touched the books he read to her — her favorite books; and, one after another, she put away the articles of dress he had noticed and admired. Still with all these efforts she grew worse,

till her reason seemed to me like the last ray of the sun before its sitting.

" 'Two weeks ago she brought me a small box, enveloped and sealed, and asked me to keep it for her; " be sure," she said, "and put it where I cannot find it, mother." From this moment there was a change — it seemed as if a pressure were taken off, from hour to hour her spirits rose — she talked with more than her natural quickness and cheerfulness, joined in the children's sports, and was full of impracticable plans of doing good, and wild expectations of happiness to all the world. I saw a fearful brightness in her eye. I knew her happiness was all a dream; but still it was a relief to see the dear child out of misery. I hoped, and feared, and lived on, trembling from hour to hour. Last night she asked me for her box, and when she had taken it she threw her arms around me, and looked in my face smiling — O! what a wild, strange smile it was. She then kissed the children and went to her room. She has scarcely been in bed five minutes together for the last fortnight; and as she did not come to breakfast in the morning, I hoped she was still sleeping, and truly thankful for this symptom that her excitement was abating, I kept the house still. Ten o'clock came, and not yet a sound from her room — an apprehension darted through my mind — I ran up stairs — her room was empty, her bed untouched.

" 'On the table, unsealed, was the packet I enclose to you. I read it, and was relieved of my worst fear. Our kind neighbors went yesterday in search of her, but in vain — last evening we heard the tramp of a horse to the door, and it proved to be Steady. He has been kept in the home-pasture all the fall; and it seems the poor child, who you know is so timid that she never before rode without you or —— at her side, had put on the saddle and bridle, and started in the night. How far she rode we can only conjecture from Steady appearing quite beat out. Major Avery judges he may have travelled eighty miles, out and home. You will conclude with me that it is Bessie's intention to go to New York; and when I think of her worn and distracted condition, and the state of the country through which she must pass, filled with hostile armies and infested with outlaws, do I sin in wishing she were dead beneath her father's roof? If any thing can be done, you will devise and execute — my head is sick with thinking, and my heart faint with sorrowing. Farewell, my beloved son. Let us not, in our trouble, forget that we are all, and especially the poor, sick, wandering lamb of our flock, in the hands of a good Being who doth not willingly afflict us. — Your loving, grieving mother, S. Lee.'

" The first part of Bessie's letter appeared to have been written

at intervals, and some weeks antecedent to the conclusion. It was evidently traced with a weak and faltering hand, and had been drenched with her tears. She began:

"Dear brother Eliot,' (the word 'dear' was effaced and re-written): 'I am but a hypocrite to call you "dear" Eliot, for all permitted affections are devoured by one forbidden one. The loves that God implanted have withered and died away under the poisonous shadow of that which has been sown in my heart — think you by the evil spirit, Eliot? I sometimes fear so. I used to love our overkind mother; and for our little brothers and sisters my heart did seem to be one fountain of love, ever sweet, fresh, and overflowing; and you, oh Eliot, how fondly — proudly I loved you! — and now, if I were to see you all dead before me, it would move me no more than to see the idle leaves falling from the trees.

"'I have read your letters over and over again, till they have fallen to pieces with the continual dropping of my hot tears; but every syllable is imprinted on my heart. You did not believe your "sister would waste her sensibility, the precious food of life, in moping melancholy." Oh, Eliot, how much better must I have appeared to you than I was! I have been all my life a hypocrite. You believed "my mind had a self-rectifying power," and I imposed this belief on you! I am ready, now, to bow my head in the dust for it. "Love," said your letter, "can never be incurable when it is a disease; that is to say, when its object is unworthy." Ah, my dear brother, there was your fatal mistake. It was I that was unworthy — it was your simple sister that, in her secret, unconfessed thoughts, believed he loved her, knowing all the while that his lot was cast with the high, the gifted, the accomplished — with such as Isabella Linwood, and not with one so humble in condition, so little graced by art as I am. I do not blame him. Heaven knows I do not. "Self-rectifying power!" Eliot, talk to the reed, that has been uprooted and borne away by the tides of the ocean, of its "self-rectifying power.'

"A long interval had elapsed after writing the above; and the subsequent almost illegible scraps indicated a mind in ruins.

"'Oh, Eliot, pray — pray come home! They are all persecuting me. The children laugh at me, and whistle after me; and when I am asleep, they blow his name in my ears. Mother looks at me, and will not speak.

"'They have printed up all the books. Even the Bible has nothing but his name from beginning to end. I can never be alone; evil spirits are about me by day and by night; my brother, I am tormented.

"'Eliot my doom is spoken! Would that it were to cut down the cumberer of the ground! but, no: I am to stand forever on

the desolate shore, stricken and useless, and see the river of life glide by. The day, as well as the night, is solitary; and there is no joyful voice therein.

" 'Oh, memory! — memory! — memory! what an abyss of misery art thou! The sun rises and sets, the moon rolls over the sky, the stars glide on in their appointed paths, the seasons change, but no change cometh to me, — the past, the past is all, there is no present, no future!

" 'I remember hearing Dr. Wilson preach about sin deserving infinite punishment, because it was against an infinite Being. I did not comprehend him then — now I do. In vain I raise my faded eyes and fevered hands to God.'

" The remainder was written in a more assured and rapid hand.

" 'Eliot, you have seen those days, have you not? when clouds gathered over the firmament; when, one after another, each accustomed and dear object was lost in their leaden folds, when they grew darker and came nearer, till you felt yourself wrapped about in their chilling drapery, and you feared the blessed sun was blotted out of Heaven. Suddenly God's messenger hath come forth — the clouds have risen at his bidding, and unveiled his beautiful works. The smiling waters and the green fields, one after another, have appeared — the silvery curtain has rolled up the mountain's side, and then melted away and left the blue vault spotless. Such darkness has oppressed me; such brightness is now above and around me. Dear Eliot how glad you will be! My spirits dance as they did in my childhood. The days are all clear, and the nights so beautiful, that I would not sleep if I could. Shame to those who steep themselves in the dull and brutish oblivion of sleep, when the intelligences of Heaven are abroad on the moonbeams, calling to the wakeful spirit to leave the drowsy world and join their glorious company — to career from star to star, and commune in the silence of night with their Creator. Oh, Eliot! I have heard the music "of the young eyed cherubim;" and I have learned secrets — wonderful secrets of the offices and relations of spirits, if I were sure you would believe them — but no, you cannot. The mind must be prepared by months of suffering — it must pass a dark and winding way to reach (while yet on earth) the bright eminence where I stand. But take courage, brother; when you pass the bounds of time you will hear, and see, and know what I now do.

" 'You will wonder how I have escaped the manacles that so long bound me. I cannot explain all now; but thus much I am permitted to say, that they were riveted by certain charms; and I cannot be assured of my freedom till I myself return them to him from whom they came — to him who has so long been the lord of

my affections and master of my mind. Then, and not till then, shall I be the "self-rectified" being you blindly but truly predicted. I must go to New York ; but mind, dear brother, and indulge no idle fears for me. Do you remember once when we read Comus together, wishing your sister might, like the sweet lady there, be attended by good spirits — dear Eliot, I am. I cannot always see them through this thick veil of mortality, but I can both hear and feel them.

" ' Our good mother pesters me so. Should you think, brother, that a being accompanied as I am, could eat and drink, and lie down and sleep as other mortals do ? Oh, no! And, besides, are they not all the time praying that the Lord would send corn into their empty garners ; and yet, poor dull souls, they cannot see their prayer is answered, when I am fed and satisfied with bread from Heaven — sweet, spiritual food!

" ' I shall set forward to night when they are all steeped in this sleep they would fain stupify me with. I have not hinted to our mother my purpose, because, dear Eliot, since you are gone she is quite different from what she was. I would say it to none but you in the world ? but the truth is, she has grown very conceited, and would not believe one word of my superior knowledge. I do not blame her. The time is coming when the scales will fall from her eyes. Farewell, dear brother, — " angels guard thee," as Jasper used to say ; — I can write his name now with a steady hand — what a change ! They do guard me — the blessed angels ! Once more, fear nothing, Eliot. In going, I am attended by that " strong siding champion, conscience ;" if I stay, he will desert me.'

" Eliot's manliness was vanquished, and he wept like a child over his sister's letter. He reproached himself for having left home. He bitterly reproached himself for not having foreseen the danger of her long, exclusive, and confiding intercourse with Meredith. He was almost maddened when he thought of the perils to which she must have been exposed, and of his utter inability to save her from one of them. The only solacing thought that occurred to him was the extreme improbability that her fragile and exhausted frame could support the fatigues she must encounter, and that even now, while he wept over her letter (a fortnight had elapsed since it was written,), her gentle spirit might have entered upon its eternal rest." — pp. 37 — 49.

Eliot Lee, who, as we remarked, is led by his patriotic zeal in the cause of the country, to enter the army, repairs to the encampment of Washington, by whom he is favorably received, and after a while despatched upon a confidential mission to New

York. Herbert Linwood, who had also entered the army, much to the regret and displeasure of his father, accompanies Eliot in disguise, but is discovered, and in imminent danger of being executed as a spy. The account of his position and of the means that are taken to relieve him, is one of the most interesting portions of the narrative. He finally effects his escape by the aid of the young ladies, who accompany him, and are thus conveyed to the head-quarters of Washington. Here a very good opportunity offers for the respectful attachment which Eliot had formed for the superb Isabella, on his visit to New York, to ripen into a confirmed passion. Whether the machinery employed for bringing the two parties into that propinquity, which, as Miss Edgeworth well observes, is so important a preliminary for match-making, be the most natural that could have been imagined, is a point which we leave it to the better judgment of our author to decide. It is certainly not common for two young ladies of fashion to accompany a young officer in his escape from imprisonment, although the case is not in these latter days, entirely without parallel. We find, in fact, in one of our late newspapers, an advertisement by Mr. Amaziah String, announcing that his two daughters have gone away with a single Lothario, whose name we do not now recollect. The incident is noticed by the editor, under the head of *Two Strings to a Beau.* In the case before us, however, propinquity, though rather violently brought about, has its natural operation. Isabella, who had been upon the point of forming an engagement with Meredith, is luckily extricated from this entanglement, at the very last moment, and just in time to become attached to Eliot. Herbert Linwood, on his part, takes advantage of his forced residence at New York, to captivate the affections of a young damsel from beyond the sea, Lady Anne Seton, a great fortune, who has been brought out by her mother, a marrying dowager, for the express purpose of being thrown in the way of Meredith, and who very properly takes care to throw herself in the way of the right man. Every thing is thus prepared for the two marriages, which conclude the work, and which are celebrated at Morristown, during the hard winter of 1780, under the auspices of Mrs. Washington, Colonel Hamilton giving away the brides.

Jasper Meredith, as we have already said, after basely deserting the gentle Bessie and paying ineffectual court to the superb Isabella, is finally ensnared by a professed coquette

Miss Helen Ruthven. This personage is delineated with a good deal of skill and furnishes some of the best scenes.

"Without being beautiful, by the help of grace and versatility, and artful adaption of the aids and artifices of the toilet, Miss Ruthven produced the effect of beauty. Never was there a more skilful manager of the blandishments of her sex. She knew how to infuse into a glance 'thoughts that breathe,' how to play off those flatteries that create an atmosphere of perfume and beauty, how to make her presence felt as the soul of life, and life in her absence a dreary day of nothingness. She had little true sensibility or generosity (they go together;) but selecting a single object on which to lavish her feeling, like a shallow stream compressed into a narrow channel, it made great show and noise. Eliot stood on disenchanted ground; and, while looking on the real shape, was compelled to see his credulous and impulsive friend becoming from day to day more and more enthralled by the false semblance. 'Is man's heart,' he asked himself, 'a mere surface, over which one shadow chaseth another?' No. But men's hearts have different depths. In some, like Eliot Lee's (who was destined to love once and forever,) love strikes a deep and ineradicable root; interweaves itself with the very fibres of life, and becomes a portion of the undying soul.

"In other circumstances Eliot would have obeyed his impulses, and endeavored to dissolve the spell for his friend; but he was deterred by the consciousness of disappointment that his sister was so soon superseded, and by his secret wish that Linwood should remain free till a more auspicious day should rectify all mischances. Happily, Providence sometimes interposes to do that for us which we neglect to do for ourselves.

"As has been said, Linwood devoted every leisure hour to Helen Ruthven. Sometimes accompanied by Charlotte and Eliot, but oftener without them, they visited the almost unattainable heights, the springs and waterfalls, in the neighborhood of West Point, now so well known to summer travellers that we have no apology for lingering to describe them. They scaled the coal-black summits of the 'Devil's Peak;' went as far heavenward as the highest height of the 'Crow's Nest;' visited 'Bull-Hill, Butter-Hill, and Break-neck,' places that must have been named long before our day of classic, heathenish, picturesque, and most ambitious christening of this new world.

"Helen Ruthven did not affect this scrambling 'thorough bush, thorough briar,' through streamlet, snow, and mud, from a pure love of nature. Oh, no, simple reader! but because at her home in the glen there was but one parlor; there, from morning till bedtime, sat her father; there of course must sit her mother;

and Miss Ruthven's charms, like those of other conjurers, depended for their success on being exercised within a magic circle, within which no observer might come. She seemed to live and breathe alone for Herbert Linwood. A hundred times he was on the point of offering the devotion of his life to her, when the image of his long-loved Bessie Lee rose before him, and, like the timely intervention of the divinities of the ancient creed, saved him from impending danger. This could not last much longer. On each successive occasion the image was less vivid, and must soon cease to be effective.

"Spring was advancing, and active military operations were about to commence. A British sloop-of-war had come up the river, and lay at anchor in Haverstraw Bay. Simultaneously with the appearance of this vessel there was a manifest change in the spirits of the family at the glen, — a fall in their mercury. Though they were still kind, their reception of our friends ceased to be cordial, and they were no longer urged, or even asked to repeat their visits. Charlotte, who, like her father, was warm and true-hearted, ventured to intimate that this change of manner did not originate in any diminution of friendliness; but, save this, there was no approach to an explanation; and Eliot ceased to pay visits, that it was obvious, were no longer acceptable. The mystery as he thought, was explained, when they incidentally learned that Captain Ruthven, the only son of their friend, was an officer on board the vessel anchored in Haverstraw Bay. This solution did not satisfy Linwood. 'How, in Heaven's name,' he asked, 'should that affect their intercourse with us? It might, to be sure, agitate them; but, upon my word, I don't believe they even know it;" and, in the simplicity of his heart, he forthwith set off to give them information of the fact. Mr. Ruthven told him, frankly and at once, that he was already aware of it, and Helen scrawled on a music-book which lay before them, 'Do you remember Hamlet? "ten thousand brothers!"' What she exactly meant was not plain; but he guessed her intimation to be that ten thousand brothers and their love were not to be weighed against him. Notwithstanding this kind intimation, he saw her thenceforth unfrequently. If he called, she was not at home; if she made an appointment with him, she sent him some plausible excuse for not keeping it; and if they met, she was silent and abstracted, and no longer kept up the show of the passion that a few weeks before had inspired her words, looks, and movements. Herbert was not destined to be one of love's few martyrs; and he was fast reverting to a sound state, only retarded by the mystery in which the affair was still involved. Since the beginning of his intercourse with the family, his Sunday evenings had been invariably spent at the glen; and now he received a note from Miss

Ruthven (not, as had been her wont, crossed and double-crossed,) containing two lines, saying her father was ill, and as she was obliged to attend him, she regretted to beg Mr. Linwood to omit his usual Sunday evening visit! Linwood had a lurking suspicion, — he even just beginning to suspect — that this was a mere pretext; and he resolved to go to the glen, ostensibly to inquire after Mr. Ruthven, but really to satisfy his doubts. It was early in the evening when he reached there. The cheerful light that usually shot forth its welcome from the parlor window was gone; all was darkness. 'I was a rascal to distrust her!' thought Linwood, and he hastened on, fearing good Mr. Ruthven was extremely ill. As he approached the house he perceived that, for the first time, the window-shutters were closed, and that a bright light gleamed through their crevices. He put his hand on the latch of the door to open it, as was his custom, without rapping; but no longer, as if instinct with the hospitality of the house, did it yield to his touch. It was bolted! He hesitated for a moment whether to knock for admittance, and endeavor to satisfy his curiosity, or to return as wise as he came. His delicacy decided on the latter course; and he was turning away, when a sudden gust of wind blew open one of the rickety blinds, and instinctively he looked through the window, and for a moment was riveted by the scene disclosed within. Mr. Ruthven sat at a table on which were bottles of wine, olives, oranges, and other most rare luxuries. Beside him sat a young man, his younger self. Linwood did not need a second glance to assure him this was Captain Ruthven. On a stool at her brother's feet sat Charlotte, her arm lovingly resting on his knee. Mrs. Ruthven was at the other extremity of the table, examining, with enraptured eye, caps, feathers, and flowers, which, as appeared from the boxes and cords beside her, had just been opened.

"But the parties that fixed Linwood's attention were Helen Ruthven and a very handsome young man, who was leaning over her chair while she was playing on the piano, and bestowing on him those wondrous glances that Linwood had verily believed never met any eye but his! What a sudden disenchantment was that! Linwood's blood rushed to his head. He stood as if he were transfixed, till a sudden movement within recalling him to himself, he sprang from the steps and retraced his way up the hill-side: — the spell that had well-nigh bound him to Helen Ruthven was broken for ever. No man likes to be duped, — no man likes to feel how much his own vanity has had to do with preparing the trap that ensnared him. Linwood, after revolving the past, after looking back upon the lures and deceptions that had been practiced upon him, after comparing his passion for Helen Ruthven with his sentiments for Bessie Lee, came to the consol-

ing conclusion that he had never loved Miss Ruthven. He was right, — and that night for the first time in many weeks, he fell asleep thinking of Bessie Lee." — pp. 135—141.

Miss Helen occasionally flies at higher game than the hearts of young lieutenants. She contrives a plot of no less consequence than getting possession of the person of Washington and delivering him up to the British. In the course of her operations she undertakes to go on board a sloop of war lying in the river below West Point. She is seen by the young American officers in a place called Kosciusko's garden, where the gallant Pole himself is also at the time-keeping watch, and which is prettily described in the following passage.

"She spent a sleepless night in contriving, revolving, and dismissing plans on which, as she fancied, the destiny of the nation hung, and, what was far more important in her eyes, Helen Ruthven's destiny. She at last adopted the boldest that had occurred, and which, from being the boldest, best suited her dauntless temper.

"The next morning, Tuesday, with her mother's aid and applause, she effected her preparations; and having fortunately learned, during her residence on the river, to row and manage a boat, she embarked alone in a little skiff, and stealing out of a nook near the glen, she rowed into the current and dropped down the river. She did not expect to escape observation, for though the encampment did not command a view of the Hudson, there were sentinels posted at points that overlooked it, and batteries that commanded its passage. But rightly calculating on the general humanity that governed our people, she had no apprehensions they would fire on a defenceless woman, and very little fear that they would think it worth while to pursue her, to prevent that which she dared to do before their eyes and in the face of day.

"Her calculations proved just. The sentinels levelled their guns at her, in token not to proceed; and she in return dropped her head, raised her hands deprecatingly, and passed on unmolested.

"At a short distance below the Point there is a remarkable spot, scooped out by nature in the rocky bank, always beautiful, and now a consecrated shrine; a 'Mecca of the mind.' On the memorable morning of Miss Ruthven's enterprise, the welcome beams of the spring sun, as he rose in the heavens, casting behind him a soft veil of light clouds, shone on the gray rocks, freshening herbage, and still disrobed trees of this lovely recess. From crevices in the perpendicular rocks that wall up the table-land above, hung a sylvan canopy; cedars, studded with their blue

berries, wild raspberries, and wild rose-bushes; and each moist and sunny nook was gemmed with violets and wild geraniums. The harmonies of nature's orchestra were the only and the fitting sounds in this seclusion; the early wooing of the birds; the water from the fountains of the heights, that, filtering through the rocks, dropped from ledge to ledge with the regularity of a water-clock; the ripple of the waves as they broke on the rocky points of the shore, or softly kissed its pebbly margin; and the voice of the tiny stream, that gliding down a dark, deep, and almost hidden channel in the rocks, disappeared, and welled up again in the centre of the turfy slope, stole over it, and trickled down the lower ledge of granite to the river. Tradition has named this little green shelf on the rocks 'Kosciusko's Garden;' but as no traces have been discovered of any other than nature's plantings, it was probably merely his favorite retreat, and as such is a monument of his taste and love of nature.

"The spring is now enclosed in a marble basin, and inscribed with his name who then lay extended beside it; Kosciusko, the patriot of his own country, the friend of ours, the philanthropist of all, the enemy only of those aliens from the human family who are the tyrants of their kind. An unopen book lay beside him, while, gazing up through the willows that drooped over the fountain, he perused that surpassing book of nature, informed by the spirit and written by the finger of God, — a Book of revelations of his wisdom, and power, and goodness.

"Suddenly his musings were disturbed by approaching footsteps; and looking up, he saw Linwood and Eliot winding down the steep pathway between the piled rocks. He had scarcely exchanged salutations with them, when the little boat in which Helen Ruthven was embarked shot out from behind the dark ledge that bounded their upward view of the river. They sprang forward to the very edge of the sloping ground. Helen Ruthven would most gladly have escaped their observation, but that she perceived was impossible; and making the very best of her dilemma, she tossed her head exultingly, and waved her handkerchief. The young men instinctively returned her greeting. 'A gallant creature, by heaven!' exclaimed the Pole; 'God speed you, my girl!' And when Linwood told him who she was, and her enterprise, so far as he thought fit to disclose it, he reiterated, 'Again then, I say, God speed her! The sweetest affections of nature should be free as this gushing rill, that the rocks and the earth can't keep back; I am glad when they throw off the shackles imposed by the cruel and inevitable laws of war.' They continued to gaze after the boat till it turned and disappeared with the river in its winding passage through the mountains." — pp. 145—149.

The intention is to seize Washington in the house of Mr. Ruthven, where he is invited to dine. The young officers who have been led by the conduct of Helen and other circumstances, to conclude that a plot is brewing, communicate their suspicions to the General, and endeavor to persuade him not to keep his engagement, but in vain. Finding him resolute, they place themselves in such a position as to observe every thing that passes, in season to give him timely warning should there be any danger.

"Eliot determined to go to the glen, and station himself on the margin of the river, where, in case (a chance that seemed to him at least possible) of the approach of an enemy's boat, he should descry it in time to give Washington warning. He went in search of Linwood, to ask him to accompany him; but Linwood was nowhere to be found. He deliberated whether to communicate his apprehensions to some other officer. The confidence the general had manifested had nearly dissipated his apprehensions, and he feared to do what might appear like officiousness, or like a distrust of Washington's prudence; that virtue, which, to remain, as it then was, the bulwark of his country's safety, must continue unsuspected.

"Eliot in his anxiety had reached the glen while it was yet daylight; and, careful to escape observation, he stole along the little strip of pebbly beach where a mimic bay sets in, and seated himself on a pile of rocks, the extreme point of a hill that descends abruptly to the Hudson. Here the river, hemmed in by the curvatures of the mountains, has the appearance of a lake; for the passage is so narrow and winding through which it forces its way, that the eye scarcely detects it. Eliot for a while forgot the tediousness of his watch in looking around him. The mountains at the entrance of the Hudson into the highlands, which stand like giant sentinels jealously guarding the narrow portal, appeared, whence he saw them, like a magnificent framework to a beautiful picture. An April shower had just passed over, and the mist was rolling away like the soft folds of a curtain from the village of Newburgh, which looked like the abode of all 'country contentments,' as the setting sun shone cheerily on its gentle slopes and white houses, contrasting it with the stern features of the mountains. Far in the distance, the Catskills, belted by clouds, appeared as if their blue heads were suspended in the atmosphere and mingling with the sky, from which an eye familiar with their beautiful outline could alone distinguish them. But the foreground of his picture was most interesting to Eliot; and as his eye again fell on the little glen sleeping in the silvery arms of the rills between which it lies — 'can this place,' he thought,

'so steeped in nature's loveliness, so enshrined in her temple, be the abode of treachery! It has been of heartlessness, coquetry, duplicity — ah, there is no power in nature, in the outward world, to convert the bad — blessings it has; blessings manifold, for the good.'

"The spirit of man, alone in nature's solitudes, is an instrument which she manages at will; and Eliot, in his deepening seriousness and anxiety, felt himself answering to her changing aspect. The young foliage of the well-wooded little knoll that rises over the glen had looked fresh and feathery, and as bright as an infant awaking to happy consciousness; but as the sun withdrew its beams, it appeared as dreary as if it had parted from a smiling friend. And when the last gleams of day had stolen up the side of the Crow's Nest, shot over the summit of Break-neck, flushed the clouds and disappeared, and the wavy lines and natural terraces beyond Cold Spring, and the mass of rocks and pines of Constitution Island, were wrapped in sad-colored uniform, Eliot shrunk from the influence of the general desolateness, and became impatient of his voluntary watch.

"One after another the kindly-beaming home lights shot forth from hill and valley, and Eliot's eye catching that which flashed from Mr. Ruthven's window, he determined on a reconnoitre; and passing in front of the house he saw Washington and his host seated at a table, served with wine and nuts, but none of those tropical luxuries that had been manifestly brought to the glen by the stranger-guests from the sloop-of-war. Eliot's heart gladdened at seeing the friends enjoying one of those smooth and delicious passages that sometimes vary the ruggedest path of life. That expression of repelling and immovable gravity, that look of tension (with him the bow was always strained) that characterized Washington's face, had vanished like a cloud; and it now serenely reflected the social affections (bright and gentle spirits!) that, for the time, mastered his perplexing cares. He was retracing the period of his boyhood; a period, however cloudy in its passage, always bright when surveyed over the shoulder. He recalled his first field-sports, in which Ruthven had been his companion and teacher; and they laughingly reviewed many an accident by flood and field. 'No wonder,' thought Eliot, as in passing he glanced at Ruthven's honest, jocund face; 'no wonder Washington would not distrust him!'

"Eliot returned to his post. The stars had come out, and looked down coldly and dimly through a hazy atmosphere. The night was becoming obscure. A mist was rising; and shortly after a heavy fog covered the surface of the river. Eliot wondered that Kisel had not made his appearance; for, desultory as the

fellow was, he was as true to his master as the magnet to the pole. Darkness is a wonderful magnifier of apprehended danger; and, as it deepened, Eliot felt as if enemies were approaching from every quarter. Listening intently, he heard a distant sound of oars. He was all ear. 'Thank Heaven!' he exclaimed, 'it is Kisel — a single pair of oars, and his plashy irregular dip!' In a few moments he was discernible; and nearing the shore, he jumped upon the rock where Eliot stood, crying out exultingly, 'I've dodged 'em, hey!'

"'Softly, Kisel; who have you dodged?'

"'Them red birds in their borrowed feathers. Cheat me? No. Can't I tell them that chops, and reaps, and mows, and thrashes, from them that only handles a sword or a gun, let 'em put on what ev'yday clothes they will?'

"'Tell me, Kisel, plainly and quickly, what you mean.'

"A command from Eliot, uttered in a tone of even slight displeasure, had a marvellous effect in steadying Kisel's wits; and he answered with tolerable clearness and precision: — 'I was cutting 'cross lots before sunset with a mess of trout, long as my arm — shiners! when I stumbled on a bunch of fellows, squatted 'mong high bushes. They held me by the leg, and said they'd come down with provisions for Square Ruthven's folks; and they had not got a pass, and so must wait for nightfall; and they'd have me stay and guide 'em across, for they knew they might ground at low water if they did not get the right track. I mistrusted 'em. I knew by their tongues they came from below; and so I cried, and told 'em I should get a whipping if I didn't get home afore sundown; and one of 'em held a pistol to my head, loaded, primed, and cocked, and told me he'd shoot my brains out if I didn't do as he bid me. "Lo'd o' massy!' says I, 'don't shoot —'twon't do any good, for I hant got no brains, hey!"'

"'Never mind what you said or they said; what did you do?'

"'I didn't do nothing. They held me fast till night; and then they pushed their boat out of a kind 'o hiding-place, and come alongside mine, and put me into it, an told me to pilot 'em. You know that sandy strip a bit off t'other shore? I knew my boat would swim over it like a cob,—and I guessed they'd swamp, and they did; diddle me if they didn't!'

"'Are they there now?'

"'There! not if they've the wit of sucking turkeys. The river there is not deep enough to drown a dead dog, and they might jump in and pull the boat out.'

"A slight westerly breeze was now rising, which lifted and wafted the fog so that half the width of the river was suddenly unveiled, and Eliot descried a boat making towards the glen. 'By Heaven! there they are!' he exclaimed; 'follow me,

Kisel;' and without entering the house, he ran to the stable close by. Fortunately, often having had occasion, during his visits at the glen, to bestow his own horse, he was familiar with the 'whereabouts;' and in one instant General Washington's charger was bridled and at the door, held by Kisel; while Eliot rushed into the house, and in ten words communicated the danger and the means of escape. General Washington said not a word till, as he sprang on the horse, Ruthven, on whose astounded mind the truth dawned, exclaimed, 'I am innocent.' He replied, 'I believe you.'

"Washington immediately galloped up the steep imbowered road to the Point. Eliot hesitated for a moment, doubting whether to attempt a retreat or remain where he was, when Mr. Ruthven grasped his arm, exclaiming, 'Stay, for God's sake, Mr. Lee, stay, and witness to my innocence.' The imploring agony with which he spoke would have persuaded a more inflexible person than Eliot Lee. In truth, there was little use in attempting to fly, for the footsteps of the party were already heard approaching the house. They entered, five armed men, and were laying their hands on Eliot, when Mr. Ruthven's frantic gestures, and his shouts of 'He's safe, he's safe, he's escaped ye!' revealed to them the truth; and they perceived what in their impetuosity they had overlooked, that they held an unknown young man in their grasp instead of the priceless Washington! Deep were the oaths they swore as they dispersed to search the premises, all excepting one young man, whose arm Mr. Ruthven had grasped, and to whom he said, 'Harry, you've ruined me; you've made me a traitor in the eyes of Washington; the basest traitor! He said, God bless him! that he believed me innocent; but he will not when he reflects that it was I who invited him,—who pressed him to come here this evening,—the conspiracy seemed evident,—undeniable! Oh, Harry, Harry, you and your mad sister have ruined me!'

"The young man seemed deeply affected by his father's emotion. He attempted to justify himself on the plea that he dared not set his filial feeling against the importance of ending the war by a single stroke; but this plea neither convinced nor consoled his father. Young Ruthven's associates soon returned, having abandoned their search, and announced the necessity of their immediate return to the boat. 'You must go with us, sir,' said Ruthven to his father; 'for blameless as you are, you will be treated by the rebels as guilty of treason.'

"'By Heaven, Harry, I'll not go. I had rather die a thousand deaths, — on the gallows, if I must — I'll not budge a foot.

"'He must go, there is no alternative, you must aid me,' said young Ruthven to his companions. They advanced to seize his

father. 'Off! off!' he cried, struggling against them. 'I'll not go a living man.'

"Eliot interposed; and addressing himself to young Ruthven, said, 'Believe me, sir, you are mistaking your duty. Your father's good name must be dearer to you than his life; and his good name is blasted forever, if in these circumstances he leaves here. But his life is in no danger—none whatever—he is in the hands of his friend, and that friend the most generous, as well as just, of all human beings. You misunderstand the temper of General Washington, if you think he would believe your father guilty of the vilest treachery without damning proof.' Young Ruthven was more than half convinced by Eliot, and his companions had by this time become impatient of delay. Their spirit had gone with the hope that inspired their enterprise, and they were now only anxious to secure a retreat to their vessel. They had some little debate among themselves whether they should make Eliot prisoner; but, on young Ruthven's suggestion that Lieutenant Lee's testimony might be important to his father, they consented to leave him, one of them expressing in a whisper the prevailing sentiment, 'We should feel sheepish enough to gain but a paltry knight, when we expected a checkmate by our move.'

"In a few moments more they were off; but not till young Ruthven had vainly tried to get a kind parting word from his father. 'No, Harry,' he said, 'I'll not forgive you, I can't; you've put my honor in jeopardy, no, never;' and as his son turned sorrowfully away, he added, 'Never, Hal, till this cursed war is at an end.'

"Early next morning Eliot Lee requested an audience of Washington, and was immediately admitted, and most cordially received. 'Thank God, my dear young friend,' he said, 'you are safe, and here. I sent repeatedly to your lodgings last night, and hearing nothing, I have been exceedingly anxious. Satisfy me on one point, and then tell me what happened after my forced retreat. I trust in Heaven this affair is not bruited.'

"Eliot assured him he had not spoken of it to a human being, not even to Linwood; and that he had enjoined strict secrecy on Kisel, on whose obedience he could rely.

"'Thank you, thank you, Mr. Lee,' said Washington, with a warmth startling from him, 'I should have expected this from you, the generous devotion of youth, and the coolness and prudence of ripe age — a rare union.'

"Such words from him who *never* flattered and rarely praised, might well, as they did, make the blood gush from the heart to the cheeks. 'I am most grateful for this approbation, sir,' said Eliot.

"'Grateful! Would to Heaven I had some recompense to make for the immense favor you have done me, beside words; but the importance of keeping the affair secret precludes all other return. I think it will not transpire from the enemy,—they are not like to publish a baffled enterprise. I am most particularly pleased that you went alone to the glen. In this instance I almost agree with Cardinal de Retz, who says, 'he held men in greater esteem for what they forbore to do than for what they did.' I now see where I erred yesterday. It did not occur to me that there could be a plot without my friend being accessory to it. I did not err in trusting him. This war has cost me dear; but, thank Heaven, it has not shaken, but fortified, my confidence in human virtue!' Washington then proceeded to inquire into the occurrences at the glen after he left there, and ended with giving Eliot a note to deliver to Mr. Ruthven, which proved a healing balm to the good man's wounds.

"Our revolutionary contest, by placing men in new relations, often exhibited in new force and beauty the ties that bind together the human family. Sometimes, it is true, they were lightly snapped asunder, but oftener they manifested an all-resisting force, and a union that, as in some chemical combinations, no test could dissolve."—pp. 153—163.

Although Miss Ruthven fails in her enterprise upon the person of Washington, she succeeds to her mind, as we have said, with Meredith. The encounter of these two personages, is in the nature of "diamond cut diamond," but the superior aptitude of the sex for this kind of management, carries the day, and Meredith is fairly out-generalled. We copy the account of the last decisive manœuvre. He has just received a note from Isabella Linwood, in which she gives him a final dismission, when Helen Ruthven enters.

"Meredith was roused by the soft fall of a footstep. He started, and saw Helen Ruthven, who had just entered, and was in the act of picking up the note he had thrown down. She looked at the superscription, then at Meredith. Her lustrous eyes suffused with tears, and the tears formed into actual drops, rolled down her cheeks. 'Oh, happy, most happy Isabella Linwood!' she exclaimed. Meredith took the note from her and threw it into the fire. Miss Ruthven stared at him, and lifted up her hands with an unfeigned emotion of astonishment. After a moment's pause, she added, 'I still say, *most* happy Isabella Linwood. And yet, if she cannot estimate the worth of the priceless kingdom she sways, is she most happy? You do not answer me; and you, of all the world, cannot.' Meredith did not reply by

word; but Miss Ruthvens's quick eye perceived the cloud clearing from his brow; and she ventured to try the effect of a stronger light. 'I cannot comprehend this girl,' she continued; 'she is a riddle; an insolvable riddle to me. A passionless mortal seems to me to approach nearer to a monster than to a divinity deserving your idolatry, Meredith. She cannot be the cold apathetic, statue-like person she appears —'

"'And why not, Miss Ruthven?'

"'Simply because a passionless being cannot inspire passion; and yet — and yet, if she were a marble statue, your love should have been the Promethean touch to infuse a soul. Pardon me — *pity* me, if I speak too plainly; there are moments when the heart will burst the barriers of prudence — there are moments of desperation, of self-abandonment, I cannot be bound by those petty axioms and frigid rules that shackle my sex — I cannot weigh my words — I must pour out my heart, even though this prodigality of its treasures 'naught enriches you, and makes me poor indeed!'

"Helen Ruthven's broken sentences were linked together by expressive glances and effective pauses. She gave to her words all the force of intonation and emphasis, which produce the effect of polish on metal, making it dazzling, without adding an iota to its intrinsic value. Meredith lent a most attentive ear, mentally comparing the while Miss Ruthven's lavished sensibilities to Isabella's jealous reserve. He should have discriminated between the generosity that gives what is nothing worth, and the fidelity that watches over an immortal treasure; but vanity wraps itself in impenetrable darkness. He only felt that he was in a labyrinth of which Helen Ruthven held the clew; and that he was in the process of preparation to follow whithersoever she willed to lead him.

"We let the curtain fall here; we have no taste for showing off the infirm of our own sex. We were willing to supply some intimations that might be available to our ingenuous and all-believing young male friends; but we would not reveal to our fair and true-hearted readers the flatteries, pretences, false assumptions, and elaborate blandishments, by which a hackneyed woman of the world dupes and beguiles; and at last (obeying the inflexible law of reaping as she sows) pays the penalty of her folly in a life of matrimonial union without affection — a wretched destiny, well fitting those who profane the sanctuary of the affections with hypocritical worship.

"While the web is spinning around Meredith, we leave him with the wish that all the Helen Ruthvens in the world may have as fair game as Jasper Meredith." — pp. 208—210.

We are tempted, at the risk of extending our extracts too far, to copy the passage describing the scene in which Bessie Lee restores to Meredith, on meeting him in New York, the presents which he had made to her.

"Eliot retreated, and stood still and breathless to catch the first sound of Bessie's voice; but he heard nothing but the exclamation, 'She is not here!' Eliot sprang forward. The door of the apartment which led into the side passage and the outer door were both open, and Eliot, forgetful of every thing but his sister, was rushing into the street, when Bessie entered the street door with Jasper Meredith! Impelled by her ruling purpose to see Meredith, she had, on her first discovery of the side passage, escaped into the street, where the first person she encountered was he whose image had so long been present to her, that seeing him with her bodily organ seemed to make no new impression, nor even to increase the vividness of the image stamped on her memory. She had thrown on her cloak, but had nothing on her head; and her hair fell in its natural fair curls over her face and neck. Singular as it was for the delicate, timid Bessie to appear in this guise in the public street, or to appear there at all, and much as he was started by her faded, stricken form, the truth did not at once occur to Meredith. The wildness of her eye was subdued in the dim twilight; she spoke in her accustomed quiet manner; and after answering to his first inquiry that she was perfectly well *now*, she begged him to go into Mrs. Archer's with her, as she had something there to restore to him. He endeavored to put her off with a commonplace evasion — 'he was engaged now, would come some other time,' &c., but she was not to be eluded; and seeing some acquaintances approaching, whose observation he did not care to encounter, he ascended Mrs. Archer's steps, and found himself in the presence of those whom he would have wished most to avoid; but there was no retreat.

"Bessie now acted with an irresistible energy. 'This way,' said she, leading Meredith into the room she had quitted — 'come all of you in here,' glancing her eye from Meredith to Isabella and Eliot, but without manifesting the slightest surprise or emotion of any sort at seeing them, but simply saying with a smile of satisfaction, as she shut the door and threw off her cloak, 'I expected this — I *knew* it would be so. In visions by day, and dreams by night, I always saw you together.

"It was a minute before Eliot could command his voice for utterance. He folded his arms around Bessie, and murmured, 'My sister! — my dear sister!'

"She drew back, and placing her hands on his shoulders and

smiling, said, 'Tears, Eliot, tears! Oh, shame, when this is the proudest, happiest moment of your sister's life!'

"'Is she mad?' asked Meredith of Isabella.

"Bessie's ear caught his last word. 'Mad!' she repeated — 'I think all the world is mad; but I alone am not! I have heard that whom the gods would destroy they first make mad; men and angels have been employed to save me from destruction.'

"'It is idle to stay here to listen to these ravings,' said Meredith, in a low voice, to Miss Linwood; and he was about to make his escape, when Isabella interposed; 'Stay for a moment, I entreat you,' she said; 'she has been very eager to see you, and it is sometimes of use to gratify these humors.'

"In the meantime Eliot, his heart burning within him at his sister's being gazed at as a spectacle by that man of all the world from whose eye he would have sheltered her, was persuading her, as he would a wayward child, to leave the apartment. She resisted his importunities with a sort of gentle pity for his blindness, and a perfect assurance that she was guided by light from Heaven. 'Dear Eliot,' she said, 'you know not what you ask of me. For this hour my life has been prolonged, my strength miraculously sustained. You have all been assembled here — you, Eliot, because a brother should sustain his sister, share her honor, and partake her happiness; Jasper Meredith to receive back those charms and spells by which my too willing spirit was bound; and you, Isabella Linwood, to see how, in my better mind, I yield him to you.'

She took from her bosom a small ivory box, and opening it, she said, advancing to Meredith, and showing him a withered rosebud, 'Do you remember this? You plucked it from a little bush that almost dipped its leaves in that cold spring on the hill-side — do you remember? It was a hot summer's afternoon, and you had been reading poetry to me; you said there was a delicate praise in the sweet breath of flowers that suited me, and some silly thing you said, Jasper that you should not, of wishing yourself a flower that you might breathe the incense that you were not at liberty to speak; and then you taught me the Persian language of flowers. I kept this little bud; it faded, but was still sweet. Alas! — alas! I cherished it for its Persian meaning.' Her reminiscence seemed too vivid, her voice faltered, and her eye fell from its fixed gaze on Meredith; but suddenly her countenance brightened, and she turned to Isabella, who stood by the mantelpiece resting her throbbing head on her hand, and added, 'Take it, Isabella, it is a true symbol to you.'

"Eliot for the first time turned his eye from his sister, and even at that moment of anguish a thrill of joy shot through every vein, when he saw Isabella take the bud, pull apart its shrivelled

leaves and throw them from her. Meredith stood leaning against the wall, his arms folded, and his lips curled into a smile that was intended to express scornful unconcern. He might have expressed it, he might possibly have felt it towards Bessie Lee; but when he saw Isabella throw away the bud, when he met the indignant glance of her eye flashing through the tears that suffused it, a livid paleness spread around his mouth, and that feature, the most expressive and truest organ of the soul, betrayed his inward conflict. He snatched his hat to leave the room; Bessie laid her hand on his arm: 'Oh, do not go; I shall be cast back into my former wretchedness if you go now.'

"'Stay, sir,' said Eliot; 'my sister shall not be crossed.'

"'With all my heart; I have not the slightest objection to playing out my dumb show between vaporing and craziness.'

"'Villain!' exclaimed Eliot — the young men exchanged glances of fire. Bessie placed herself between them, and stretching out her arms, laid a hand on the breast of each, as if to keep them apart. — 'Now this is unkind — unkind in both of you. I have come such a long and wearisome journey to make peace for all of us; and if you will but let me finish my task, I shall lay me down and sleep — for ever, I think.'

"Eliot pressed the burning hand to his lips. 'My poor, dear sister,' he said, 'I will not speak another word, if I die in the effort to keep silence.'

"'Thanks, dear Eliot,' she replied; and putting both her arms around his neck, she added, in a whisper, 'do not be angry if he again call me crazy; there be many that have called me so — they mistake inspiration for madness, you know.' Never was Eliot's self-command so tested; and retiring to the farthest part of the room, he stood with knit brows and compressed lips, looking and feeling like a man stretched on the rack, while Bessie pursued her fancied mission. 'Do you remember this chain?' she asked, as she opened a bit of paper, and let fall a gold chain over Meredith's arm. He started as if he were stung. 'It cannot harm you,' she said, faintly smiling, as she noticed his recoiling. 'This was the charm.' She smoothed the paper envelope. 'As often as I looked at it, the feeling with which I first read it shot through my heart — strange, for there does not seem much in it.' She murmured the words pencilled by Meredith on the envelope,

> "'Can she who weaves electric chains to bind the heart,
> Refuse the golden links that boast no mystic art?'

"'Oh, well do I remember,' she cast up her eyes as one does who is retracing the past, 'the night you gave me this; Eliot was

in Boston; mother was — I don't remember where, and we had been all the evening sitting on the porch. The honey-suckles and white roses were in bloom, and the moon shone in through their leaves. It was then you first spoke of your mother in England, and you said much of the happy destiny of those who were not shackled by pride and avarice; and when you went away, you pressed my hand to your heart, and put this little packet in it. Yet' (turning to Isabella) 'he never *said* he loved me. It was only my over-credulous fancy. Take it, Isabella; it belongs to you, who really weave the chain that binds the heart.'

"Meredith seized the chain as she stretched out her hand, and crushed it under his foot. Bessie looked from him to Isabella, and seemed for a moment puzzled; then said, acquiescingly, 'Ah, it's all well; symbols do not make nor change realities. This little brooch,' she continued, steadily pursuing her purpose, in the shape of a forget-me-not, 'I think was powerless. What need had I of a forget-me-not, when memory devoured every faculty of my being? No, there was no charm in the forget-me-not; but oh, this little pencil,' she took from the box the end of a lead pencil, 'with which we copied and scribbled poetry together. How many thoughts has this little instrument unlocked — what affections have hovered over its point, and gone thrilling back through the heart! You must certainly take this, Isabella, for there is yet a wonderful power in this magical little pencil — it can make such revelations.'

"'Dear Bessie, I have no revelations to make.'

"'Is my task finished?' asked Merideth.

"'Not yet — not quite yet — be patient — patience is a great help; I have found it so. Do you remember this?' She held up before Meredith a tress of her own fair hair, tied with a raven lock of his in a true-love knot. 'Ah, Isabella, I know very well it was not maidenly of me to tie this; I knew it then, and I begged it of him with many tears, did I not, Jasper? but I *kept* it — that was wrong too. Now, Mr. Meredith, you will help me to untie it?'

"'Pardon me; I have no skill in such matters.'

"'Ah, is it easier to tie than to untie a true-love knot? Alas, alas! I have found it so. But you must help me. My head is growing dizzy, and I am so faint here! She laid her hand on her heart. 'It must be parted — dear Isabella, you will help me — you can untie a true-love's knot?'

"I can sever it,' said Isabella, with an emphasis that went to the heart of more than one that heard her. She took a pair of scissors from the table, and cut the knot. The black lock fell on the floor; the pretty tress of Bessie's hair curled around

her finger; — 'I will keep this for ever, my sweet Bessie,' she said; the memorial of innocence, and purity, and much abused trust.'

"'Oh, I did not mean that — I did not mean that, Isabella. Surely I have not accused him; I told you he never *said* he loved me. I am not angry with him — you must not be. You cannot be long, if you love him; and surely you do love him.'

"'Indeed, indeed I do not.'

"'Isabella Linwood! you *have* loved him.' She threw one arm around Isabella's neck, and looked with a piercing gaze in her face. Isabella would at this moment have given worlds to have answered with truth — 'No, *never!*' She would have given her life to have repressed the treacherous blood, that, rushing to her neck, cheeks, and temples, answered unequivocally Bessie's ill-timed question.

"Meredith's eye was riveted to her face, and the transition from the humiliation, the utter abasement of the moment before, to the undeniable and manifested certainty that he had been loved by the all-exacting, the unattainable Isabella Linwood, was more than he could bear, without expressing his exultation. 'I thank you, Bessie Lee,' he cried; 'this triumph is worth all I have endured from your raving and silly drivelling. Your silent confession, Miss Linwood, is *satisfactory*, full, and plain enough; but it has come a thought too late. Good-evening to you — a fair good-night, to you, sir. I advise you to take care that your sister sleep more and *dream* less.'

"There is undoubtedly a pleasure, transient it may be, but real it is, in the gratification of the baser passions. Meredith was a self idolater; and at the very moment when his divinity was prostrate, it had been revived by the sweetest, the most unexpected incense. No wonder he was intoxicated. How long his delirium lasted, and what were its effects, are still to be seen. His parting taunts were lost on those he left behind.

"Bessie believed that her mission was fulfilled and ended. The artificial strength which, while she received it as the direct gift of Heaven, her highly-wrought imagination had supplied, was exhausted. As Meredith closed the door, she turned to Eliot, and locking her arms around him, gazed at him with an expression of natural tenderness, that can only be imagined by those who have been so fortunate as to see Fanny Kemble's exquisite personation of Ophelia, and who remember (who could forget it?) her action at the end of the flower-scene, when reason and nature seeming to overpower her wild fancies, she throws her arms around Laer-

tes's neck, and with one flash of her all-speaking eyes, makes every chord of the heart vibrate." — pp. 180—189.

We take our leave of Miss Sedgwick, on this as on every former occasion of the same kind, with feelings of unmixed gratitude for the entertainment afforded by her works, and for the favorable moral influence which they exercise upon the community. If her literary power be somewhat less than that of her illustrious English prototype, Miss Edgeworth, the moral strain of her writings is of a yet higher cast. There are some appearances in the present state of learning, which seem to show that the ladies are taking the department of novel-writing into their own hands, and if they would all manage it with the ability, taste and discretion of our author, we cannot say that we should deeply regret the revolution. We noticed, not long ago, accounts in the newspapers of a meeting of female writers of this and other countries, at the residence of Miss Sedgwick, in Berkshire. If we were not misinformed by the daily chronicles of the times, Mrs. Sigourney, Mrs. Butler, Miss Martineau, Miss Gould, and we know not how many more of their fair compeers, were assembled upon this occasion, constituting a sort of female *wittenagemote*, or, in more intelligible language, a *Blue Congress*. The newspapers, after dwelling with great enthusiasm upon what was to be expected from this brilliant assemblage, have preserved a rather ominous silence upon what was really done, nor has any authentic journal of proceedings been issued, as far as we are apprised, by the Diet itself. We venture to hope, however, that the object of the fair members of this re-union, was to encourage each other to persevere in the literary pursuits, to which they have all devoted themselves with so much success. There is something in the department of polite learning, and especially of the novel, dwelling as it does, or should do, chiefly on the scenes and characters of domestic life, that renders it a field peculiarly fitted for the graceful genius of the sex. When a man sits down to write a novel, he is apt to consider it as a means of effecting some, as he supposes, more important end, and you find with dismay, before you have finished the first volume, that you are perusing, under this seductive form, a treatise on metaphysics, or an inquiry into the antiquities of Italy, Egypt or China. But a female novelist gives up her whole work, with her heart and soul in it, to the distresses of the lovers. When she has introduced her hero and heroine in all their faultless perfection, at-

tended with the usual accompaniment of other personages, has led them through the mazes of intrigue and adventure for the regular four volumes, and brought them, at the close of the last, to the desired consummation of a fortunate marriage, she is fully satisfied. She would not exchange her achievement for the most perfect political constitution that ever came out of the pigeon-holes of the Abbé Siéyes. And this is as it should be. These, after all, are the novels for our money. We like metaphysics, we like morals, we like history ; but we like them all in their places, and we do not like them dished up in the form of a novel. Let then Miss Sedgwick continue to give us more Clarences, and more Linwoods. Let her accomplished relative bring us acquainted with more of the family of Allen Prescott. Let the interesting stranger who is now refreshing us with the light of her countenance, open again, on her return to her native country, the rich store-house of her Illustrations, taking care, if it please her, that the seasoning of political economy be a little less copious. Let the author of the Affianced One, draw the curtain, and shew us the Two Brides whom she has so long reserved for her private society; or, if she prefer it, let her weave a new and plaintive tale of some love-lorn Greek, or Italian Princess. Let Mrs. Butler, having now sown her wild oats, string her golden harp to the high strain of which it is capable. Let Miss Gould and Mrs. Sigourney warble their native wood notes wild. Come one ; come all. The public, we think we can assure them, will read, and what is better, buy, as long as they will write. We can add, if it will give them any further satisfaction, that while we continue our critical labors, their charming productions shall never want faithful, however in other respects, incompetent Reviewers. Such of them as are well versed in the mysteries of the craft, are aware that this point is one of no small consequence, and they will be encouraged, we trust, by this assurance, to pursue their useful and agreeable labors, with redoubled assiduity.

ART. VIII. — *Arago on Comets.*

1. *Des Comètes en Général et en Particulier de la Comète qui doit reparaître en* 1832 *et dont la Revolution est de* 6 *ans* $\frac{3}{4}$. 18mo. Paris 1831. Par M. ARAGO, Membre du Bureau des Longitudes.
2. *Des Comètes en Général et en Particulier de celles qui doivent paraître en* 1832 *et* 1835. Par M. ARAGO, Membre du Bureau des Longitudes. 18mo. Paris. 1834.

THE present return of Halley's comet seems a fit occasion for some remarks upon this class of heavenly bodies, and upon that wonderful science which has revealed to us the secret mechanism of their motions. How different the impression now produced upon the public mind, from that which was manifested five revolutions ago, in 1456, when all good christians were solemnly called upon by their acknowledged head, the Pope, to curse the Comet together with the Turks, whose arms then threatened the subjugation of the fairest portions of christendom. We of the present day, have our eyes indeed directed to the same object, but with a state of mind how different? We are not taken by surprise; we are not alarmed at the novel spectacle; we were fully prepared for it, were expecting it almost impatiently; we had indicated the time when, and the spot where it was to make its first appearance; had traced among the stars, the path it was to describe; foretold the rate of its progress from day to day, and the general increase of its magnitude and brightness; when it was to be seen with the telescope, and when with the naked eye. All these minute particulars, and many more have long been before the world. They have been presented in every variety of form, adapted to the comprehension of different classes of readers. What a responsibility is thus assumed, on the part of those who have undertaken to make the future present? What confidence is thus manifested in the truth of those principles which have led to such astonishing predictions? With what a firm and unhesitating faith have these predictions been received? Who has doubted whether or not a comet would appear at this time, attended by those peculiar phenomena by which it has been distinguished? Is any one surprised at what has actually

occurred; that in every essential particular the prediction has been verified? It may be said, perhaps, that nine persons out of ten have not thought about the matter, and have given themselves no concern whether the comet made its appearance or not, or whether it conformed or not to what was foretold. But we would ask whence this indifference and unconcern? How happens it that men's minds are not now agitated as they were formerly? Who has taught us, that unusual appearances are no occasion for alarm and terror? That they are not to be regarded as symptoms of derangement or interruptions of established order, or tokens of the displeasure of the Almighty? Is not this absence of all anxiety and concern on the part of the unlearned one of the beneficial results, and not the least, which has attended the successful study of the stars? From year to year we are taught in our almanacs, which are perhaps more widely diffused than any other class of publications, not only the regular and stated occurrences of particular seasons, but rare and extraordinary events in the heavens, as eclipses of the sun and moon, the obscuration of a star or planet, and now and then the return of a comet to the sun, after long wandering in the remote regions of space. These predictions, accompanied as they are, with the minutest detail as to time, place, and circumstance, and followed as they have now been, for so many years, with the most exact fulfilment, have had an almost miraculous influence upon the public mind. The most illiterate are capable of appreciating this evidence, this undeniable and irrefragable proof of the high advancement of that science, which has thus enabled us to penetrate the future, and to forewarn mankind of events that are to come.

The history of this branch of astronomy, dates back only about two centuries. The accounts of comets that have come down to us from earlier times, although somewhat numerous, and in many cases relating to extraordinary celestial objects, are nevertheless so vague, and in all probability so exaggerated, as to be of little value. While the opinion prevailed, that comets were temporary fires lighted up in our own atmosphere, that is, of the same nature with those transient meteors that attract a momentary gaze and disappear, no exact observations were made, and no pains seem to have been taken to verify an hypothesis so hastily and generally received. It appears not a little strange to us of the present day, that it

did not occur to men so acute, and sagacious as Aristotle and others, who evidently had paid some attention to this subject, that meteors, and all atmospherical objects are to be seen only over a small extent of the earth's surface, and that they are seen in opposite directions from places not very remote from each other. The great meteor, for instance, which exploded over Weston, in the state of Connecticut, in 1807, seemed to be in a southwesterly direction, to persons in the neighborhood of Boston, whereas to a spectator near Philadelphia, it appeared in the opposite part of the heavens; and it was below the horizon, or wholly invisible, to persons situated at the distance of only a few hundred miles. Now it is very well known, that when a comet presents itself, it is not only seen over an extent of thousands of miles, but it seems to occupy throughout this region, the same place in the heavens. It appears in the same constellation, and near the same star. The path of the present comet, for instance, traced among the stars, is essentially the same to European and American observers. It is hence manifest, without having recourse to any exact observations, that comets cannot be very near the earth, as the ancient astronomers supposed; that they must be far removed out of our atmosphere even to the region of the planets. This important circumstance was first fully ascertained by Tycho Brahe; and being well established, it was sufficient of itself to overthrow the ancient doctrine on this subject. One reason, no doubt, why this crude opinion prevailed so long, was the belief in the existence of solid crystal orbs supporting the planets, and wheeling one within the other. The idea of large bodies, like what we now understand the comets to be, intersecting and traversing those solid spheres of crystal, was wholly inadmissible and irreconcilable with the received notions, touching the heavenly bodies; a striking example of the tendency of error to propagate itself.

Comets being thus recognised as very distant bodies like the planets, the next inquiry was to ascertain the paths they described, and the laws which govern their motions. The keen and penetrating eye of Newton was now directed to this subject, and comets at once assumed the dignity of planets, revolving round the same central body, describing the same kind of curves, preserved in their places by the same forces, subjected to the same laws, and differing only, or principally in this: that their orbits are more oval, or more elongated, and

lie in all manner of directions. This bold position was put to the test, in the case of the remarkable comet of 1680, which presented itself at this critical juncture, as if to vindicate this class of bodies of which it was so splendid a representative. The genius of Newton triumphed in this as in all his great enterprises; and comets now began to be regarded as an important part of the solar system. To put this rational and sublime theory beyond all question, and to convince the world of its truth, it was only necessary to identify a comet as one which had before appeared, or, in other words, to foretel the return of one of these bodies, and delineate beforehand its path through the heavens. This nice and difficult task was undertaken and accomplished by Halley. By comparing a comet which appeared in 1682, and which he saw himself, with one which was observed in 1607, they seemed to describe one and the same orbit.* It was not to be supposed that two comets would follow each other in identically the same path round the sun. It was fairly presumed therefore, that these were not two separate comets, but different appearances of one and the same comet; and that the interval between 1607 and 1682, or about 75 years, was the time employed to complete a revolution. This conclusion was rendered still more probable by going back about 75 years further, namely to 1531, when we find a comet described, that, from the observations that have come down to us, evidently pursued the same track through the heavens, which was described by that of 1607, and that of 1602. If any doubt remained of the identity of these comets, it must certainly be removed, when we are told further, that at another interval of the same length, that is to say, in the year 1456, there is a record of a comet whose path seemed evidently to correspond with those already referred to.

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* An orbit is recognised to be the same with a former one, when it has in all respects the same position in the heavens, that is, when there is an agreement in the following particulars. 1. The *perihelion distance*, or distance of the point of nearest approach to the sun. 2. The position of this point or *longitude of the perihelion*. 3 The *inclination* of the plane of the orbit to the plane of the ecliptic. 4. The position of the intersection of these planes, or the *longitude of the node*. 5. The *direction* of the motion, whether from west to east like the planets or the reverse. The comet of 1682, for instance, had its orbit determined as follows;

Perihelion distance.	Longitude of the perihelion.	Inclination.	Longitude of the node	Direction
0. 58 Sun's distance from the earth, being 1.	301° 36′	17° 42′	50°48′	Retrograde.

The following are the corresponding particulars for the comet of 1607.

0.58	302° 16′	17° 2′	50° 21′	Retrograde.

With such evidence before him, Halley ventured to infer that the comet of 1682 revolved round the sun, in about seventy-five or seventy-six years, and that consequently it might be expected to appear again, after the lapse of another such period. He accordingly had the courage and the good fortune to predict that this same comet would return towards the close of the year 1758, or the beginning of 1759. The time of a revolution seemed to be liable to considerable variation, which might be attributed, with great probability, to the attraction of the planets. To fix the time of the predicted return, as precisely as the nature of the case would admit, Clairaut undertook to calculate the effect which the larger planets, Jupiter and Saturn would have, in accelerating or retarding the motion of the comet, the result of which was, that the return of the comet to its perihelion, would be delayed by these two planets, about one year and eight months. The time fixed by Clairaut for the comet's reaching its point of nearest approach to the sun, was the 4th of April. He observed, at the same time, that he might err a month, by neglecting small quantities in the calculation. The comet was first seen near Dresden, by a peasant, on the 25th of December, 1758, thus verifying the prediction of Halley; and it passed its point of nearest approach to the sun, the 13th of March, 1759, within twenty-three days of the time fixed by Clairaut, for the perihelion passage, and accordingly falling within the assigned limits. The fulfilment of this memorable prediction, placed the theory of comets upon a sure basis. It has not only confirmed those who had entered into all the *a priori* reasoning upon the subject, but it was of a nature to carry conviction to the unlearned and the sceptical, to convert the mass of mankind, and make them firm believers, not only in the new doctrine respecting comets, but in the whole science of modern astronomy. A comet is no longer a meteor, a transient fire in our atmosphere. It is no longer a messenger of evil. It is no longer to be dreaded as a mysterious and unwelcome intruder among the celestial luminaries. It is to be ranked among the great works of nature. It is not only a curious object to behold, but it affords an interesting subject of contemplation. We delight to trace it through its long journey of three fourths of a century; and when the eye can no longer distinguish it, to follow it in imagination, as it pursues its upward flight, leaving planet after planet far behind, penetrating the unexplored depths of space, with an almost

inexhaustible force, and not ceasing its ascent, till it has doubled the distance of the most remote of the planetary bodies.

Other comets are at length found, as might be expected, to possess the character of revolving bodies. A comet appeared in 1818, which was recognised as one which had been observed several times before. Its orbit was of so small an extent, compared with that of most comets, as to admit of its period, or time of a complete revolution, being computed. This was ascertained by Encke, to be about three years and a third, and its return was predicted to take place in June 1822. Astronomers were apprised at the same time, that its situation in the heavens, would be such as to render it invisible in Europe and this country; but that it would be seen by the inhabitants of New South Wales. It actually returned according to the prediction; and after sufficient time had elapsed for intelligence to arrive from that quarter of the globe, we were greeted with a regular set of observations, made by Mr. Rumker, an experienced astronomer, at Paramata, completely justifying the anticipations of the sagacious Encke. This name has therefore already become familiar to us, like that of Halley, as a convenient means of designating a comet, with which we are continually becoming more and more acquainted, and through it, with the whole class to which it belongs. As it completes a revolution in about three years and a third, it has returned several times since 1822, namely, in 1825, 1828, 1832, and in the month of August of the year just closed. These frequent returns have been applied to a valuable purpose. They have served to teach us that the celestial spaces are in all probability not absolutely void, as we have been accustomed to regard them. There is the strongest reason for believing that this comet is resisted by an ether or some extremely rare medium. At each successive return, the evidence has accumulated, till at last the position assumed seems scarcely to admit of a doubt. The effect of the supposed medium has been, by checking the motion of the comet, in the direction of a tangent to its orbit, to cause the attraction toward the sun to predominate, whereby the path described is continually contracted into a sort of spiral, the time of a revolution at the same time being continually diminished. The amount of this diminution is found to be about two days each revolution, after making allowance, with all possible precision, for the disturbing influence of the planets. No other effect has been observed

to take place, after the most careful scrutiny, except that which would necessarily arise from the alleged cause.

Another comet is now supposed to afford additional evidence on this all important point, which gives an extraordinary interest, to each successive return of those comets whose periods are known. "It cannot be doubted," says Sir John Herschel, "that many more will be discovered, and by their resistance, questions will come to be decided, such as the following. What is the law of density of the resisting medium which surrounds the sun? Is it at rest or in motion? If the latter, in what direction does it move? Circularly round the sun, or traversing space. If circularly, in what plane? It is obvious that a circular or vorticose motion of the ether would *accelerate some comets and retard others*, according as their revolution was, relative to such motion, direct or retrograde. Supposing the neighborhood of the sun to be filled with a material fluid, it is not conceivable that the circulation of the planets in it for ages, should not have impressed upon it some degree of rotation, in their own direction, and thus may preserve them from the extreme effects of accumulated resistance."*

Another comet, known as Biela's, appeared in 1826. It is recognised as being the same which was observed in 1805 and in 1772. It was found to have a period of six years and three quarters. Its return was accordingly predicted to take place in October, 1832; and it actually made its appearance at the time and place assigned. It is remarkable for its near approach, not to the earth itself, but to the earth's orbit, the least distance being less than the sum of the semidiameters of the comet and the earth, so that if the earth had happened to be in that point, at the same time with the comet, it would certainly have been involved, to a greater or a less degree, in the nebulous matter of the comet. The earth, in fact, reached this point, a month later than the comet, and did not, at any time, come within about fifty millions of miles, or half the distance of the earth from the sun. This comet, at its greatest distance from the sun, departs about six times the earth's distance, or somewhat beyond the orbit of Jupiter. Its next return will take place in 1838.

It is thus abundantly proved that comets are revolving bodies like the planets, and that they obey the same great laws of at-

* Herschel's Astronomy, Art. 484. Note.

traction. There seems, notwithstanding, to be a marked difference in their physical constitution. Comets appear to be composed of a substance extremely light compared with that of the planets. Thus Halley's comet which, as we have seen, was detained a year and eight months by the attraction of Jupiter and Saturn, seems to have had little or no reciprocal influence upon either of these planets. A still more striking instance to the same purpose, occurs in a comet which appeared in 1770, which, according to the highest authority, had been revolving in an orbit that did not admit of its being seen from the earth, completing a revolution in about fifty years; but passing in 1767 within a short distance of Jupiter, its course was entirely changed, so as to bring it near to the earth in 1770, and cause it to complete one revolution about the sun in the short period of about five years and a half. Coming near to Jupiter a second time, in the remote part of its course, its orbit is again shifted to one requiring a period of about twenty years. In one of these cases the comet is proved to have passed so near to Jupiter, that its attraction to this planet was two hundred times greater than its attraction to the sun. Still, it not only had no sensible effect upon the planet itself, but it did not even disturb the motion of its satellites, although it passed between them and the body of Jupiter.

This comet came nearer to the earth than any other whose path is known. Its least distance was about six times that of the moon. It was retarded in consequence, about two days, by the earth's attraction. If the comet had the same quantity of matter with the earth, it must have affected the length of our year to the amount of nearly three hours; but it did not exert the least perceptible influence. If the year had suffered an alteration to the amount of two seconds, it would probably have been detected. It is hence inferred that the quantity of matter contained in this comet could not exceed the five thousandth part of that contained in the earth.

What is here stated with respect to the lightness of comets, agrees very well with the result of actual observation. Many comets have appeared that seem to be destitute of any nucleus or solid, compact mass at the centre. They are apparently composed of a matter resembling the thinnest vapor, so that the light of the faintest star which is obscured by the least perceptible fog, scarcely suffers any diminution by penetrating many thousand miles of this substance. The comets of Encke

and Biela, and some others, seem to be thus constituted. In those cases where there are signs of a solid nucleus, it is for the most part of small extent. It has been estimated in two instances at less than thirty miles in diameter. The comets of 1807 and 1811 were supposed by Sir W. Herschel to have each a diameter of about five hundred miles.

Even where there is the appearance of a compact mass at the centre, there is still surrounding it, the same nebulous appearance of vast extent, which seems to constitute, in other cases, the whole matter of the comet. This nebulous appearance, instead of being of a uniform or a progressively increasing brightness from the circumference inward, is often apparently composed of one or more rings or strata, many thousand miles in thickness, alternating with fainter portions, an appearance not unlike what would be presented to a spectator viewing from a distance our earth with its different layers of clouds, one above another separated by portions of transparent atmosphere.

A remarkable circumstance has been observed in two or three instances, which consists in the great contraction of the body of the comet as it approaches the sun. Encke's comet was carefully examined at different distances from the sun, varying from about one hundred and fifty to fifty millions of miles. In the former case, its diameter was twenty-five times as great as in the latter, and its bulk, of course, was reduced to about one sixteen thousandth part by a reduction of its distance to one third part. This enormous change in its dimensions, has been ascribed by some, to the varying density of the sun's atmosphere, the gaseous matter of the comet, being, as is supposed, more and more condensed as it penetrates the denser strata of this supposed medium, just as a balloon is enlarged or contracted, according as it is situated in a denser or rarer part of the earth's atmosphere. Others suppose, that as the parts of the nebulous matter of the comet are distant, and held together by so feeble a power, they revolve in a degree independently of one another, each having its own perihelion, whereby they are brought nearer to each other, as they approach the sun, and separate again farther and farther as they depart from it. Another hypothesis is that the nebulous matter of the comet, like fog or common vapor, which disappears before the rising sun, ceases to be visible, in like manner, as the comet approaches its perihelion, in consequence of the heat to which it is exposed, and that it is restored to its sensible form, when it is sufficiently withdrawn from the influence of the solar rays.

But the most obvious and striking characteristic of comets, especially to the majority of observers, is the luminous train, called the *tail*, with which they are generally attended. We say generally, since this is not by any means a constant appendage. Many comets have appeared, as those of Encke and Biela, that seemed to be as round as the planets. Others again, as the present comet for instance, have exhibited a train only in certain parts of their course and not in others: sometimes it is visible only in certain parts of the earth, and in certain states of the atmosphere. Where it exists at all it seems to increase as the comet approaches the sun, and to be more conspicuous, and of greater extent after the comet has passed its perihelion than before. It is also remarked that the direction of this luminous train is, for the most part, in a line opposite to the sun. There are remarkable exceptions, however to this rule. It is found in some instances, to be at right angles to a line joining the comet and sun.

In its common position the train is often curved more or less, the extreme parts being left as it were a little behind, while the preceding or convex portion is observed to be somewhat brighter than the rest, as though there were some rare medium which condensed the luminous matter and slightly impeded its motion.

Where the train is not curved, it is often remarked that the light is faintest in the middle and strongest towards the edges, as though it were a hollow cylinder, or truncated cone. The tail is sometimes divided into two or more branches, lying in some cases the same way, but often more or less inclined to each other. The comet of 1744 had six tails, opening and diverging like the sticks of a fan, but curved at the same time like a sickle. They were each about 4° broad, and from 30° to 44° long. The light was so strong, that they were distinctly perceived after the sun rose.

Single trains have been observed of all lengths less than 100°. The absolute lengths have been computed in many instances, and found to vary from a few millions to one hundred millions of miles.

Nothing that deserves the name of an explanation has yet been offered, respecting the constitution and manner of production of this curious phenomenon. The hypothesis most in vogue, is that which ascribes it to the mechanical impulse of the solar rays, penetrating such an extent of vaporous matter very feebly held together by the small central attraction; just

as a discharge of shot through a mass of cotton or eider down may be supposed to carry a portion of this light substance with it, to different distances. This notion is of course wholly inapplicable to those cases where the luminous train does not lie in the direction of the sun's rays. It is, moreover, less entitled to consideration, now that light itself, instead of being an emanation of particles, is beginning to be more generally considered, as depending upon the undulation of a medium, which medium may be that very ether indicated by Encke's comet, as already mentioned.

It seems to be taken for granted, that this train is a material substance, and that this substance is of the same nature with the nebulous atmosphere of the comet; and that it once made a part of that atmosphere. But how is it separated and borne along to such enormous distances? What power retains it, and keeps it in its relative place, when, as it should seem, the attraction exerted by such an inconsiderable mass as that of a comet, is wholly insufficient? What should cause the extremity of the tail, to move ten or twenty times as fast as the comet itself, when it is so many times farther from the sun, as it must do in order to keep the same position with respect to the central body? If it is said in reply, that it is perpetually renewed by every new emission of solar light, we beg leave to ask what becomes of these long trains, when they have served their momentary purpose, and why should they not continue to reflect the light that falls upon them, long after they have been generated? thus producing a broad luminous tract throughout the space over which the tail has swept.

It is indeed, generally admitted, that more or less of the luminous train is left behind, and wholly detached from all connexion with the body, whence it proceeded. This is rendered probable, not only for the reasons above suggested; but also from the fact that in several instances this appendage is found to become shorter and shorter, and less and less conspicuous, at each successive return. Not only the train, but the body of the comet seems to be wasting away, as in the case of Biela's, which at its last return could scarcely be discerned with a good ten feet telescope, in the most skilful hands; and was actually invisible to the inhabitants of this continent; for want of sufficient aid to the natural sight.

If comets are thus destined to part with the matter of which they are composed, and the celestial spaces are continually

strewed with this highly rarified, and all but immaterial substance, we have arrived at a probable source of that medium, which seems to have been detected by the motions of Encke's comet. We may remark also, that the substance surrounding the sun, and lying in the direction of its equator, and extending many millions of miles, giving rise to what is called the *zodiacal light*,* may have the same origin, that is, may be composed of the tails of innumerable comets.† Indeed, the sun itself may be said to have a tail or train extending in opposite directions, borrowed, perhaps, by little and little from each passing comet; and this train may in some degree resemble that of a comet, and be a conspicuous object to a spectator situated in such a manner as to admit of its being seen unmixed and unobscured by the light of his own atmosphere.

It will be inferred, we are aware, from what we have said, that comets may, by slow degrees, be dispersed through the celestial spaces and absorbed into the sun's atmosphere, and thus cease to be comets any longer. There is also another way in which they may terminate their existence as comets. This very medium, this solar atmosphere, strewed with the wreck of we know not how many of these ill fated bodies, seems fitted to prove destructive to many more. Encke's comet, by its short period and frequent returns, affords the best opportunity hitherto presented, of judging of the consequences that must result from such a state of things. This comet is evidently approaching nearer and nearer to the sun, each revolution. There is no cause known to astronomers, that can save it from its impending fate; and hereafter, when we shall have become familiar with the return of comets, and are well acquainted with their diminishing periods, it may become an object of emulation to astronomers, to calculate and foretell the time when a comet shall terminate its career by falling into the sun. The comet of 1680 has already approached so near as to be only one sixth of the sun's diameter distant when in perihelion.

* This light is of a pyramidal or leaf-like shape, having the sun for its basis and the ecliptic, or rather the solar equator for its axis, or line of direction. It is faint like the tail of a comet, or the milky way, and is for the most part confounded with the twilight, except in low latitudes, where it is more frequently seen. But in the month of April, in the evening, or in October, in the morning, it makes so large an angle with the horizon in the temperate latitudes, and extends so high, that it may be seen after the twilight has ceased in the evening, and before it begins in the morning.

† Herschels's Astronomy, Art. 626.

It appeared in Newton's time, and no doubt seems to have existed in the mind of that great man, that it would at some future epoch, cease to revolve. This opinion he retained to the latest period of his life, and he seems to have made some estimate of the time that might be expected to elapse before such a catastrophe would take place; "possibly" he says, "after five or six revolutions."

This idea of the destiny of comets, that they were designed ultimately to fall into the sun, and be consumed, was the more readily received formerly, when the sun was regarded as a mass of ignited matter, that required replenishing like our domestic fires. Light itself, moreover, being supposed to be an emission of particles, it seemed to be necessary to find some means of supplying this continual exhaustion of the sun's substance. Other and more remote phenomena were referred to as strikingly analogous to the case in question. Several of the fixed stars had, at different times, suddenly burst forth with great splendor, so as to surpass even Jupiter and Venus, and in some instances to be visible in the day time. These stars, it was supposed, owed their increased brilliancy to a fresh supply of fuel in the form of a precipitated comet. Such are the conjectures and speculations of some of the greatest men the world has produced.

But among astronomers of the present time, who allow this tendency in cometary bodies toward the sun, without being able to point out any sufficient check, some maintain that matter so exceedingly rare, and indeed matter of any kind and of any form with which we are acquainted, must in all probability be completely volatalized by the solar heat, and absorbed into the solar atmosphere, long before it could reach the body of the sun. It is believed that some comets already give indications of a rapid approach to this sort of dissolution.

Another fruitful subject of speculation relates to the possibility or probability of a comet's coming so near the earth, as to occasion a great revolution in the physical condition of our globe. The nearest approach of one of these bodies that has hitherto taken place, so far as our knowledge extends, was that of the comet of 1770, as already mentioned. The least distance, in this case, was no less than 1,456,840 miles. No effect upon the earth or moon was perceived, although an exceedingly slight one, if it had existed, must have been detected.

A much nearer approach than this, is liable to take place, from the known position of the orbits of other comets whose elements have been calculated. The great comet of 1680, so remarkable in other respects, is also distinguished as coming near to the earth's path. Its least distance is about twice that of the moon, or 440,000 miles. Its attractive force, therefore, would be only one fourth of that of the moon, on the supposition that it contained as much matter. Even this force would be exerted only for a short time, not long enough, probably, to produce any sensible disturbance in the waters of the ocean. The effect of the moon in causing the tides, is the accumulated result of a long continued effort, with comparatively little change in the position of the attracting body, or the direction of its action. With all the force that the moon actually exerts, it would have very little, if any, sensible influence in disturbing the ocean, if it were to dart by us with the rapidity of the comet under consideration.

Biela's comet has already been described as coming so near the earth's track, as to be liable actually to involve a part of the earth at least, in its nebulous atmosphere. Let us now see what chance there is of the earth's being, for instance, within half a million miles either way, of the particular point of danger. There being in the circumference of the earth's orbit six hundred millions of miles, in round numbers; on the supposition that the comet passed the point in question, once a year, there would be an equal chance for each portion of a million of miles, that the earth would be there at that juncture; of course, according to the doctrine of chances, the earth may be expected to be within half a million of miles of the point under consideration, once in six hundred years, it being supposed that the comet passes this point once a year. But as it actually passes it only once in six years and three quarters, the above period must be increased in the same proportion; that is, the near approach of the earth and comet, above referred to, cannot be supposed to occur more than once in about forty centuries.

Allowing the possibility of the event in question, what would be the probable consequences of a near approximation, or even a rencountre? Not, so far as we can judge, a violent shock or concussion, like that occasioned by one vessel running against another, not a sudden and overwhelming rush of the waters of the ocean over the land. This comet of Biela, according to the best information we possess, seems to be merely

a collection of the thinnest possible vapor. Let us imagine a person in a balloon approaching a cloud. The object might seem a formidable one; but the æronaut is plunged in the vaporous mass before he is aware of it. He is sensible of no material change; he has felt no jar. He only perceives a little obscurity in the objects around him, and wonders what has become of the cloud that seemed so menacing in the distance. So it may be with regard to comets. We may have already encountered one of these bodies without ever dreaming of it. We may have been enclosed in its vast envelope without perceiving any change, except, perhaps, some peculiar hue in the atmosphere, or some uncommon tint in the objects about us. We are passing frequently through parts of space that have, in all probability, been visited by the enormous train of some comet, and which, we have reason to believe, still retain traces of this substance. It is hardly possible to conceive that the earth should have escaped all contact with an element so widely diffused, or that it should fail to attract and appropriate to itself some portion of this matter. We see the zodaical light, supposed to be identicalwith the substance in question, embracing the orbits of Mercury and Venus, and of course enveloping these planets, and mixing with their atmospheres. and subjecting them to all the consequences that we seem to dread from the introduction of matter so foreign. There is little reason to believe that the earth is exempt from the same lot, and little ground to apprehend evil from a condition thatseems the necessary result of the original constitution of thesystem to which we belong. What the tail of a comet is, it were vain to conjecture. Some future chemist may perhaps tell us. But whatever it be, whether watery vapor or any other vapor, or one of the permanent gases, or something different from all these, and wholly unlike any of our aëriform substances, there is little reason to suppose that it would, on the whole, be injurious. Even if it were deleterious in itself, if it were the most virulent poison, still, according to all that we know of it, it is so exceedingly rare, and would constitute so very small a proportion as an ingredient of the air we breathe, that no evil could be apprehended from it. The fixed air and other noxious gases, that are disengaged by volcanoes and discharged into our atmosphere, may often be found to exist in much greater quantity, compared with the vital principle, especially in the vicinity of the volcano, than we are liable to be exposed to, from the lar-

gest influx from a comet's train. Such an accession of matter to our globe, although it is believed to have actually taken place, perhaps more than once, has not as yet, been distinctly and satisfactorily recognised. There are several instances on record, of a peculiar state of the atmosphere, that has been ascribed to the presence of matter from this source. The following are Mr. Arago's statements and reasoning upon this subject.

"The fog of 1783 began nearly on the same day (the 18th of June) in places very distant from each other, as Paris, Avignon, Turin, Padua;

"It extended from the northern coast of Africa to Sweden; it was also observed in a great part of North America;

"It lasted more than a month;

"The air, at least that of the lower regions, did not appear to be its vehicle, because in some places it came on with a north wind, and in others with a south or east wind;

"Travellers found it on the highest summits of the Alps;

"The abundant rains which fell in June and July, and the highest winds, did not disperse it;

"In Languedoc, its density was occasionally so great that the sun did not become visible, in the morning, till it was 12° above the horizon; it was very red the rest of the day, and might be looked at with the naked eye.

"This fog or smoke, as some meteorologists have called it, had a disagreeable odor.

"The property by which it was particularly distinguished from common fogs, was its being, by all accounts, very dry, whereas most fogs are moist. At Geneva, Sénebier found that the hair hygrometer of Saussure, which in real fogs stands at 100°, ranged in the midst of this, as low as 68°, 67°, 65°, and even 57°.

"Besides all this, there was one very remarkable quality in the fog or smoke of 1783; it appeared to possess a phosphoric property, a light of its own. I find, at least in the accounts of some observers, that it afforded, even at midnight, a light which they compare to that of the full moon, and which was sufficient to enable one to see objects distinctly at a distance of two hundred yards. To remove all doubts as to the source of this light, it is recorded that at the time there was a new moon.

"Such is the state of the facts; let us now see whether, in order to explain them, it will be necessary to admit, that in 1783 the earth was immersed in the tail of a comet.

"The fog of 1783 was neither so constant, nor so thick, as to prevent the stars being seen every night, in all the places where it occurred. Admitting therefore that the earth was in the tail

of a comet, there is but one way of explaining why the head of that comet was never seen, and this is, by supposing, that it rose and set almost at the same time with the sun; that the superior light of that luminary rendered it invisible; and that this conjunction of the sun and comet lasted more than a month.

"At a time when the proper motions of comets appeared subject to no rule, when every one disposed of them as he pleased, considering them as mere meteors, the supposition we have just made might be admitted; but now that comets are known to all astronomers to be heavenly bodies, as obedient as the planets to the laws of Kepler; now that the mutual dependence of distance and velocity is known; now that observation and theory combine to prove that all these bodies *necessarily* move in their orbits with a rapidity that increases as they approach the sun, it would be contrary to all established principles to admit that a comet, interposed between the sun and earth, could revolve about the sun in such a manner as to appear constantly near it for more than a month, to a spectator on the earth! It is in vain to attempt to explain the difficulty attending an exact conjunction, by supposing the tail very large. If it were as large as that of 1744, the objection would remain in all its force. The dry fog of 1783, then, whatever may have been said of it, was not the tail of a comet." — pp. 88—91.

A dry fog, similar to the one above described, was noticed in different quarters of the globe, in 1831. It was observed on the coast of Africa on the 3d of August, in the south of France on the 10th, and at New York on the 15th of the same month. This fog was so thick, that the sun might be looked at all day, without any colored glass or other protection to the eye; and, in some places, the sun remained invisible till it had risen 15° or 20° above the horizon. When clearly seen, it was often remarked, that the color was changed to an azure blue, and sometimes to greenish or emerald green. At night the heavens occasionally became clear, so that the stars could be seen.

Where this fog was observed and while it continued, there was a very unusual degree of light during the night. In Siberia, at Berlin, and at Genoa, in the month of August, the smallest writing could sometimes be read even at midnight.

This phenomenon, however, was not general, even in Europe. At Paris and some other places, it was but faintly perceived, and for a few days only. If a comet, therefore, had passed at this time, between us and the sun, no reason can be given why it was not seen. We are hence obliged to conclude,

as in the former case, that the fog was not attributable to a comet.

The following are the remarks of our author upon the agency which this extraordinary fog is supposed by some persons to have had in the uncommon pestilence which made its appearance in Europe, about the same time.

"Many authors have chosen to see some connexion between the extraordinary fog of 1831 and the entrance of the *cholera morbus* into Europe. This opinion reminds me of what an old English traveller, Matthew Dobson, says of the effects of a periodical wind on the west coast of the continent of Africa, which is called the *Harmattan*. On reading over the original narrative just as I was about to send these pages to the press, I was so struck with several points of resemblance between the properties of the air, where this wind prevails, and that which is filled by the dry fogs of Europe, that I determined to give here a short analysis of that memoir. The reader will observe, that out at sea, some distance from the shore, the Harmattan loses its peculiar qualities; and he will remember, that in 1783 the dry fog was not perceived in the middle of the Atlantic, although it darkened at the same time the atmosphere of Europe and America. He will see also, that all fogs of this description are not fatal.

"A wind that blows three times each season from the interior of Africa to the Atlantic Ocean, is call the *Harmattan*. On that part of the coast which lies between Cape Verd (Lat. 15° N.) and Cape Lopez (Lat. 1° S.), the Harmattan is chiefly felt in December, January, and February. Its direction is between E. S. E. and N. N. E. It commonly lasts two days, sometimes five or six. It is always a moderate wind.

"A *fog* of a particular kind, and thick enough to impede at noon all but the red rays of the sun, always presents itself where the Harmattan blows. The particles, of which this fog is formed, are deposited on the grass, on the leaves of trees, and on the skin of the negroes, in such profusion as to produce a white appearance. Of the nature of these particles we are ignorant; we only know that the wind carries them but a short distance from the shore. A league out at sea the fog is much lighter; and, at the distance of three leagues, it disappears entirely, although the Harmattan is still felt in all its force.

"The *extreme dryness* of the Harmattan is one of its most striking characteristics. When it lasts some time, the branches of orange and citron trees die; the covers of books (even when they are shut up in tight trunks, and have additional covering of linen,) warp as if they had been before a large fire. Pannels of doors, window-shutters, and articles of furniture crack and often

break. The effects of this wind upon the human body are not less remarkable; the eyes, lips, and palate become dry and painful. If the Harmattan last four or five days together, the skin of the hands and face comes off; to prevent this, the natives rub their bodies all over with grease.

"After what has been said of the fatal effects of the Harmattan on vegetables, it may be thought that this wind *must be very unhealthy*, whereas quite the contrary is observed. Intermittent fevers are completely cured by the first breath of the Harmattan. Patients reduced by the excessive bleeding practised in that country, recover their strength; remittent and epidemic fevers also disappear, as if by enchantment. Such is the salutary influence of this wind, that, while it lasts, infection cannot be communicated even artificially. This assertion rests upon the following fact:

"In 1770, there was an English vessel at Wydah, called the *Unity*, which was loaded with three hundred negroes. The small pox having appeared among some of them, the owner determined to inoculate the rest. All who were thus operated upon, before the Harmattan began to blow, took the infection. Seventy were inoculated the second day after that wind began to blow, and not one of these had the disease, or the least eruption. However, some weeks afterwards, when the Harmattan no longer blew, these very persons took the disorder. It is also added, that during the second appearance of the malady, the Harmattan began to blow again, and sixty-nine slaves, who had it, all recovered.

"The country over which this remarkable wind passes before it reaches the coast, is for two hundred and forty miles, composed of verdant plains, entirely open, some woods of small extent, and here and there a few rivers and inconsiderable lakes.—pp. 99—103.

Other disasters and indeed all sorts of malign influences, have been attributed to comets by authors every way entitled to respect; and this has been done without taking the trouble to assign any definite cause for effects of so various a character, or to point out any connexion whatever, depending upon the known laws of the world we live in. Mr. Arago, of course, espouses the cause of comets, and maintains their innocence to our entire satisfaction. We have room for only a few quotations, with which we close the present article.

"An English physician, whose name is not unknown to philosophers, Mr. T. Forster, has lately treated particularly of this subject. According to him, '*It is certain*, that ever since the Christian era, the most unhealthy periods are precisely those in which

some great comet has appeared; that the approach of these bodies to our earth has always been accompanied by earthquakes, eruptions of volcanoes, and atmospheric commotions; whereas, no comet has ever been seen during the salubrious periods.'

"Those who will take the pains to examine critically the long catalogue, given by Mr. Forster, will not, I am sure, be led to the same conclusions.

"The whole number of comets mentioned by historians, reckoning from the beginning of the Christian era to the present time, is about five hundred. At the present time, when the heavens are examined attentively and skilfully, when comets that can be seen only by the aid of the telescope are no longer overlooked, the average number of these bodies is more than two for each year. If we agree with Mr. Forster, that their influence begins before they are visible, and continues some time after, we shall never be without a comet to account for every phenomenon, misfortune, or epidemic that can occur. This remark is applicable also to the Memoirs of the celebrated Sydenham, who was an advocate for the influence of comets; to the dissertations of Lubinietski, &c. Mr. Forster has moreover, I ought to say, so extended, in his learned catalogue, the influences of comets, that it would seem there is scarcely a phenomenon which is not to be ascribed to them.

"Hot and cold seasons, tempests, hurricanes, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, violent hail-storms, great falls of snow, heavy rains, overflowings of rivers, droughts, famines, thick fogs, flies, grasshoppers, plague, dysentery, contagious diseases among animals, &c., are all registered by Mr. Forster, as consequences of the appearance of some comet, whatever may be the continent, the kingdom, the town, or the village so visited. By thus making out for each year a complete catalogue of all the miseries of this lower world, any one might foresee that a comet would never approach the earth, without finding a part of its inhabitants suffering under some calamity or other.

"By a strange accident, well worthy of remark, the year 1680, the year of the most brilliant of modern comets, the year of its passage so near the earth, is that which has furnished our author with the fewest phenomena. Let us see what is to be found under this date? '*A cold winter, followed by a hot and dry summer; meteors in Germany.*' As to maladies, we find no record whatever! How then, with such a fact as this before us, can we attach any importance to the accidental coincidences noted in other parts of this table? How are we to regard this celebrated comet of 1680, which, blowing now hot and now cold, increased the frosts of winter, and the heat of summer?

"In 1665, the city of London was ravaged by the plague. If, with Mr. Forster, we attribute this to the remarkable comet which

appeared the same year, in the month of April, how are we to explain why the same pestilence did not extend to Paris, to Holland, to any of the numerous towns in England except the capital? This difficulty must be met; and until it is done away, we shall expose ourselves to the ridicule of every man of sense, if we attempt to make comets the messengers of evil.

"Let us now see which are the comets whose tails may have mingled with the earth's atmosphere; and then search the histories and chronicles of the same period, to discover whether, at the same time, there were not manifested, *in all parts of the earth at once*, unusual phenomena. Science may take note of such researches; though, to tell the truth, the extreme rarity of the matter which composes the tail, would lead one to expect nothing but negative results; but when an author appends to the date of a comet, like that of 1668, the remark that *all the cats in Westphalia were sick;* and to the date of another, that of 1746, the circumstance, very little analogous to the former, to be sure, that an *earthquake* destroyed in *Peru* the towns of Lima and Callao; when he adds that, during the appearance of a third comet, a *meteoric stone* fell in *Scotland*, into a high tower and broke the wheels of a clock; that, during the winter, wild pigeons appeared in large flocks in *America;* or still more, that *Ætna* or *Vesuvius* threw out torrents of lava, — we must consider him as displaying his learning to little purpose. If, in thus registering contemporary events, he thinks he has established some new relations between them, he is as much mistaken as the old woman, mentioned by Bayle, who, never having put her head out of her window without seeing coaches in the Rue St. Honoré, imagined herself to be the cause of their passing.

"I wish, for the honor of science, that I could have dispensed with taking any serious notice of the ridiculous ideas I have just adverted to; but I am satisfied that this exposition will not be without use, for Gregory, Sydenham, and Lubinietski have many followers among us.

"Moreover, if you will only listen, in those circles which are called fashionable, to the long discourses of which the approaching comet is the theme, you may decide whether there is any room to congratulate ourselves upon the pretended diffusion of knowledge, which so many *perfectionists* are pleased to consider as the distinguishing feature of our age. For myself, I have long been cured of these illusions. Under the brilliant but superficial gloss, with which the purely literary studies of our colleges cover all classes of society, we almost always find, to speak plainly, a profound ignorance of those beautiful phenomena, those grand laws of nature, which are our best safeguard from prejudice."— pp. 82—87.

ART. IX. — *Chief Justice Marshall.*

A Discourse upon the Life, Character and Services of the Hon. John Marshall, LL.D., Chief Justice of the United States of America, pronounced on the fifteenth day of October, at the Request of the Suffolk Bar. By JOSEPH STORY, LL.D. *and published at their request.* Boston, James Munroe & Co. 1835.

THIS beautiful work is entitled to a very high rank among compositions of its class. For the combination of truth, eloquence, and the fine expression of natural feeling, we should be at a loss to point to its equal. The introductory remarks are simple, dignified and elevating; and they breathe that lively sensibility to moral greatness without which no one could do justice to the subject of the discourse. The narrative portion is written in a clear and flowing style, with rather more of a tendency to wander aside into episodical digressions, than a severe criticism might approve, though perhaps, it would not be possible to give a correct view of the life of Chief Justice Marshall without including a good deal of contemporaneous history; his own share in the leading events having been so prominent, and he having been so conspicuous a member of one of the two great parties which divided the country. It is marked by a copiousness and minuteness of detail, arising both from intimate knowledge of the eminent man, whom the discourse commemorates, and a thorough acquaintance with the general and political history of the country, during the period of his active services. Many of the facts and statements are such as could have been derived from no other source than the lips of Chief Justice Marshall himself, and we may esteem ourselves fortunate that the duty of writing his Eulogy has fallen to the lot of one, who, for so many years, enjoyed his confidence so fully, and who had such ample opportunities of becoming familiar with the inmost workings of his mind, and the least obvious manifestations of his character. But the most valuable part of the Eulogy is that, in which the commanding moral and intellectual lineaments of Chief Justice Marshall are so justly and glowingly depicted, and the ruling principles of his life are educed from the events of his biography. In the narrative of facts, one accomplished writer will not vary essen-

tially from another; but in the analysis of character, in giving us the form and feature of the inner man, in tracing minute lines of distinction, in setting forth those things in which the individual under consideration differs from others, and which constitute his identity, it is here that a leading mind manifests itself most clearly. Every one who recognises the moral beauty of great powers devoted to good ends, will feel grateful to Mr. Justice Story, for the life-like hues in which he has painted his revered associate and friend. The venerable form of that great and good man, whose character, so wonderfully tempered and so exquisitely poised, soars above the reach of common epithets, rises up before us as we read; we catch the glance of that wisdom-beaming eye, and hear the tones of that voice, upon which men were wont to hang, as upon the responses of an oracle. The author pours out his soul with that fervor and glow, which spring from strong personal attachment and deep veneration for the man, as well as the magistrate; and yet there is the discriminating touch of one who loves the truth too well, to sacrifice it even at the altar of friendship. It is a highly honest Eulogy, with none of those rhetorical flourishes which are the fruit of literary vanity, and none of those cold, antithetical phrases, which, as we read them, suggest the impression, that the writer kept them ready made in his brain, to make use of on the first occasion he could bring them to a good market. It is plain that the subject and nothing else, was in the author's mind, when he wrote, and that his only consideration was, how he should do justice to that. With the exception of the historical digressions, there is hardly a sentence which could be taken out and inserted in the Eulogy of another man; and there are very few productions of this sort, of which the same remark can be made. In his comprehensive grasp of the whole character, while gathering up the individual traits that illustrate it, there is something that reminds us of the inimitable portraits of Clarendon. While we admire the skill and fulness of the delineation, merely as a literary effort, we admire no less the courage and heartiness, with which the writer speaks out, and tells us that he loved his friend. We use the word, courage, advisedly, for in these days, when the *nil admirari* doctrine is fashionable, and weakness is esteemed so large an ingredient in enthusiasm, it requires no little courage to let the liquid heart flow out with such self-forgetting fulness. No paltry considerations of official dignity have fro-

zen the genial current of his soul, and checked the strong expression of natural feeling. Young writers, who are most in danger of doing injustice to themselves by morbid self-restraint, will do well to observe how much is gained in point of true power, by a generous abandonment of ones self to a fine impulse, and how necessary it is for an author to forget himself in his subject, in order to write truly well.

Knowing this discourse to be the production of a most learned lawyer, and a highly distinguished judicial writer, we cannot but be struck with observing how little the author's mind has been cramped and narrowed by professional studies, and how much of energy, freedom and grace there is in its movements. We perceive no marks of a bigoted and absorbing devotion to one science, which regards poetry and ornamental learning as mere surplusage; *nihil hoc ad edictum Prætoris;* but the reflections and allusions reveal a mind enriched by tributes from every department of literature. The style, though it wants that fastidious finish, which can only be attained by an exclusive attention to scholar-like pursuits, and by selecting words with that slow deliberation with which a painter chooses his colors, has nothing of the dryness and huskiness of the mere lawyer; on the contrary, it has a richness and fulness, which show a familiarity with the best models of English writing, and a literary spirit, which has lived and flourished in the close air of legal studies, and in spite of the austere frowns of jurisprudence. We notice this with much pleasure, and are glad that we have among us, so striking a refutation of the old maxim, that a man who would be a lawyer, must cease to be a scholar, and (as Mr. Fearne is said to have done, though we question the truth of the tradition,) throw the poets and classics into the fire. We are persuaded, not only that literature and law are not incompatible, but, that other things being alike, he who is the better scholar will be the better lawyer. Nay more, we believe that none but a good scholar, can be a first rate lawyer; and that the highest attainments in jurisprudence can only be made by a mind which is expanded, fertilized and invigorated by general reading and liberal studies.

Our intention in the present article is, not so much to enter into a critical analysis of a production, which must be familiar to most of our readers, and to which the high reputation, both of its author and of its subject, must secure an extensive circulation, and a permanent place in our literature, as to avail our-

selves of its assistance in a few remarks, which we propose to offer upon the character and services of Chief Justice Marshall. We approach the task with diffidence, and a consciousness of our inability to do justice to the theme. Though it seems difficult to say too much, yet any thing like extravagance or exaggeration would be peculiarly unworthy of one so remarkable for his simplicity and truth, who was as much above concealing his own nature, as affecting one which did not belong to him. The rough strokes and glaring colors in which the characters of the vulgar herd of great men, so called, may be struck off, cannot express the serene equilibrium of his virtues, and the exquisite temper of his mind. His greatness was unpretending, and little likely to impress a careless observer, or to be felt by a vulgar minded man ; and we may safely state it as a general principle, that the tribute of admiration which a man would pay to Chief Justice Marshall, would be in proportion to his own moral and intellectual nature, and that his character could only be fully appreciated by one as wise, as good, and as great as himself.

One is often led to remark upon the peculiar adaptation, which certain individuals manifest for the stations which, in the course of events, they are called upon to fill ; an adaptation, in many cases, so very striking, as to press upon us the conviction that Providence, from time to time, raises up and specially endows men, for the performance of grave and high duties, making them important instruments in the promotion of its plans, for the improvement and happiness of the race. The most superficial observer, for instance, must have been struck with the admirable harmony between the mind and character of Washington, and the arduous tasks assigned to him to do ; and it is hard for a serious, not to say religious mind, to escape from the feeling that he was a peculiar gift of Heaven, reared and trained to be the deliverer of his people ; fitted " to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously, all the offices both public and private, of war and peace." In the delicate and trying situations in which he was placed, how easy it is to see, that a change even in the proportions of the elements which make up his matchless character, would often have made him unequal to the exigency ; and who could have weathered the storm, had he been obliged to quit the helm ? The same extraordinary adaptation is remarkable in the case of a man, in whose nature there was more of alloy, than in that of the spot-

less commander-in-chief, and who entered into the political disputes of his day, with so much warmth as to make it yet hardly time enough for full justice to be done to his services and his motives ; we mean Alexander Hamilton. He appeared to have been expressly created to relieve the country from those desperate financial embarrasments, before which patriotism itself seemed to fold its hands in mute despair. His practical and theoretical skill, his self-confidence, his power of forming the largest plans, and at the same time of grasping the minutest details, and his comprehensive genius, bold even to daring, were necessary to set the new government a going, and give it a fair trial of its powers. A political arithmetician, such a one as in ordinary times would make a very good Chancellor of the Exchequer, or Chairman of the committee of Ways and Means, would have been unequal to the Herculean task. We wanted a creative mind, rich in resources, fertile in expedients, that knew the hidden springs and sources of wealth, and whose magic voice could call it from the earth, the sea, the mountain, the forest and the stream ; and such a one was found in Hamilton.

The late Chief Justice of the United States, in like manner, seemed to be so exactly adapted to his high station, that one could hardly help thinking, either that the office was made for the man, or the man for the office. Its duties, always arduous, were peculiarly so at the time when he assumed them, his own original and comprehensive genius having erected many of those guides and landmarks, by which the steps of his successors will be directed, and their labors and responsibility lessened. It was easy to foresee that questions would arise, in which little assistance could be derived from municipal law, the decisions of courts or the dicta of judges ; but in which truth was to be elaborated by the severest exercises of reason, and the most patient analysis of logic. To be learned merely, was not enough, for learning, however accurate or profound, would furnish no guiding clue in those new and untried paths of investigation, in which progress could be made only by the self-derived and self-sustained energies of an intellectual pioneer. The constitution also devolved upon the Supreme Court, duties of the most delicate and embarrassing nature. It was to sit as arbiter in questions, which, considering the great and continually increasing extent of the sphere of their influence, may be fairly esteemed the most momentous and important that

ever came before a human tribunal. It was not to settle merely trivial disputes about lands and money, but to establish great principles of government, to expound an instrument, whose every line was pregnant with vast consequences, to check inferior tribunals, to cross the path of legislative assemblies; and to hold aloft the even-handed scales of justice between conflicting states. Men's strongest hopes, their most deep-rooted prejudices, their most vital prepossessions were the mighty combatants that struggled in its arena. To preside over such a court, wisely and well, required an extraordinary, almost an unprecedented combination of moral and intellectual powers: a mind clear-sighted and original, patient in the discovery and luminous in the exposition of truth; a dignity and elevation of character to give weight to every opinion; and a moral courage, to speak out boldly the convictions of the understanding, without fear or favor. The mere force of authority could not have established the decrees of such a tribunal, unless they had been aided by the irresistible championship of truth, and sustained by arguments extorting the assent even of prejudiced minds. It was necessary too, that there should be the most entire confidence in the purity of motives of its presiding magistrate, and in his single-hearted devotedness to justice; and the suspicion even of a stain would have been fatal to the influence of the most gifted individual, and cast "ominous conjecture" over all his judicial acts. Nor would a violent political partizan have met the reasonable expectations of the public; nor would the decisions of such a man, however learned, eloquent and well reasoned, have been received with silent deference; in those cases in which the political feelings of the people were concerned, and there are few questions of general interest in our country, which do not become party questions. When we also bear in mind how important a part of the government, the Supreme Court is made by the constitution, and how much its success, and consequently the prosperity of the country were to depend upon the manner in which it discharged its functions, and how much too, the character of the Court would partake of the character of its head, we shall be prepared to feel the vast, the overwhelming weight of the responsibility assumed by him, who, at that early period of our history, consented to be clothed with the dignity of Chief Justice of the United States.

That this responsibility was deeply felt by Chief Jus-

tice Marshall, is an unavoidable inference from his modesty and his conscientiousness, though the favor with which the appointment was received by the country shewed that the community, which rarely forms a wrong estimate of the powers and gifts of a public man, was aware of his eminent qualifications for the office, and expected that the man would not be inferior to the place. He thus entered upon his judicial life with no prejudices against him, but on the contrary with impressions in his favor; and this confidence suffered no diminution, but if possible, was continually on the increase, from that moment to the hour of his death.

The primitive and elemental structure of his mind made him peculiarly fit for the station of a judge. It was calm, contemplative, and profound. He was patient in the investigation of a subject, and able to keep his judgment in suspense, till the question before him had been thoroughly examined in all its bearings, and every argument deliberately considered. He had that strong common sense which lies at the foundation of intellectual greatness. He was, to an extraordinary degree, free from those infirmities of mind which beget distrust in the conclusions arrived at. Sophistry could not darken, nor brilliant rhetoric dazzle his understanding. His vigorous logic unravelled the most tangled web, which a metaphysical advocate could weave, and stripped every question of all those adventitious appendages which were intended to disguise its real shape and feature. He had, in great perfection, that power, which Sir Isaac Newton said was the only thing in which he differed from other men; the ability to keep a subject constantly in his mind, and contemplate it steadily, and apart from every thing else, till the dawning truth by degrees brightened into the perfect day. This calmness and soberness of mind are only found in men of a high order of greatness. A restless mind may be acute and ingenious, but can hardly be profound or even safe. Mr. Coleridge said, that he had known very few men who loved the truth for the truth's sake; if he had known Chief Justice Marshall, he would have included him in the select list. He loved the truth for its own sake, and because his mind could find satisfaction and repose in nothing else. Lord Bacon, in one of those pregnant sentences, which condense a world of thought into a few words, remarks, that "the light of the understanding is not a dry and pure light; but, drenched in the will and the affections; and the intellect forms

the sciences accordingly. What men most desire to be true, they are most inclined to believe." Chief Justice Marshall was a most striking exception to this general rule. Pure reason seemed to be the element in which his mind lived and moved, and the will and the affections offered no disturbing impulse. His was not one of those minds, which suddenly form an opinion and then cast about to find reasons to support it; on the contrary, he kept himself open to conviction, and came to a conclusion only because he could not help it, and the arguments he used to convince others were precisely those which he had previously used to convince himself.

He was not, in any sense of the word, a learned man. "It is due to truth," says Mr. Justice Story, "as well as to his memory, to declare that his judicial learning was not equal to that of many of the great masters in the profession, living or dead, at home or abroad. He yielded at once, to their superiority of knowledge, as well in the modern as in the ancient law. He adopted the notion of Lord Bacon, that "studies serve for delight, for ornament and for ability, in the judgment and disposition of business." In his purely legal opinions, we do not find that exhausting fulness of discussion, and that copious flood of illustrations from every department of jurisprudence, which characterise those of his distinguished eulogist. Nor had he that rich and ripe scholarship, which gives such grace to the judicial style of Lord Stowell, whose eloquent lips flow with the sweetest honey of the Attic bee. The original and meditative cast of his mind, made him more inclined to reproduce a subject in a new form, and stamped with his own intellectual image, than to seek foreign aid in the pursuit of truth, and to adopt at second hand the impressions of another intellect. The natural tendency of his understanding to grow by observation and reflection, rather than by study, had been increased by the circumstances of his life. The time which most men, who are destined to the learned professions, pass over their books, he, in obedience to the call of patriotic duty, had spent in vigorous action, and although his mind and character were greatly developed by the crowded life which he lived, it certainly was not favorable to the acquisition of learned lore of any kind. Instead of passing from school to college, from college to a lawyer's office, and after admission to the bar, sitting quietly among his books a dozen years or more, with few calls of business to interrupt the even tenor of his

studies and speculations, we find him, after an irregular and desultory elementary education, at the very dawn of manhood, throwing aside his Blackstone, buckling on his knapsack, and plunging into the dangers and excitements of our revolutionary struggle. From that time he is constantly sustaining active duties, either of peace or war, and is never the solitary student. He is in the Legislature of his own State, in Congress, or absent in a foreign country on a diplomatic mission. He is the confidential friend of Washington, and the decided, though not the violent defender of his administration; he lives in stirring times, when every conspicuous man is called upon to take a part in political measures, and maintain his opinions with all his might. He was made by the force of circumstances, a "public creature," to borrow Mr. Burke's expression in regard to his son, and however much his wishes might have inclined him to the calm retreats of private life, he was too disinterested and too conscientious not to make the sacrifice at the bidding of duty, and prefer the serving of his country to the gratification of his own tastes.

As we have hinted above, we think that the whole course of his life was eminently favorable to the growth of his mind and character. In the highest of all forms of education, the education of circumstances, he was fortunate to an uncommon degree. Providence assigns to every human soul its own peculiar method of culture, and one mind starves in the midst of what is intellectual abundance to another. Some men are meant to study books, and others, things; and Chief Justice Marshall was one of the latter class. His mind drew its natural aliment from observation and reflection, and the various responsible offices which he sustained supplied it with constant food. He was enabled to bring his opinions to the test of experience, and lay strongly the foundations of his intellectual being. His reasoning powers were trained and strengthened, his sagacity was sharpened, the lines of discrimination were more nicely drawn, his masculine logic was wielded with more efficiency and skill, and his understanding acquired that force which springs from symmetrical development. The extensive field of his observation helped him to acquire that rare and inestimable gift, which he had in great perfection, and which is nine parts in ten in the composition of a wise man, the power of seeing things exactly as they are, without confusion, distortion or discoloring. A familiar acquaintance with practical life and with

the sayings and doings of men under the excitement of hopes, fears and wishes, is an indispensable ingredient in the education of the mind that is to exercise an important influence over others. The advice which a great living poet gives to his bookish friend,

"Come forth into the light of things,"

is as important to be followed by those who are to sustain the great duties of life, as by the bard who desires to translate the language of Nature into the language of men. We cannot therefore regret the hours which Chief Justice Marshall spent in the camp and the senate, or wish that he had rather devoted them to solitary communing with the sages of the law. The wisdom which the former course gave him, was of more importance to his country, than the learning with which the latter might have furnished him.

When we say that he was not a learned man, we are speaking relatively not absolutely. His learning did not bear the same proportion to his original powers, as is generally the case with men who devote themselves successfully to a learned profession; but there was no deficiency in it, on the contrary an ample store. He was incapable of discussing any subject superficially, and when it was necessary to investigate it by the aid of books, he would do it thoroughly. But when his mind was made up he would pursue the inquiry no further. Hence we find in his opinions, no superfluous learning, none of that affluence of legal lore, which shews a mind brimfull of and running over with it. His logical and discriminating understanding enabled him to grasp the essence of a case, and to disengage from a crowd of authorities, the ruling principles of the law applicable to it. He studied with a definite object in view, and because he wished to apply its results to immediate use, and not because he had a predominating love for the employment. He read for the purpose of exercising his reflection, rather than storing his memory, and was more familiar with principles than cases. We should naturally infer from the character of his intellect, that he would be desirous of having every question that came before him, thoroughly argued, and that his powers of analysis and intuitive perception of truth, would give him the mastery over even an unfamiliar subject, when the opposite authorities and conflicting decisions were spread before him. On this point, the testimony of Mr. Justice Story is full and explicit.

"He was solicitous to hear arguments; and not to decide causes without them. And no Judge ever profited more by them. No matter, whether the subject was new or old; familiar to his thoughts, or remote from them; buried under a mass of obsolete learning, or developed for the first time yesterday; whatever was its nature, he courted argument, nay, he demanded it. It was matter of surprise to see, how easily he grasped the leading principles of a case, and cleared it of all its accidental incumbrances; how readily he evolved the true points of the controversy, even when it was manifest, that he never before had caught even a glimpse of the learning, upon which it depended. He seized, as it were by intuition, the very spirit of juridical doctrines, though cased up in the armor of centuries; and he discussed authorities, as if the very minds of the Judges themselves stood disembodied before him." — p. 70.

His opinions are remarkable for addressing themselves rather to the common than the legal mind. They seem like the reasonings of a powerful understanding, applying the leading principles which lie at the foundation of municipal law, to the solution of the particular problem under consideration, and as a general rule, they can be followed and understood by any strong minded man whether in the profession or not. Those who take pleasure in such speculations, and are interested in observing by what different processes, two superior minds arrive at the same results, will be gratified in reading the opinions of Chief Justice Marshall and Mr. Justice Story in the Dartmouth College Case, reported in the fourth volume of Wheaton's Reports.

The character of his mind, its patience, its calmness, its power of analysis and generalization, and the steadiness of its movements, made him peculiarly fitted for the exposition of constitutional law. Whatever rank may be assigned to him as a common lawyer, in this department he stands confessedly alone and without a rival. Indeed, he cannot with so much propriety be said to have mastered constitutional law, as to have created it. He found it in its rudiments, and left it a beautiful and matured system, bearing on every part the impress of his own commanding intellect. He was in the vigor of manhood at the formation of the constitution, and one of the ablest advocates of its adoption in his native state, and his desire to vindicate it from the objections urged against by its opponents, no less than a conscientious love of truth, made him study it profoundly. And as he understood it well, so he valued it deeply, and he pressed its acceptance with that unbought

energy and power, which nothing but affection could minister. His convictions of its excellence increased with his years, and when he was called upon to expound it in his judicial capacity, he approached the task with the most devout wish to give to every line its true force, and to interpret it in such a manner as to secure to his fellow-citizens, every advantage intended by its founders. His constitutional opinions bear the stamp of deep meditation and the most pains-taking search after the truth. Every word seems to have been pondered before it was written, and the meaning of every sentence deliberately weighed. Not a position is laid down, till the force of argument could no further go, and every conclusion follows irresistibly from the premises. This single-minded devotion to truth was seconded by unexampled powers of analysis, interpretation and reasoning. His logic was of the most searching kind, and detected sophistry, however ingenious, with unerring instinct. He was equally acute in anticipating and meeting objections, and clear in the exposition of his own views. His argument is indeed so clear and transparent, that one is apt at first to underrate its strength. His manner of reasoning is very strict and compact, and his constitutional opinions are an unbroken chain of inferences and positions, with but little help from analogy. They are close-woven and impenetrable as iron net-work. They are so complete, that nothing could be added to or taken from them, without disadvantage. The premises may be denied, and that is the only way in which they can be answered, for no flaw can be found in the reasoning, and the conclusion, however remote, is inevitable. His opinions, apart from their value as expositions of an instrument, which is the highest law of the land, might be advantageously studied as models of clear and profound investigation, and of the application of vigorous logic to the elucidation of truth. When we regard their originality, their depth, their clearness, and their adamantine strength, we look upon them as among the highest efforts of the human mind. We behold in them, the animating spectacle of a great intellect grappling with a great subject, not from love of display, or the praise of men, but from the highest of motives and for the noblest of ends. Here, he was thrown back upon himself, to make precedents without precedents to aid him, and without authorities, to establish rules and principles, which were to exert an influence upon increasing multitudes of men, hitherto unknown to the decisions of courts of justice.

His way was a dim and perilous one, and he had no lamp to his feet but the inward light of reason, which is the brightest "effluence of essence increate." He was to launch boldly upon an untried sea of speculation, with no guides but those primal principles of truth and justice, which "shine aloft like stars."

The admiration which one feels for the intellectual powers displayed by Chief Justice Marshall in his expositions of the constitution, is not to be confounded with assent to the results to which he came. It is well known that many distinguished men have differed, and still differ from him in his views of constitutional law, and that his learned associates upon the bench have not, uniformly, all gone along with him. He loved the constitution and he loved the union, and the desire of preserving and maintaining both, was uppermost in his mind. He was in favor of interpreting the constitution largely and generously, and giving to it that liberal construction which would leave no line, or letter inoperative, and which would, by its greater efficiency, draw more closely the cords which bind us together. He was not a States-rights man, as that word is commonly understood, and he was evidently more fearful of the centrifugal than the centripetal force in our system. He was consistent in his political opinions, and made no disguise of them. His views of constitutional law, whether right or wrong, have received the approbation of a large majority both of the profession and the community at large.

In looking back upon the extent of his labors in this department, and recollecting with what patient intellectual toil, the simplest constitutional opinion must be elaborated, "we are lost in admiration at the strength and stretch of the human understanding."* We are struck not only with the superiority of his decisions, when considered separately, but with their unity when combined. They constitute nearly a perfect system of constitutional law, as almost every constitutional question, requiring a judicial decision, came before the court, during the perod in which he presided over it. An analytical examination of these opinions does not form a part of our plan; indeed it would not be possible to include it within the limits of an article. It is an appropriate subject for a volume, and a most valuable one might be made out of it, equally important

* Mr. Justice Buller, speaking of Lord Mansfield in Lickbarrow v. Mason, 2 Term R. 42.

and interesting to the statesman, the patriot, and the constitutional lawyer, in which full justice might be done, not only to their high rank as productions of the human mind, but to the indirect influence exerted by them, in giving stability to the government and permanence to the Union. We know of no one better qualified for the task, than he, who in this Eulogy has shewn so perfect an acquaintance with the mind and character of Chief Justice Marshall, and in his Commentaries on the Constitution, has displayed so clear an understanding of that instrument and so minute a knowledge of its history. May we venture to hope that he may be induced to undertake a work, which he could do so well, and for which the country and the profession would be alike so grateful to him?

It was fortunate for Chief Justice Marshall's own fame, as well as for the happiness and prosperity of his country, that he went upon the bench of the Supreme Court at such a period, and remained upon it so long, as made it necessary for the most prominent constitutional questions to be subjected to his examination and decision. We perceive the same coincidence between his powers and his opportunities, which strikes the reader of the history of English law, in the case of Lord Mansfield. This great man was made Chief Justice of the King's Bench at a time when the commercial operations of Great Britain were rapidly extending themselves, and it was a matter of necessity that her meagre commercial code should be expanded, to meet its new requisitions, by the principles of natural equity flowing from a mind of large views and comprehensive grasp, and by the incorporation of materials borrowed from foreign sources. Lord Mansfield, from his vigorous and original mind, and his acquaintance with civil and continental law, was precisely calculated for this duty, so that he was enabled almost to create the commercial law of modern England, sometimes drawing from the pure sources of justice in his own breast, at others, silently interweaving with the common law, rules and principles drawn from Roman and European jurisprudence, which the exclusive spirit of Westminster Hall would have rejected, had they been offered with their origin upon their front. In like manner, had Chief Justice Marshall gone upon the bench a quarter of a century later, his own fame must have suffered, as he would not have had it in his power to exercise his faculties so much in that line of discussion in which he shone so preëminent. He would have been an admirable

judge, would have ennobled and dignified his elevated station; his country would have honored him while living and mourned him when dead; but we should never have known the extent of his powers. To constitute greatness, there must be not only a great man, but great opportunities.

The moral constitution of Chief Justice Marshall was in perfect harmony with his intellectual nature. In this respect, he was one of those rare beings that seem to be sent among men from time to time, to keep alive our faith in humanity. He had as little alloy as ever entered into the composition of a human creature. From the very first, he seemed to do nothing wrong, and to leave nothing undone which it was right for him to do. He wore the yoke of duty, without being conscious, apparently, of its weight, and seemed to find pleasure in those toils and self-sacrifices, to which most men bring themselves, only by dint of severe struggle. He was never betrayed by the exuberance of his temperament and the warmth of his passions, into those errors which wise men pardon, while they lament, and during the course of his long life, he had nothing to look back upon with regret, or to wish forgotten by others. "He needed not the smart of guilt to make him virtuous, nor the regret of folly to make him wise." The qualities of his character were so admirably tempered, and with so happy a mixture of the moving and controlling principles, that he rose at once, and spontaneously, into that moral elevation, to which men commonly attain only by the refining exercises of suffering, and by perpetual self-victories. From the moment that he assumed the office and functions of manhood, he was an object of peculiar interest to all discerning persons. It was plain that here was a man of stern virtue, of uncomprising integrity, who had a natural affinity for every thing honorable and of good report, and upon whose character, any expectations might be rested with unlimited confidence. That John Marshall could ever be the sordid slave of money, the devotee of vulgar ambition, the time-serving sycophant, the mercenary politician, selling his gifts in the market-place, the treacherous enemy, the faithless friend, no more entered into the minds of men, than that the fiery wheels of the sun would roll back in their course, or the streams wind their way from the ocean to the mountain-tops. This purity and strength of moral nature, gave him an influence which talents alone, however eminent, could not have ensured, and which, (as it is a rule without ex-

ception) is one of the most convincing proofs of the existence of a moral sense among men. It bound his friends to him with links of steel, crowning their regard with that reposing confidence which is never granted to men of no moralnerve, however rich in accomplishments, sweet in disposition, or attractive in manners. It tempered the opposition of those who differed from him in opinion, with high personal consideration. It gave him a rich harvest of opportunities, at a period when most men are in the midst of aimless efforts and crude fancies, abridging to a span the season of promise, so thickly did his duties crowd upon nim, so soon did the fruits take the place of the blossoms.

How remarkably his moral organization adapted him for a high judicial station, is evident to any one who remembers how much a man's character affects the manner in which his opinions are received, and how powerful it is, either as an ally or an enemy to his mind. He went upon the bench at an age when the impetuous blood of youth has cooled in the veins, and the conduct and conversation of men, not totally abandoned, are varnished over with an outward show of decencies and gravities, which is hardly distinguished by superficial observers, from the form of authentic virtue. Men, moreover, of a glowing and exuberant nature, must work themselves clear, by a sort of fermentation, in which the fiery and fervid elements pass off, and the pure and strong ones remain, and of such, the finest and noblest beings are often made; but most men have either too little philosophy, or too little charity to understand and feel all this. In a model judge, a judicial beau-idéal, we want no superficial, skin-deep goodness, but a moral system, sound to the very core, and a character so happily moulded, as to begin right, and not merely come right. Mankind, and perhaps it is best that it should be so, respect most highly, him who has had nothing to alter, and nothing to repent, who has always thought, spoken and acted as he ought to have done. There are reptiles in human limbs, whom no lapse of time can persuade to bury in oblivion, the weakness, the error, or the sin of a fellow-creature, and whose delight it is, to drag even from the dread repose of the grave, the forgotten frailties of the good, the wise and the just. Against the attacks of such creatures, Chief Justice Marshall was cased in an armor of proof. Though he had lived in the public eye, from his very boyhood, his life defied the scrutinizing glance of envy. It was a pure

and cloudless summer's day; a strain of music, perfect to the close, with not one rude note to grate upon the ear. He had laid his first fruits upon the altar of duty, and his last breath was spent in its service. It is not too much to say that this spotless virtue enforced every opinion that he gave, and that his country felt the advantage of it, to a degree hardly to be exaggerated. It bade the murmurs of opposition, which might have swelled into a torrent-like roar, die away in faint whispers. It disposed candid men to believe that he who had always acted right, must also, of necessity, think right.

The manners of Chief Justice Marshall were marked by that unaffected dignity and simplicity, which so well become a great magistrate. That calmness which gave so much strength to his mind, imparted itself to his whole nature. His temperament was of that placid kind, which is most favorable to wisdom, and without which a man can hardly be a practical philosopher. Nothing had power to disturb his equanimity, or ruffle the smoothness of his temper. He had none of that nervous excitability, which good men often find such a "thorn in the flesh." Neither vain repetition, nor frothy verbiage, nor declamatory nonsense, (and how much of all, must have been inflicted upon his "naked ears,") ever wrung from him a peevish remark, or an irritable gesture. In his carriage and deportment was seen a mixture of dignity and sweetness; the gravity of the judge tempered with the courtesy of the gentleman. His moderation was known in all things. He was a stranger to the extremes of excitement and depression, and the even flow of his cheerfulness betokened a perpetual sunshine of the breast. His conversation never dazzled by its brilliancy, or eloquence, or exuberance, but was characterized by quiet good sense, more than any thing else. He was never engrossing or obtrusive, and rather required to be drawn out. He was no social tyrant, trampling on opponents, with that overbearing intolerance which so often disgraces men who are conspicuous for their talents and station. Many who met him, were disappointed in not finding in his conversation, those striking qualities which they had anticipated; but no one left his presence, without carrying away the most gratifying recollection of his kindness, his sincerity and his entire want of pretension. His simplicity was indeed proverbial. It seemed sometimes to puzzle and disconcert those who saw him for the first time, so unprepared were they to find so great a man, so very plain and unpretending.

They expected to see the Chief Justice of the United States, keeping up a sort of official state, even in private. But he was above this poor affectation, which is generally the disguise of conscious weakness, fearful of detection. He never desired to pass for any other than what he really was, and did not wish that the Chief Justice should receive a consideration which was not due to John Marshall. No man ever bore his honors more meekly. His dignity was not of that flimsy and unsubstantial texture, which cannot bear a near approach or a rude touch. He had none of that uneasy self-consciousness, which is ever on the watch to see that every one pays the exact amount of deference which is due. He sympathized readily and cordially with others, and was warm and constant in his affections. In particular, he felt a lively interest in the young, and seemed to grow young himself, in watching the glowing hues which paint life's "pleasant morning." He had nothing of that austerity and moroseness which, in old age, sometimes blight the genial charities of the heart. He did not feel cut off and apart from the generations that came after him, nor think that the glory would pass away from the earth, with that to which he belonged. As his youth was tempered with the wisdom and serenity of age, so his age was graced with much of that unworn freshness of feeling, which is so lovely in youth. Not only his early attachments, but his early tastes, even in amusements, were retained by him unimpaired, and he might be seen, in the very last years of his life, engaged with the keen relish of boyhood, in a game of quoits. His fondness for this exercise is one of those characteristic traits which ought to be preserved, and which mark the manly simplicity of his character and his disdain of affectation. If there be any one who thinks this an undignified amusement for a Chief Justice, we will remind him of the story of the Spartan king, who being engaged in some cheerful sport, and observing a solemn coxcomb approaching, remarked to his companions: "My friends, we must be grave, for here comes a fool."

There are some interesting points in the private and domestic character of Chief Justice Marshall, which are given with so much beauty and feeling, by Mr. Justice Story, that we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of transcribing the passages in question.

"He was a man of deep sensibility and tenderness; nay, he was an enthusiast in regard to the domestic virtues. He was en-

dowed by nature with a temper of great susceptibility, easily excited, and warm, when roused. But it had been so schooled by discipline, or rather so moulded and chastened by his affections, that it seemed in gentleness, like the distilling dews of evening. It had been so long accustomed to flow in channels, where its sole delight was to give or secure happiness to others, that no one would have believed, that it could ever have been precipitate or sudden in its movements. In truth, there was, to the very close of his life, a romantic chivalry in his feelings, which, though rarely displayed, except in the circle of his most intimate friends, would there pour out itself with the most touching tenderness. In this confidential intercourse, when his soul sought solace from the sympathy of other minds, he would dissolve in tears at the recollection of some buried hope, or lost happiness. He would break out into strains of almost divine eloquence, while he pointed out the scenes of former joys, or recalled the memory of other days, as he brought up their images from the dimness and distance of forgotten years, and showed you at once the depth, with which he could feel, and the lower depths, in which he could bury his own closest, dearest, noblest emotions. After all, whatever may be his fame in the eyes of the world, that, which, in a just sense, was his highest glory, was the purity, affectionateness, liberality, and devotedness of his domestic life. Home, home, was the scene of his real triumphs. There, he indulged himself in what he most loved, the duties and the blessings of the family circle. There, his heart had its full play; and his social qualities, warmed, and elevated, and refined by the habitual elegancies of taste, shed around their beautiful and blended lights. There, the sunshine of his soul diffused its softened radiance, and cheered and soothed and tranquillized the passing hours.

"May I be permitted also in this presence to allude to another trait in his character, which lets us at once into the inmost recesses of his feelings with an unerring certainty. I allude to the high value, in which he held the female sex, as the friends, the companions, and the equals of man. I do not here mean to refer to the courtesy and delicate kindness, with which he was accustomed to treat the sex; but rather to the unaffected respect, with which he spoke of their accomplishments, their talents, their virtues, and their excellencies. The scoffs and jeers of the morose, the bitter taunts of the satirist, and the lighter ridicule of the witty, so profusely, and often so ungenerously, poured out upon transient follies or fashions, found no sympathy in his bosom. He was still farther above the common-place flatteries, by which frivolity seeks to administer aliment to personal vanity, or vice to make its approaches for baser purposes. He spoke to the sex, when present, as he spoke of them, when absent, in language of

just appeal to their understandings, their tastes, and their duties. He paid a voluntary homage to their genius, and to the beautiful productions of it, which now adorn almost every branch of literature and learning. He read those productions with a glowing gratitude. He proudly proclaimed their merits, and vindicated on all occasions their claims to the highest distinction. And he did not hesitate to assign to the great female authors of our day a rank, not inferior to that of the most gifted and polished of the other sex. But, above all, he delighted to dwell on the admirable adaptation of their minds, and sensibilities, and affections to the exalted duties assigned to them by Providence. Their superior purity, their singleness of heart, their exquisite perception of moral and religous sentiment, their maternal devotedness, their uncomplaining sacrifices, their fearlessness in duty, their buoyancy in hope, their courage in despair, their love, which triumphs most, when most pressed by dangers and difficulties; which watches the couch of sickness, and smooths the bed of death, and smiles even in the agonies of its own sufferings; — These, these were the favorite topics of his confidential conversation; and on these he expatiated with an enthusiasm, which showed them to be present in his daily meditations." — pp. 53—56.

Among the qualifications which were possessed by Chief Justice Marshall, for an office as laborious as it is responsible, we must not overlook a healthy physical organization and great soundness of constitution. Without vigor of body, there cannot be permanent vigor of mind, and great intellectual efforts require great physical energies. He was capable of uncommon exertions, both of body and mind, and his habits of exercise and temperance preserved his powers unimpaired to the last. He was very athletic in his youth, fond of field sports, and excelled in all exercises which require strength or agility. The mountain breezes filled his veins with health, and braced his frame with that robust energy, which carried him so triumphantly through the exhausting duties, alike of the camp and the forum. His arduous judicial labors he discharged with an ease which seemed unconscious of their weight. Without doubt, much of that uniformity of health which he enjoyed was due to the calmness of his moral temperament, to his pure and simple tastes, his self-command, and to his never having been, at any period of his life, the slave of wasting passions. Still, without an uncommonly favorable constitution of body, he could never have gone on, nearly to the age of fourscore, performing the duties of his high and laborious office, without the least

decay of his faculties, and with a vigor of mind which burned clear to the last. Nor is it one of the least remarkable facts about him, that his ablest opinions were written after the age of sixty, when, by the laws of the largest State in the Union, a man ceases to be qualified for a judicial office.

We have been considering Chief Justice Marshall exclusively in his judicial capacity, and have endeavored to shew how admirably the whole constitution of his nature was adapted to the place which he occupied during the last thirty-four years of his life. In doing this, we have by no means overlooked his previous career, nor been insensible to the merit displayed by him as a legislator, a diplomatist, and a statesman. Had he died at the age of forty-five, he would have left behind him a most honorable name, and been gratefully remembered by his country, as one of the most able and high-minded of her sons. But the splendor of his judicial reputation throws a shade over the other efforts of his intellect, imposing as these appear, when contemplated singly. His mind, his character and his temperament were so well calculated for the Bench, that we have preferred to consider all that he did, previous to his appointment, rather as a course of preparatory exercises to educate him for that great station to which he had received a sort of native bias, than as constituting by themselves any considerable portion of his fame. Indeed, his speeches, his arguments, and his writings were all imbued with a kind of judicial character, and in his whole course as a public man, he appeared more like a wise judge, seeking after and announcing the truth, than as a reckless partizan, who wanted to know only on what side he was to fight. His speech in the legislature of Virginia on the occasion of Mr. Jay's treaty with Great Britain, in which he maintained the constitutional right of the Executive to conclude a commercial treaty, (and which has been preserved only by tradition,) had all the characteristics and also all the effect of a judicial opinion. It caused a most important modification in the resolutions of the Assembly, which silently abandoned the constitutional objection, though it had been previously pressed with great warmth and confidence. His well known argument in the House of Representatives of the United States, in the case of Jonathan Robbins, has been preserved. It enjoys an authority almost unknown to any judicial argument. It settled the question under debate entirely at

the time, and has ever been esteemed unanswerable; and in a point of constitutional law, it would be cited as readily, and be entitled to nearly as much weight, as any of his constitutional opinions.

Had he remained all his life at the bar, he could hardly have occupied the imposing station before his country that he now does. Eminent as he must have been in the very highest ranks of the profession, he would have had comparatively few opportunities of displaying that kind of intellectual power in which he was so richly gifted. He was most remarkable for calm, penetrating, profound wisdom, which is not the quality most important to an advocate; indeed, it would sometimes stand very much in his way. It is hardly consistent with the fervid eloquence which addresses the minds of men through their passions and feelings; for this seldom exists without a taint of exaggeration, and a certain facility of understanding, which makes it the slave of the impulses and affections. That pure reason, — that *mens sine affectu*, which is so essential to a great judge, is not, and cannot be combined with that vividness of feeling and susceptibility of organization, which are ingredients so necessary in the composition of an orator or a poet. We cannot have at once the strength of the oak and the flexibility of the willow. The splendid forensic eloquence of Lord Erskine did not prevent his being an indifferent Chancellor. Chief Justice Marshall could no more have spoken Mr. Ames's speech on the British treaty, than Mr. Ames could have pronounced his opinion on the constitutionality of the United States Bank. The bold and commanding features of his mind were inconsistent with that intellectual dexterity, versatility, and power of doing one thing about as well as another, which our English brethren call cleverness. He would have argued a great legal question with irresistible power, and his exalted character would have given to his simplest statement, a force unknown to the passionate exuberance of rhetoric. But in many points of an advocate's duty, he must have been surpassed by men, who, in intellectual stature, were pigmies to him, and his love of truth, no less than his strong moral sense, must have prevented him from manifesting much ardor, where he felt himself to be clearly in the wrong.

Nor could he have reached his present eminence, if he had

devoted himself to the graver departments of literature, in which he would undoubtedly have been eminent. His Life of Washington is remarkable rather for its judicial than its literary merit. It wants the vividness, the eloquence, the glowing narrative, the picturesque sketches, and the lively details, which make a biography attractive and popular; but it has, to a high degree, those qualities of accuracy, fidelity and truth, which give permanent value to a work. It is not an easy book to read; nor will it be read by those who read merely for the sake of reading; but it will be always consulted as the highest authority in the subjects of which it treats, equally correct in details, and just in its general views. It is almost unexampled for its candor and firmness, when we bear in mind that the author is narrating events in which he himself took an important share, and has occasion to make frequent mention both of political friends and foes. Let any one compare it with Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, for instance, and he will be prepared to perceive its superiority in these respects, and to understand how important it is that a historian should be a man of stern moral sense.

It is as a judge and a magistrate, that his claim upon the remembrance of posterity and the gratitude of his country, chiefly rests, and in this capacity he is entitled to rank side by side with the most exalted models of judicial excellence that the world has ever seen; with Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Mansfield, and Chancellor D'Aguesseau. In looking back upon his long life, so crowded with the efforts and sacrifices of duty, so spotless, so perfect, beaming with so serene a lustre from every point and period, we cannot but think it a cause of national gratitude, that Providence has given us such a man, and crowned him with such store of useful years. That he was one of our fellow-citizens, is a reason for feeling more proud of our country. A nation is twice blessed in such a being. He exerts a great indirect as well as direct influence upon the community. We are accustomed to speak of the inestimable services which Chief Justice Marshall has conferred upon his country, by drawing more closely the bonds of our Union, and by exercising over the various departments of the government that conservative and directing power, which is so essential to the good order and harmony of so complicated a system as ours. And this is just and proper.

But we must not overlook the debt of gratitude, which we owe him for his example, and the effect produced by the daily beauty of his life upon all who approached him. He was a man,

> "Whose powers shed round him in the common strife,
> Or mild concerns of ordinary life,
> A constant influence, a peculiar grace."

To converse with him was like beholding virtue in a visible shape; and no susceptible person could leave his presence without feeling every good resolve strengthened, and every weakness rebuked. He was a memorable instance of a man, who, having been always in public life, contracted no stain upon the whiteness of his soul, and never parted with one jot of his own stern self-respect. Did any one wish to cite an example of one, in whom intellectual greatness was combined with unslumbering devotion to duty, and the healthiest moral sense; did any father seek to point out to his son, a faultless model to be studied and imitated, and to make him love that light from Heaven, which shines round the good man's path, the name of Marshall came spontaneously to the mind and the lips. Other conspicuous men had obvious flaws; their public virtue was easily entreated; they acted under the influence of the selfish, animal appetites; they hungered after the loaves and fishes of office, or their private characters were stained with debasing vices, or they neglected the lesser moralities of social life. But here was one, in whose whole nature there was nothing upon which detraction could feed, or over which friendship could seek to cast a mantle of oblivion.

How beautiful is the contemplation of such a life, while passing before our eyes; how beautiful its recollection, when no longer seen. The memory of such men constitutes neither the smallest nor the least valuable portion of a nation's wealth. How superior is it to the trophies and banners of a thousand battle fields, and the laurels and cenotaphs of a thousand mere warriors. Through the night of ages, it beams and sheds sweet influences. No generous-hearted Englishman can, at this day, pronounce the name of Alfred, without a throb of mingled gratitude and admiration. The lapse of time but deepens and hallows the feelings, with which the true-souled patriot contemplates such men as these. Short as has

been our own national existence, the page of our history is thickly studded with bright names.

> "Great men have been among us; hands that penned,
> And tongues that uttered wisdom; better, none."

The wise, the good, the faithful have toiled and watched and died for us. There is no dreary dearth of men to chill the patriot as he looks back upon the past. If we are insensible, it is not because there are no objects to awaken sensibility. The fault is in our own indifference. It is an ominous sign, when a nation no longer cherishes, with the liveliest fondness, the memory of its great men. When the languid pulse of patriotism shall cease to be animated and quickened by the recollection of such names as Washington, Jay and Marshall, the grave of our prosperity will have been already dug.

Art. X. — *The Anthracite Coal Trade of Pennsylvania.*

1. *Report of the Committee of the Senate of Pennsylvania, upon the Subject of the Coal Trade.* S. J. Parker, Chairman. *And Appendix of Documents.* Harrisburg. 1834.
2. *Comparative Views of the most important Anthracite Collieries in Pennsylvania; exhibiting their Avenues to Tide Water; with an Appendix, Map, and Draught of Comparative Heights and Distances.* Pottsville. 1835.
3. *Report of the President and Managers of the Schuylkill Navigation Company to the Stockholders.* (In Annual Numbers.) Philadelphia.
4. *Report of the Board of Managers of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company.* (In annual numbers.) Philadelphia.
5. *Annual Report made by the Board of Trade to the Coal Mining Association of Schuylkill County.* (In annual numbers.) Pottsville.

We visited, recently, the anthracite coal-mines in the interior of the State of Pennsylvania. The spectacle of enterprise, industry, and prosperity, which we there beheld, was most impo-

sing to the eye, and most instructive to the mind. In the heart of a wild broken territory, amid the sharp ridges of the Alleghanies, intersected by the hundred rivers and streamlets which swell the tides of the Delaware and Susquehanna, in what was but a few years ago one of the most desert regions of the United States, we found a numerous and fixed population, with all the appliances of refined life, and a multitude of improvements, in railroads, canals, and other public works, of which the most advanced people in America, or even in Europe, might justly be proud. A new world seemed to have sprung up in the wilderness, as if by enchantment. Smiling villages were spread out in peace and abundance beneath overshadowing peaks, and beside mountain-tops reaching up their bleak summits to the sky. The dwellings of cultivated competency, and warehouses stored with merchandize, stood on the very edge of the old primeval forests of the Continent. Here was the centre of a vast business, which had all at once vivified the surrounding country, converted the wildest waste into the theatre of active life, given a fresh stimulus to individual enterprise, created an inexhaustible source of wealth to the State in which it lay, and opened a new commerce and a new bond of fraternity to the whole Union. We left the scene, with a strong and abiding sense of the energy and spirit of our people, with renewed admiration of the resources and destinies of our country, and with deep-felt gratitude to that bountiful Providence which bestowed upon us this our happy land. We cannot hope to communicate our feelings and impressions by words; the scene should be seen to be appreciated. Nor shall we attempt to do so. Neither shall we enter into any speculations or inquiries concerning the geological history, formation, or natural character, of anthracite coal. The objects we have in view are more plain and practical. We have collected, from personal observation, from correspondence, and from a large mass of printed matter, part of which is described at the head of this article, a variety of facts respecting the production and commerce of anthracite coal, a summary statement of which we propose to lay before the readers of the Review.

Pennsylvania abounds in mineral treasures of the most useful kinds, that is, iron, and coal; these being the precise means, out of which the actual grandeur and opulence of Great Britain have in great part sprung. On a future occasion we may recur to its deposits of iron ore, and of bituminous coal; our

present concern is with its anthracite coal exclusively. It is singular, that, with the general knowledge they already possess of their unexampled mineral resources, and their liberality in the promotion of public improvements, the people of Pennsylvania have not caused to be made an accurate geological survey of the whole territory of their State, by suitable scientific persons, according to the course recently pursued in the State of Massachusetts. So far as the anthracite of Pennsylvania has been explored, and its presence fully ascertained, it occupies three separate and distinct beds or fields, which lie near together on the easterly side of the Susquehanna upon or below its north branch, and bear a striking similitude each to the other in geographical position, extent of area, and geological features. They are, first, the coal-field of Mauch Chunk and Schuylkill; secondly, that of Beaver-Meadow, Shamokin, and Mahanoy; and thirdly, that of Lackawanna and Wyoming. Each of these fields forms a long elliptical basin, with a well defined border of red shale, and surrounded by a barrier of long and sharp mountain ridges. Two of these fields, the first and the second, run side by side, ranging a little north of east; the remaining one is somewhat apart from them, and has a more northerly direction. They may be considered, indeed, from their proximity and general resemblance, as constituting one single coal-region; although, as will hereafter be explained, there is great difference in the superficial character of the country which they respectively traverse. There is a difference, also, in their history, and in their statistical relations; which renders it necessary they should be treated of separately and somewhat in detail.

The Mauch Chunk and Schuylkill coal-field commences near the river Lehigh, on the east, and reaches westerly to the left bank of the Susquehanna, extending thus about seventy miles in length, while it is only from one to five miles in width, being pressed in between Broad Mountain on the north, and Sharp Mountain on the south. These mountains, and the coal-field itself, are penetrated more or less by numerous streams, particularly the Swatara, the Schuylkill and its branches, and the Lehigh, affording outlets for the coal, and natural passes for the location of canals and railroads, which pervade the district in all directions. But there is room for distinction as to the different parts of this field, in regard to the position of the coal, its quality, the mode of working it, and the means of its conveyance to market.

One portion of this field, its westerly extremity, on the Swatara, and near to the Susquehanna, is not accessible for the Atlantic trade, in competition with the residue; and therefore, although it has a limited market in the interior, it is not possessed of the same general interest and importance as that which is watered by the Schuylkill and Lehigh, and need not occupy our attention.

At the eastern extremity of the field, are the works of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, which are in many respects, peculiar, and are conducted on a scale of great boldness of design, and comprehension of enterprise. Disregarding the obvious outlets of the basin by the waters of the Schuylkill, they have ascended the mountain-barrier to its very summit, entered the coal field by a railroad, and thus diverted the coal from its natural channel to the waters of the Lehigh at Mauch Chunk. To effect this object, Messrs. Josiah White, Hazard and Hauto, having acquired the property of the Mauch Chunk mines, obtained an act of incorporation with mining and trading privileges, and undertook the task, which had repeatedly before been attempted without success, of rendering the river Lehigh navigable. To enable them to accomplish this, the State ceded to them the sole jurisdiction of this river, for the distance of eighty-three miles, and the free and uncontrolled use of its waters. This grant has rightly been deemed since, an improvident one; but the Company proceeded to execute what they had undertaken with a spirit worthy of the enterprise. At an expense of about two millions and two hundred thousand dollars, they made their mines accessible to the river Lehigh, and opened the river itself, by a series of works, considered the best of their class, in the United States.

During the year 1834, the freight transported on the Lehigh Canal, amounted to 129,083 tons, of which 106,518 tons consisted of coal, and the residue of flour, iron, lumber, stone and other articles of merchandise.

The coal of the Lehigh Company, at least at their old and principal works, forms an immense mass of carbonaceous matter, intermixed with alternate layers of earth and slate. This deposit they *strip*, or uncover, by digging off the superincumbent earth, so as to leave bare the mass of coal, as in a clay-field; and thus the coal is mined. It is conveyed a short distance up the ridge of the mountain-top, thence it descends by means of an inclined plane, and a railroad upwards of eight miles in length,

to a *chûte* of seven hundred feet in two hundred and fifteen of perpendicular height, at Mauch Chunk, when it is embarked in the *navigation* of the Lehigh. This railroad, being the first of any extent ever constructed in the United States, has in years past attracted the attention of travellers on this account; as also from the interesting fact of a descent on a railroad for eight or nine miles, by the mere specific gravity of the cars. It is also curious, in another point of view. Enormous trains of loaded coal-cars descend by gravity, to the head of the *chûte*, after which the empty cars are to be returned to the mines and reloaded. They are accordingly drawn up the inclined plane by teams of mules; but these animals cannot be induced either by persuasion or force, to descend the plane on foot, and it becomes necessary to provide cars, in which they may ride down, and which they very contentedly draw up again, together with the empty coal-cars. Circumstances like these give zest and piquancy to the inspection of the works of this Company; the relish of which is enhanced by the beauty and sublimity of the surrounding scenery, mountain after mountain stretching out beneath your eye, as you glide in your self-moving carriage along the descending side of the long steep ridge, overhanging the bright village of Mauch Chunk.

But the most interesting and valuable part of the coal-field is the central or interior track, known as the Schuylkill Region, which is twenty miles long, and from three to four broad. In this region, the numerous head-waters of the river Schuylkill have cut boldly through the strata of coal, presenting a succession of elevated summits and deep ravines, admirably fitted for extensive mining operations. Here, the coal is in veins, generally having an inclination or dip to the south, and consequently reaching the surface, when they are discovered by the depression of the soil over the coal in the process of decomposition, and by the cropping out, as the black dirt which often appears at the surface is termed. The dip is an angle of from forty to sixty degrees, the vein descending to an unknown depth. The beds vary in thickness, from one or two up to thirty feet. Those of from five to twelve feet are considered the best, as they can be worked with greater facility and profit; because they can be so propped and roofed, as to enable the miner to remove all the coal, without any hazard; while those of twenty or thirty feet must be worked in *chambers*, and large pillars of coal be left to support the roof; and even then

the miners are exposed to injury from falling fragments or masses of the mineral. It is the universal practice in this region to *undermine*. As the veins generally dip in the direction of the mountain-sides, the mode of working in the interior of the mine is regulated in part with reference to this fact. They run a *drift*, or tunnel, into the mountain above the water-level, and construct a rude rail-road upon its floor; and then pierce the seam of coal horizontally for a convenient distance; by which means the entire *breast*, as it is called, of the seam is exposed; and the miners work up the acclivity until they reach the summit or *outcrop*, throwing the coal behind them, where it is loaded into cars, drawn out by horses, screened and separated into the different sizes, and conveyed to the landings, or shot at once into canal-boats. In some cases, very ingenious mechanical contrivances are used in screening the coal; of which a very perfect example is to be seen at the station of the Delaware Coal Company. Hitherto, the veins have been worked almost exclusively from the water-level upward; and instances occur, of two, three and four seams of coal, one above another; but experiments are now in train for pursuing the veins in the opposite direction, downwards, by sinking shafts below the water-level, and clearing out the water through the agency of steam power, as in England.

There is great diversity in the quality of the coal in the various parts of this basin, and even in a single region of it. In his very able Report, Mr. Parker speaks of this point somewhat inaccurately. He alludes to the fact that some of the coal ignites more readily than the rest; and that the red ash coal is by many, regarded as of superior quality; and then proceeds to say; "With these exceptions, there is little difference in the quality of the coal of the region; certainly no more than in trees of the same species, growing upon the same soil, or in coal taken from different parts of the same mine; and if coal of a superior or inferior quality be found in market, it is only because the vender has been more or less careful in freeing it from slate or other impurities." This is far from being correct. If the writer had said that there was the same difference in quality, as between trees of different species, say walnut, oak and maple, growing upon the same soil, it would have been a more just representation of the fact. This truth is perfectly notorious to those who are familiar with the coal region. Anthracite is now divided, for practical purposes, into three classes:

that which burns freely and leaves a residuum of red ashes; another harder and more difficult to ignite, leaving a residuum of grey ashes; and the third, still harder and more difficult of ignition, leaving a residuum of white ashes; and purchasers of coal for consumption can rely upon this as an easy and conclusive test of its quality. The Lehigh coal is white ash, less easy of ignition, but esteemed for manufacturing purposes; the Schuylkill coal of the better mines is red ash, and the most valuable for domestic use. Very frequently, however, you will find veins of an inferior quality, within fifty or a hundred yards of the best. In a transverse section of the several coal veins from the Sharp to the Broad Mountain, made by Mr. James Wilde, of Pottsville, he lays down seventy-two different veins in the space of four miles. About one fourth part of the best of them are now worked, some much more extensively than others, and differing very materially in quality; and we feel confident that one half of the whole number cannot be worked until the others are entirely worked out, or at least worked so deep below the water-level, as to enhance greatly the expense of mining. Besides the difference in the purity of coal from different veins near to each other, there may be remarked this general difference; that, commencing at the southerly termination of them in the Sharp Mountain, the coal in the vein as you proceed north to the Broad Mountain, gradually becomes harder; and also, proceeding east towards Mauch Chunk it grows harder; while proceeding west beyond Minersville, it becomes softer, until in the neighborhood of the Susquehanna, it becomes too soft and brittle for profitable transportation. This view of the subject is confirmed by reference to the weight of the coal, in the different parts of the field. Thus, at Mauch Chunk, its specific gravity is 1.494; on the waters of the Schuylkill, in and about Pottsville, it is 1.453; and on the Swatara it is 1.400. We make these remarks, of course, without reference to the fractures or *faults*, which occur in a vein occasionally, owing to imperfection in the formation of the coal, a disturbance of it by great natural convulsions.

And this leads us to another consideration of great practical importance to the consumer. The veins have a uniform range, longitudinally with the basin, north seventy-two degrees east, so that whenever a valuable vein is opened on one tract of land it can be traced to the lands adjoining; and the more celebrated veins have been opened in many places for several

miles beyond the first pit. Such are the Peach-Mountain, Spohn, Lewis, and Gate veins, which were opened before railroads were constructed, at points convenient for conveyance by a turnpike-road to the landings at Mount Carbon. By the introduction of railroads, these veins became accessible at various places in the Schuykill Valley; and there are examples of a vein thus traced and identified for the space of ten miles. This fact shows the necessity of buying coal with reference to the vein from which it is obtained, without being governed exclusively by the name of a particular pit, mine, or property; for it is by regarding the mine, rather than the vein, that retail venders of anthracite coal, from the Schuylkill region, have fallen into so much idle competition of names, and quackery of advertisement, for the purpose of drawing customers. Whoever buys red ash coal, prepared for the market by the Delaware Coal Company, the North American, or any of the respectable individual proprietors or miners in the Schuylkill Valley, may rest assured that he has a good article, and the best of anthracite coal for domestic consumption.

The Schuylkill region seems to have been marked by nature, for individual enterprise; and the State was careful to keep this object in view, in the incorporation of the Schuylkill Navigation Company, on whose canal the coal is conveyed to Philadelphia for distribution along the Atlantic. The history of this canal, as recorded in the annual reports of the officers of the company, and beginning with their Address in 1820, in which they state their anticipation of the vast benefits to result from its construction, down to the Report of the last year, in which their flattering anticipations are so fully realized, presents a fine example of the public good which was achieved by public spirited men, pursuing their own advantage by liberal expenditures of their wealth, in modes still more conducive to the public advantage; and it affords one of a thousand contradictions to the mad outcry against corporate investments of property, issuing from that extravagant spirit of ultraism in all things, good or evil, which at this time agitates the public mind in one part or another of the United States.

The Report of the Company, for the year 1834, presents the following progressive increase of business, omitting the earlier year of its incompleteness.

Years.	Total Tonnage.	Tons Coal.	Total Toll.
1826	32,404	16,767	$43,108 87 cts.
1827	65,501	31,360	58,149 74
1828	105,463	47,284	87,171 56
1829	134,524	12,973	120,039 00
1830	180,755	89,984	148,165 95
1831	196,413	81,854	134,005 92
1832	327,921	209,271	264,829 70
1833	445,849	252,971	325,486 63
1834	395,720	226,692	299,841 05

Commensurate with this augmenting business of the Canal, has been the prosperity of the coal region, of which it is the outlet. It is an open highway, free to all the world, at the regular rate of tolls. Consequently, the navigation of it is in individual hands, partly of the proprietors of mines, who convey their own coal to market, partly of persons who pursue the business of boating alone, depending on freight from proprietors or undertakers of mines. The mines, also, are in the hands of private corporations, companies, or individuals, invited to the scene by the facilities it affords, in its natural and artificial features, for the prosecution of individual enterprise; among which persons, if any single one may, without derogation to the rest, be signalized for his active and intelligent usefulness, it is Mr. John White, the founder and controlling spirit of the Delaware Coal Company. The consequence of all this has been the rapid growth of a flourishing population, of which Pottsville is the centre, strongly reminding the beholder of the similar results of well applied and well combined capital and industry, as exhibited in the correspondent case of Lowell in Massachusetts.

This immense business of the Schuylkill Valley, it is also interesting to observe, has been growing up simultaneously with that of Lowell, in about the same space of time. Indeed, the prosperity of the manufactories of Lowell, and that of the collieries of the Schuylkill Valley, is much more intimately connected, than a superficial observer, looking only to the distance of the two places one from the other, would be prone to imagine. Coal was known to abound in this region, so early as 1790, and perhaps before; and the mines at Mauch Chunk were partially opened prior to the year 1800. It was used to a very limited extent by some of the blacksmiths in the neighborhood; but not esteemed as of much value. During the war of 1812, however, many intelligent individuals in that

part of Pennsylvania, had become convinced of the value of anthracite; and serious attempts were unsuccessfully made to introduce it into the market, by Mr. Charles Miner of Wilkesbarre, and by Mr. George Shoemaker of Pottsville, at about the same time. After which, it does not appear that any considerable quantity of anthracite was taken to market, either by the Schuylkill or Lehigh, until 1820, when the Lehigh Company conveyed three hundred and sixty-five tons to Philadelphia. This may be considered, therefore, as the commencement of the business. What progress it has since made, may be partly judged by the table we have given of the transportation on the Schuylkill canal; to which we proceed to add some other statistical facts bearing on the same point.

The Schuylkill Canal affords employment to 570 boats. There were sent to market, in 1834, by the Schuylkill, 224,242 tons of coal; and 106,244 tons by the Lehigh. The value of fixed improvements connected with the Schuylkill and Lehigh coal-field, is estimated as follows:

	Miles.	Cost.
Lehigh Navigation,	46	$1,546,094 96
Former River Improvements,		155,420 80
Rail road to summit mines and laterals,	16½	59,766 39
Room Run rail road,	8¼	123,000 00
Schuylkill navigation,	108	2,966,480 13
West Branch rail road,	15	185,000 00
Lateral roads connected with the above,	10½	31,500 00
Norwegian or Mount Carbon rail road,	9	95,000 00
Laterals connected with the above,	1½	5,250 00
Mill Creek rail road,	4	15,000 00
Laterals connected with the above,	7	11,700 00
Schuylkill Valley rail road,	10	60,000 00
Laterals connected with the above,	11½	19,200 00
Navigable feeder of the Union canal and dam,	21	164,364 38
Pine Grove rail road,	4	20,561 25
Continuation of same	2½	7,500 00
Lykens's Valley rail road,	16	90,000 00
Little Schuylkill or Tamaqua rail road,	20	225,557 11
Lateral branches, single, double and treble tracks	6½	
Delaware division of Pennsylvania canal,	60	1,430,211 85
Total,	377	$7,211,606 07

Number of wagons or rail road cars in the first district, 2,354, at $70 each,	$164,780 00
Boats employed by individuals and companies, 980 at $500 each,	490,000 00
92 colliery establishments, including working capital, utensils, horses, mules, &c. &c. at $4,000 each,	368,000 00
100,000 acres of land at $40 per acre,	4,000,000 00
	$5,022,780 00

Add to this, the borough of Pottsville, the towns of Port Carbon, Minersville and Schuylkill Haven, and other villages, as Mauch Chunk, Summit-Hill, Tamaqua, Patterson, Tuscarora, St. Clair, New-Castle, Middleport, Mount Carbon, Pine Grove, Coal Castle, Llwellyn, and others, the property in which is valued at three millions of dollars; and we shall then have some idea of the fruits of the coal business in the coal-field of the Schuylkill and Lehigh.

We come now to the second coal basin, that of Beaver Meadow, Shamokin, and Mahanoy. This, being not yet opened to the public markets, does not afford so much matter of observation and remark as the first basin; but still it is not devoid of interest. This coal-field occupies the summit or highest ground between the waters of the Lehigh and Schuylkill on the one hand, and those of the north branch of the Susquehanna on the other, in the midst of a continuous range of double mountain barrier. Its obvious outlets by water are the Mahanoy, flowing into the Susquehanna, and the Beaver Meadow creek, into the Lehigh. The whole basin, as far as regards its form, and the quality and formation of its coal, greatly resembles the one already described; but does not present the same facilities for access to tide water. The veins appear to be of great thickness, and capable of affording an abundant supply of coal, whenever the demand shall be adequate to overcome the difficulties in the way of its reaching the market. There is in this region, one public improvement of striking beauty and boldness. We allude to the Danville and Pottsville railroad, completed as far as Girardsville, a town which Mr. Girard willed to have exist in the heart of this wild region, and which therefore exists. This road is a striking instance of what human art can accomplish, in overcoming natural difficulties. There is no public work in Europe surpassing it in grandeur of design, or beauty of execution. We specify, in illustration, the tunnel, and the series of inclined planes, by which the great elevation of the Broad Mountain is surmounted. This tunnel, perforated right through a sharp high ridge, is eight hundred feet in length, ten in height, and ten in width, with a superincumbent mass of mountain thirty-five feet in height above it. Of the succession of inclined planes, some are self-moving, regulated by *wind-breaks*, or otherwise; and one of them, acted upon by a stationary steam-engine, has a descent of sixteen hundred and twenty-five feet at an angle of about eighteen de-

grees, in a perpendicular elevation of three hundred and forty-five feet; and the ease and safety, with which you descend this stupendous plane, are as remarkable as the prospect before you, when you step into the car to descend, is appalling to the sense and the imagination. This road will run through the coal regions of the Mahanoy and the Shamokin; and in addition to opening this coal to the consumer, will form a great thoroughfare for the merchandize, produce, and general traffic of the country, and a line of communication between the waters of the Schuylkill at Pottsville, and those of the Susquehanna at Danville and Sunbury.

It remains that we speak of the third coal-field, that of the Wyoming Valley and Lackawanna. In this region, the coal beds are generally more accessible than those of the other two fields, being exposed in a multitude of localities, by deep ravines, abrupt precipices, and small streams; and in some places the coal forms the bottom of the Susquehanna and the Lackawanna. According to the representations of Professor Silliman, who explored this valley, the strata would appear to run transversely across it, forming a series of elliptical curves, and dipping from either side of the boundary in the direction of the waters. The coal is heavier and harder than that of the other two deposites. There is one particular, in which this coal region differs greatly from the others. On the Schuylkill and the Mahanoy, the surface of the earth presents a thin, barren, sterile soil, common to the mountain lands of Pennsylvania; while the beautiful and fertile valley of Wyoming is covered with a deep loam, and is universally celebrated as the very garden of the State. It is alike rich in agricultural productions, and in mineral treasures; its surface and its interior equally invite and reward the hand of labor and the combinations of skill. Its historical reminiscences bespeak the interest of the patriot; poetry has made to be classical, scenes which nature had already invested with undying charms; the statesman sees in its rich ores and its fertile soil one of the great economic resources of the country; and there is none, who ever looked on its verdant fields, and sunny streams, and picturesque hills, whose memory does not revert with delight to "Susquehanna's vale, fair Wyoming."

The coal of this region has been used more or less, in the immediate neighborhood, from the year 1768 to the present time. It is not yet very extensively introduced into trade, the

quantity conveyed to market from the Lackawanna in 1833 having been 111,777 tons; that in 1834 only 43,700 tons; but it is the field, from which the interior of New York is naturally to be supplied; and as the public improvements made or contemplated in that quarter of the State proceed to their completion, more of this coal will find its way to the consumer. At present, the principal works are at Carbondale, in the valley of the Lackawanna, belonging to the Delaware and Hudson Canal and Coal Company. This Company was formed by Messrs. Maurice and John Wurten, and is another remarkable instance of the greatest public benefits rendered, and the noblest enterprises accomplished, by well directed capital and enterprise acting through the means of a private corporation. Those gentlemen conceived the great design of constructing a rail road and canal from the coal beds on the Lackawanna to the river Hudson, through a dense wilderness, and over a mountain 855 feet in height above the level of the Lackawanna. This magnificent work has been finished, at an expense of nearly two and a half millions of dollars, to the immense advantage of the contiguous regions of Pennsylvania and New York.

Of the property employed and invested in the coal trade of this basin, the following is an estimate:

Canal boats and rail road cars	$157,500
Colliery establishments, utensils, horses, &c.	90,000
Carbondale	250,000
Honesdale	125,000
Coal lands, &c.	240,000
Total	$862,500

Taking into view all the improvements, and property connected with, and dependent upon the anthracite coal trade of Pennsylvania, in the three great coal-fields, we have:

Rail roads and canals made by companies and individuals, including also some parts of the state canals, 489 miles,	$9,750,837
Collieries, boats, cars, &c.	1,270,280
Capital invested in Coal lands,	4,900,000
Mining Capital	480,000
Value of Towns in the coal fields,	3,375,000
Total,	$19,176,217

This, of course, is independent of the value of store-houses, wharves, landings, and other improvements consequent on the Coal Trade, in Philadelphia, New York and other places; and

also of the value of vessels, and the other capital employed in the conveyance of it by shipping, and its general distribution.

The following table contains a statement of the several varieties of anthracite coal brought to market in each year since the commencement of the business:

Year.	Receipts of Lehigh.	Receipts of Schuylkill.	Receipts of Lackawanna	On hand at tide water 1st April.	Total on hand 1st April and brought to market during the year.
1820	tons. 365	tons.	tons.	tons.	tons. 365
1821	1,073				1,073
1822	2,240				2,240
1823	5,823				5,823
1824	9,541				9,541
1825	28,393	5,306			33,699
1826	31,280	16,835			48,115
1827	32,074	29,493		5,000	64,798
1828	30,232	47,181		8,000	85,292
1829	25,110	78,293	7,000	12,000	122,403
1830	41,750	89,984	41,000	18,000	192,734
1831	40,966	81,854	54,000	50,000	226,820
1832	75,000	209,271	84,500	none	363,871
1833	123,000	250,588	111,777	60,000	545,588
1834	106,000	224,100	43,700	120,000	493,700

We have received, from a competent source, an estimate of the quantity, which would probably be brought to market in the year 1835, as follows:

By the Schuylkill Canal, - - - -	350,000 tons.
Lehigh do. - - - - -	130,000
Delaware and Hudson do. - -	95,000
Total, - - -	575,000

So that the exports of coal from Pennsylvania, the past year, will have been not far short of half a million of tons, bringing a return of two millions of dollars to that state. And if we take into consideration, as well the canal-boats employed in the interior, as the vessels employed in the river and sea navigation, for the transportation of this coal annually, we shall find that it cannot fall short of 60,000 tons burthen of all kinds, constituting already a highly important branch of our navigation, and destined certainly to a great and constant increase.

In fact, vast as is the amount of capital embarked in it already, this trade is but in its infancy. In England, where coal is almost the only fuel, and is used for all purposes, the consumption rather exceeds one ton for each inhabitant of the kingdom. It is not to be presumed that the same state of

things, and the same proportion of demand for coal, will soon exist in the United States. Still, the amount consumed must and will gradually advance. We shall continue to import coal from Europe, from England especially ; and we shall import it also from Nova Scotia. Of such coal, however, the quantity imported by no means keep pace with the quantity mined at home ; the foreign coal imported into the United States in 1833, for instance, being only 84,144 tons, while, as we have seen, the anthracite coal sent to market from Pennsylvania alone, amounted in the same year, deducting what was on hand from the year before, to nearly 500,000 tons. We have not any exact knowledge of the quantity of coal produced in Virginia ; and cannot, therefore, judge precisely how this will affect the question. But persons, who are not prone to be over-sanguine in their anticipations, have calculated, that, of the population of the United States residing upon, or adjacent to tide-water, amounting to about four millions of souls, one half part may be reckoned upon for the consumption of domestic coal, so soon as the market is fully and equally supplied. However this may prove, the economic value of anthracite coal, in its various applications, cannot be too highly rated.

At the present time we are chiefly familiar with anthracite as the means of heating dwellings or manufactories. It is but just beginning to make its way into other uses, for which fuel is needed. Thus in the numerous steam-engines used on our rivers and sounds, and on our rail-roads, wood continues to be generally employed. The Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road Company is the only one, so far as we know, which uses anthracite for its locomotive engines ; they continue to be satisfied with the experiment, and will have consumed, the past year, about three thousand tons of the best red ash coal of the Schuylkill. Hence, in our steam-engines, is a vast field for its consumption. In Philadelphia, New York, and Providence, it is understood that very small coal and coal dust, which heretofore could not obtain a market, is employed to some extent in the steam-engines of manufactories. And the same kind of coal is now used by lime-burners in the manufacture of lime ; as also, in a few places, for bricks. Experiments have been tried, too, with some success, for the smelting and refining of iron-ore with anthracite. If it should come to be of general application in these and the like processes of art, the demand for it, and the consequent augmentation of the trade, will ren-

der the mineral treasures of Pennsylvania more and more a public blessing to the whole Union. In the close domestic intercourse of the different States, and their mutual dependance and reliance on each other for the aliment of industry, and the procurement of the comforts and luxuries of life, we have, under the favor of God, a sure safeguard for the preservation of the republican institutions transmitted to us by our fathers. Of the great fabric of the Union, Pennsylvania has been, not unjustly nor unaptly, denominated the key-stone State. It is so, not solely by reason of its geographical position and its magnitude, but on account of its natural resources also, alike needful to all parts of the country. We heartily congratulate that great State, as well for the territorial advantages it possesses, as for the energy which it has displayed in rendering them available; and we hope and believe that its future prosperity will correspond to its natural and acquired resources, and to the industry and enterprise of its people.

NOTE.

In the article in the present number, on the Survey of the Coast of the United States, the invention of the double microscope for verniers, is erroneously attributed to Professor Hassler. He was the first to apply it practically; but the microscope with a system of wires, for dividing in its conjugate focus, had been before used by Ramsden.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ANNUALS.

The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the year 1836. Boston. Charles Bowen.

Ladies' and Gentleman's Pocket Manual, for 1836. New York. J. Disturnall.

The Year Book. By M. Conant, 1 vol. Boston. Munroe & Francis.

The Gift, for 1836. Edited by Miss Leslie. Philadelphia. E. L. Carey & A. Hart.

The Magnolia, for 1836. Edited by H. W. Herbert. New York. Monson Bancroft.

Youth's Sketch Book, for 1836.

The Amaranth, for 1836. Philadelphia. T. T. Ash.

Religious Souvenir, for 1836. By C. Colton, D. D. Philadelphia. Key & Biddle.

BIOGRAPHY.

Georgii Washingtonii Americæ Septentrionalis Civitatum Fœderatarum Praesidis primi vita. A. Francisco Glass, A. M. Ohioensi. New York. Harper & Brothers.

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Life of Jehudi Ashmun, late Colonial Agent in Liberia. By R. R. Gurley. Boston. Wm. Peirce.

Lives of Anthony Wayne and Sir Henry Vane ; being volume 4th of Sparks's American Biography. Boston. Hilliard, Gray & Co.

Memoir of J. H. Rice, D. D. By Wm. Maxwell. Philadelphia. J. Whethan. 1 vol. 8vo.

The Life and Opinions of Martin Van Buren, Vice President of the United States. By Wm. Holland, 1 vol. Hartford. Belknap & Hammersley.

EDUCATION.

Review of Surault's Grammatical Dissertation on the Italian Language. Boston. E. R. Broaders.

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Journal of the Franklin Institute, Vol. XVI. Nos. 4 and 5. Philadelphia. Thompson & Homans.

The National Primer, or Primary Spelling Book; upon a new plan. Boston. Wm. Peirce.

The Ecclesiastical Class Book, or History of the Church from the Birth of Christ to the present time; adapted to the use of Schools. By C. A. Goodrich.

The District School of National Education. By J. O. Taylor, 1 vol. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Blanchard.

The Combined American System of Book-keeping. Philadelphia. Martin Roche.

An Atlas of Outline Maps; intended for the use of Students in Geography. New York. H. Griffin & Co.

The North American Spelling Book, Conformed to Worcester's Dictionary. By L. W. Leonard. Keene. Geo. Tilden.

The Legal Classic, or Young American's First Book of Rights and Duties; designed for Schools. By John Philips, Esq.

Smith's Geography and Atlas on the Productive System. Hartford. D. Burgess & Co.

The Intellectual Housekeeper. A series of Practical Questions to his Daughter, by a Father, &c. &c.

ETHICS.

Elements of Moral Science. By Francis Wayland, D. D. Abridged and adapted to the use of Schools and Academies, by the Author. Boston. Gould, Kendall & Lincoln.

HISTORY.

A History of the Town of Concord. By L. Shattuck. Boston. Russell, Shattuck & Co.

Sketches of History, Life and Manners in the West. By James Hall, 2 vols. Philadelphia. H. Hall.

The Library of History, vol. 1. Boston. H. Crampton.

JUVENILE.

Tales and Essays for Children. By Mrs. L. H. Sigourney.

Youth's Book of the Seasons, or Nature Familiarly Developed. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Blanchard.

Peter Parley's Primer. Philadelphia. T. T. Ash.

LAW.

The Elements of Law, being a Comprehensive Summary of American Jurisprudence. By F. Hilliard. Boston. Hilliard, Gray & Co.

Watts's Reports, vol. 2. By F. Watts, Counsellor at Law. Philadelphia. Kay & Brothers.

Devereaux and Battle's Reports of Cases in the Supreme Court of North Carolina. Philadelphia.

Wendall's Reports, vol. 12, of Cases Argued and Determined in the Court of Errors, in the State of New York.

The Constitutions of the United States and New York. Boston. H. Crampton.

Celebrated Trials and Remarkable Cases of Criminal Jurisprudence. By a Member of the Philadelphia Bar. Philadelphia. Carey & Hart. 1 vol. 8vo.

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Observations on the Influence of Religion upon the Health and Physical Welfare of Mankind. By A. Brigham, M. D. Boston. Marsh, Capen & Lyon.

Essays and Lectures on Medical Subjects. By J. P. Harrison, M. D. Philadelphia. J. Crissy.

Robinson's Lectures on Medical Botany.

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A Treatise on Pulmonary Consumption, &c. &c. By J. Clark, M. D. 1 vol. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea & Blanchard.

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An Essay on the Rate of Wages. By H. C. Carey. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea & Blanchard.

The Politician's Register. Philadelphia. Key & Biddle.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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ART. I. — *Popular Poetry of the Teutonic Nations.*

1. *Volkslieder der Deutschen.* Eine vollständige Sammlung u. s. w. durch Fr. Karl, Freiherrn von Erlach Mannheim, Hoff, 1834.
2. *Holländische Volkslieder.* Gesammelt und erläutert von Dr. Heinrich Hoffmann, Breslau, 1833.
3. *Danske Viser fra Middelalderen* etc. collected by Nierup, Rahbeck, and Abrahamson, 3 Vols. Copenh. 1813.
4. *Svenske Folkvisor,* by Geijer and Afzelius, 5 vols. Stockh. 1814 — 1816.

WE have often been struck with the truth of Herder's remark, that the line of characteristic distinction is drawn far more sharply between the popular poetry of the different nations, than between their printed literatures. Learned writers borrow from, or imitate each other ; while the analogies in the popular productions are only to be ascribed to agreement in a common nature. It is chiefly in respect to these characteristic differences, that these latter ought to be of the deepest interest to the philosopher and the historian. The different languages of the different nations are the store-houses of their respective thoughts and sensations. The treasures, accumulated there in the course of centuries, enriched by each thinking and

imaginative mind, but also often falsified by foreign influence and deficiency in discernment, are coined in the most national, in the most idiomatic form, in traditional tales and popular poetry. There is indeed a symbolic language common to the human race; but only in its principal outlines; all the finer shades are the result of the climate or of historical influences. We do not wish however to be thought to overrate the poetry of the people in respect to its absolute beauty. William Grimm, speaking of the ancient Danish popular ballads, calls the poetry of nature "a mighty stream, which advances, dashing and foaming with its own living pulses, and slowly rolls on to traverse the whole land;" while he compares the poetry of art to "the ornamental aqueduct, which forces the waters of the living stream through narrow pipes, and causes them to rise in jets or fall in artificial cascades." But *natural* and *popular* poetry are two distinct things often confounded. Genuine art never injured natural talent. Men do not, like nightingales, bring song with them into the world, but only the capacity for song. The mind of the popular poet is in general the most cultivated in his circle. He thinks as much of the *effect* of his song, as the learned poet does; and his effusions are beautiful, not *because* he is an uneducated man, but *in spite* of his being so.

In comparing the nations of Europe to those of the other continents, there is nothing which can give us a stronger proof of the superiority of the former, than their respective popular poetry. We were prepared to find the latter infinitely below us in civilization and intellect; but the wild flowers we are looking for, do not require a cultivated soil; and from the very bosom of a rough and stony earth, the miner fetches precious gems. In respect to the Oriental races, it may justly be said, that their best mental productions are deposited in their written literature; and that the small information we have as to the East, must necessarily prevent our discovering hidden treasures. But the literature of a nation is after all only the product of the faculties of a few individuals; and as to the latter objection, we doubt, whether Hindoostan is not better known to our scholars than Servia. We do not hesitate to maintain, that a single village of this latter province harbors more real poetry than all the Indo-Chinese countries together; and one valley of South Western Germany, more than the whole Celestial Empire. The very rudest beginnings of the European

nations exhibit at least some features of energy and ardor; while a feebleness and tameness prevails in most of the productions of the Eastern semi-barbarians to such a degree, that we are inclined to assent to the opinion of a sagacious English writer, who "sometimes thought that the extreme monotony and uniformity of season, production, and scenery in the East, might contribute to deaden and tranquillize the faculties, removing from the mind the powerful incentive of variety to animate and rouse it to action."*

There are certainly among the Oriental nations some, which, as a whole, bear decidedly the stamp of poetical nations, e. g. the Afghauns, whom Mountstuart Elphinstone thinks the only Eastern people who know the feeling of love, in the Christian-European sense of this word; and also the Arabs, even independently of their former wide and well known influence. Indeed the whole life of the Bedouins is interwoven with a kind of wild poetry; and other nomadic nations of Asia have more or less of the same stamp. But compare their poetical productions, the creations of their fancy, with those of the European races, Teutonic or Slavic, and you will be struck with the difference. We are however far from denying the influence which the East has exercised on our poetry, as well as on other tendencies of our mental developement. And how *could* we deny what history herself has written with distinctly legible characters, when she informs us that all the great families of nations, which now form the population of Europe, issued from the inexhaustible sources of Asia? Education begins in the cradle; and even education cannot entirely extirpate natural propensities and faculties. To this was added the general influence of the Crusades, direct and indirect. There are numerous tales still living among all the European races, evidently drawn from the great fountain of the East. But, if we except those nations which are by their local situation connected with oriental ones, as are most of the Slavic and the Hungarian tribes,—only the body of those tales is the same; another spirit breathes in them.

On the other hand we recognise, notwithstanding our remarks about their characteristic distinctions, a certain family resemblance in the popular poetry not only of such of the European nations as belong to one and the same stock, but among them all; the stamp impressed by a common religion, and by

* Crawfurd's History of the Indian Archipelago.

the feudal system more or less prevalent among them all. There are not a few striking points of coincidence in the popular productions of all European nations. Numberless variations on a very few themes, are common to the South and to the North. And indeed, what we call poetical invention, what is it, but variety in the mode of combination? "The colors," as an able German writer remarks,* "nay even the forms in poetry, as in the kaleidoscope, already exist; accident here, and genius there, put them in new positions and thus create new pictures." But the affinity of the subjects is not the only striking resemblance. We shall show in the sequel, how often poets belonging to nations differently situated, and in cases where it is beyond question that they could not have imitated or influenced each other, have drawn precisely the same features.

In all traditionary poetry, you meet with frequent repetitions of certain stereotype phrases and terms. The same actions are almost without variation expressed in the same form of words. Our readers well know, how much also the king of popular singers, Homer, shares in this peculiarity. Besides the frequent recurrence of whole stanzas, there are also stereotype epithets, common to all popular poetry. In the Eastern-Slavic poetry, all subjects worthy of praise, are *white*, all fountains *cool*; the cuckoo is *grey*, the sabre is *sharp*, the sea is *blue*, etc. There are other similar epithets peculiar to each of the Slavic nations separately. In the ancient English ballads also, similar constantly recurring expressions are found: *my* (his) *own true love*, applied indiscriminately to faithful and faithless lovers, just as in the Servian song, the swarthy Arab's hand is *white; robes of green, my merry men all*, and many others. In the Scandinavian popular ballads all cloaks are *blue* or *grey*, all damsels *proud*, or when mentioned by their christian names *little*, as *little Kirstin, Sidselille*, etc. the harp is *golden*, the noble steed *grey*. German popular poetry has fewer epithets; but it abounds in repetitions of certain phrases and expressions. The simplest actions or occurrences are introduced by an interrogation:

"What draws he from his pocket?
A knife, so pointed and sharp, etc.

---

* Wilibald Alexis, on "Balladen Poesie," Hermes, No. XXI.

What found she standing in the road ?
A hazel, that was green," etc.*

Spanish and Italian popular poetry, since these languages, from their more poetical nature, are instruments more easily managed, partake least of this peculiarity ; their poets take however the more liberty in borrowing thoughts and ideas from each other.

Another point of coincidence more or less common to all the different races, is the *burden* or refrain ; and in this they agree with most savage nations. This feature indeed has a deeper foundation in human nature than is discernible to a superficial observer. Alexander Humboldt, in speaking of the pottery of the Maypures, an American tribe, who painted with great skill *grecques*, i. e. certain figures of animals, meandrites, following one another in rhythmic order, observes : "The eye finds in this order, in the regular periodical return of the same forms, what the ear distinguishes in the cadenced succession of sounds and concords. Can we then admit a doubt that the perception of rhythm manifests itself in man at the first dawn of civilization, and in the rudest essays of poetry and song ?"† The same remark might be applied to the *burden* of popular songs. Emanating from a natural human want, it is, as we observed above, known to all the nations in the world ; and its general use is its best justification. But what is with the Indian a mere animal ejaculation, an unmeaning *heh*, or *hih*, compared by Washington Irving to the sound of the hiccup, is with the northern ballad-singers often a picturesque idea, and always a musical phrase.

All nations employ riddles as a test of sagacity ; and this custom European nations brought from the East. In most of the modern languages we find popular ballads containing a gradation of questions, to the answer of which high importance

* How ancient this peculiarity is in German poetry, is manifest from its appearing repeatedly in the oldest specimen of verse the Germans possess, viz. in the lay of Hildebrand.

Was begegnet Dir auf der Heide ?	What meets thee in the moor ?
Ein stolzer Degen jung, etc.	A knight so proud and young, etc.
Was führt er auf dem Helme ?	What bears he on his helm ?
Von Gold ein Kreuzelein,	A little cross of gold ;
Was führt er auf der Seite ?	What leads he at his side ?
Den liebsten Vater sein.	His own dear father old.

† Remarks on the ancient Inhabitants of America.

is often attached. In several old English ballads the lover's choice depends on the answers to the following questions :

"O what is longer than the long way ?
Or what is deeper than the deep sea ?
Or what is louder than the loud horn ?
Or what is sharper than the sharp thorn ?
Or what is greener than the green grass ?
Or what is worse than a woman was ?"

And he is satisfied with the answer :

"O love is longer than the long way !
And hell is deeper than the deep sea !
And thunder is louder than the loud horn,
And hunger is sharper than the sharp thorn !
And poison is greener than the green grass,
And the devil is worse than a woman was !"

In a Servian ballad a girl sits on the banks of the sea, inquiring :

"What's broader than the mighty sea ?
And what is longer than the field ?
And what is swifter than the steed ?
What sweeter than the honey dew ?
What dearer than a brother is ?"

A fish rises from the water, and gives her the following answer :

"O maid, thou art a foolish girl !
The heaven is broader than the sea ;
The sea is longer than the field ;
The eye is swifter than the steed ;
Sugar more sweet than honey dew ;
Dearer than brother is thy love."

Of a very similar description are the riddles of the Danish hero Vonved ; and it is quite in the character of northern heroism, that all persons not able to solve them, were punished with death. The same riddles exist in Swedish, as a separate ballad.

We could adduce many other instances of a similar surprising coincidence. Besides love and the admiration of heroic

deeds, the feeling most strongly manifested in popular poetry, is the belief in an Omnipotent Providence and its retributive justice. This belief appears most prominent in German popular poetry. A multitude of examples occur at once to the writer, and probably to every reader familiar with German literature. In a well known Low-German nursery tale, "*Van den Machandelboom*," the concealed murder of the little boy, committed by his step-mother, comes so tragically to light, that no ancient tragic poet could have found in the atrocious deeds and final punishment of the Atridæ, a subject better rounded off, or answering better to the prescriptions of Aristotle. There is also a horrible ballad, where "three knaves," as they are called, come to an inn, and, after having peaceably taken lodgings, steal at night every thing they can find; and not being able to agree who shall have the beautiful daughter of the hostess, they cut her in three pieces, in order to divide her among themselves. It ends with the following verses:

> "And where there fell a drop of blood,
> A year an angel singing stood;
> And where the murderer put his sword,
> A year a raven sat and croak'd."

A beautiful Servian tale, called the *Sisters-in-Law*, offers a most striking instance of coincidence in the popular representations between two nations entirely different in situation and character, and where even the suspicion that one was borrowed from the other cannot occur. A young woman, jealous of the love her husband has for his unmarried sister, after having calumniated her in various ways, kills her own child and accuses poor Jelitza of this atrocious crime. Jelitza is punished in the manner she herself dictates, in case she should be found guilty. She is bound to the tails of wild horses, and her limbs are scattered through the fields:

> "But where'er a drop of blood fell from her,
> There a flower sprung up, a fragrant floweret;
> Where her body fell when dead and mangled,
> There a church arose from out the desert."*

The sister-in-law is soon after seized with a dreadful disease, which lasts "nine anniversaries;" she is brought to Jelitza's

* Bowring's Translation.

church, to be there absolved and saved; but a voice from the church forbids her to come in; in utter despair she submits herself to the same punishment the innocent sister has suffered:

> "But where'er a drop of blood fell from her,
> There sprung up the rankest thorns and nettles.
> Where her body fell when dead, the waters
> Rushed and form'd a lake both still and stagnant."*

In accordance with this popular feeling, their ballads seldom, if ever, end with a moral dissonance, or want of poetic justice. Their lyric songs indeed do often; for they are the expressions of momentary feeling, and, as such, the mirrors of an individual state of mind. Spanish and Servian ballads do, likewise, sometimes thus terminate; for they lay, in general, no claim to *completeness;* they are, the former only historical, the latter only plastic representations of certain isolated situations; they seldom profess to relate the whole story, as do the ballads of the Teutonic nations, especially the English and Scotch. In these latter we see frequently not only divine justice, but even worldly retribution, taking place. Lamkin and his accomplice, the treacherous "nourrice," in the Scotch ballad, are deservedly executed; in the German ballad, the angels sing about Annie's grave, and the ravens croak around the wheel where her murderer is exposed. In another ballad of this nation, we even see an angel descending from Heaven to order the body of the innocently murdered youth to be buried. The same feeling is also manifested in the prevalence of the popular belief, that trees or flowers, planted on graves, are animated by the souls of the dead buried therein. And here we meet with a striking point of coincidence even in an Afghaun tale. Every reader knows the conclusion of Fair Margaret and Sweet William:

> "Margaret was buried in the low chancèl,
> And William in the higher;
> Out of her breast there sprung a rose,
> And out of his a briar.
>
> "They grew as high as the church top,
> Till they could grow no higher;
> And there they grew in a true lover's knot,
> Made all the folks admire."

* Bowring's Translation.

The same conclusion with some slight variation, is common to "Lord Thomas and Fair Anet," to "the Douglas Tragedy," and to nine or ten other English and Scotch ballads. The same idea is introduced in a more simple and natural way in a Servian ballad. The lovers are buried side by side, their hands are clasped through the intervening earth; and the pine and the rose tree, planted on their graves, interweave their branches. The conclusion of a popular Afghaun love tale, Adam and Doorkanee, exhibits the same thought with still more strength. The Afghaun lovers are buried far from each other; but their bodies are found to have met in one grave, and the two trees which spring from their remains mingle their boughs over it.

Our limits do not permit us to expand these observations in their full extent. We must be satisfied for the present to direct the attention of our readers to the affinity of the Scandinavian and German popular poetry with each other; without undertaking a comparative view of the English and Scotch, so nearly related to it; or the poetical productions of the Celtic race, which would be found necessary to the full understanding of the former.

To avoid misapprehension, we will state here in few words, what we wish to have understood as the proper subject of our inquiries on Popular Poetry.

We do not mean *national* poetry. The whole poetical literature of a people is, of course, national in a wide sense of the word. In a narrow sense, we consider those productions chiefly as national poetry, which have developed themselves principally out of the qualities and condition of the nations themselves, to which the poets respectively belong; and have grown up in their own bosom without predominant foreign influence. The royal Psalmist, Shakspeare, Calderon and Goethe, are true national poets. In no other land but their own could the divine seed have shot up into such plants. No nation but their own could have produced them *just as they are.*

Again, we do not understand by popular poetry all the poetry which is read and sung by the common people, nor even all that portion of it which has exercised a decided influence upon them. Else we should have to name the Bible first; since its poetical sentences and psalms are read and remembered by the common people of protestant countries more than

any other kind of poetry. Then, too, we must adduce many spiritual hymns, and also many secular songs, mostly of a social character, the productions of popular writers of the higher classes, but sung by all classes of the people; but still given to them, not produced by them. We should have also to include the many Italian, and especially German opera songs, which, indeed, owe their popularity chiefly to their tunes, but which have now spread over all the world, civilized and uncivilized; and in the cities of Italy and Germany have superseded the old popular ballads and songs. There is hardly an individual in Germany, who does not know by heart the Hunter's Chorus, from Weber's *Freyschütz;* and we learned as a fact, a year or two after the appearance of this opera, that the negro slaves of the West Indies were accustomed to sing the wedding song, and to draw up vessels to the shore after the tact of "Schöner, grüner Jungfernkranz." Although all such songs must be called *popular* in a different sense of the word, they must be excluded from the present examination.

But we have done with describing what we do *not* wish to have understood as being our present subject. By *Popular Poetry*, whether it bear the form of songs, ballads, dramas, or any other, we mean only those productions, existing now or formerly, which *proceed from* the common people, and *operate on* the common people; the blossoms of popular life, born and nurtured under the care of the people, cherished by their joys, and watered by their tears; and as such eminently characteristic of the *great mass* of the nation and its condition. Although no one can expect to find in them a full portrait of a people, yet they never fail to present some of the most striking features.

And it is in this respect that we have especially the nations in view as they are at present; considering the past only in its reference to the present time. Let us see how much of the poetical feeling is left, which, with its creative power, once pervaded all the nations of Europe. Let us not search the libraries which contain the treasures of their literature; let us observe the people themselves in their domestic relations. Let us see what blossoms the trees bear, with which the poor man surrounds his hut; with what fragrant, soul-refreshing flowers the grain is interspersed, which secures to him his physical sustenance. Let us listen to the low voices of nature which so unconsciously utter the sweetest, nay, often the most solemn accents. This very *unconsciousness* is often one of the most characteristic features of popular poetry, and one of its greatest

charms. The Servians, when asked by their more refined friends at Vienna to recite before company some of their beautiful popular epics, were ashamed and almost hurt; and so strong was the suspicion, that they were thus entreated merely to cast ridicule on them, that they could be induced only with difficulty to comply with the request.

The close family connexion between the different branches of the Teutonic stock, is very strongly manifested in their common traditions, and in their respective poetry; although each of them is distinguished by national features of its own. A long chain of fictions once wound itself through the ancient northern world, whose now broken links lie scattered over those regions; but the thinking inquirer may easily recognise that they were once connected, and may often discover where they formerly were joined. Of the original poetry of the various Teutonic races, which, five or six centuries after the Christian era, inundated all Europe, we know little more, than that they were still the same people, who, as Tacitus tells us, although fond of poetry and song, used even their voices as instruments to frighten their enemies; and whose songs Julian the Apostate compares to the wild cries of the birds. Meanwhile poetry unfolded itself in all its glory among their brethren, the Scandinavian races. We scarcely see, in the third century after Christ, Odin and his Goths appear in the North, when the Skalds emerge from the night of the past; skilful, elaborate, initiated bards, of whom we know not from what Asiatic fountain they drew their wisdom and skill. But the poetry of the Skalds, although of a purely national character, and apparently born and nursed in the bosom of their own race, can strictly, nevertheless, not be considered as *popular poetry*, according to the definition we have given above. The earliest effusions of the Skalds or northern singers, were doubtless of this character; and several epic songs of the Edda bear, in their perfect simplicity, distinctly the stamp of genuine popular poetry, e. g. the ancient Quern Song, *Grotta Saungr*, printed with a literal translation in Mr. Jamieson's Northern Antiquities. The authors of these songs are unknown, as is the case with nearly all popular poetry. The antithesis between the poetry of nature and the poetry of art, in the case of the ancient northern songs, has been denied by an eminent Danish scholar.* He

* E. P. Müller.

attempts to maintain that among the ancient Scandinavians each person was a Skald, that is, a poet, according to his talent, artificial or simple, just as his genius inspired him. But it is difficult to disprove what history has made evident in various ways, and what is still more clearly proved by the nature of the thing itself. The Skalds, who united in themselves the functions of the historiographer and of the poet, formed a distinct and highly honored class. They were the interpreters of the gods, the ambassadors of kings; not the organs of the people. Skaldic poetry was a regular art and science. How difficult it was merely to understand many of their verses; with what a high degree of skill the Skalds knew how to entangle their words and thoughts, so that they became entirely unintelligible to the uninitiated,—as Mallet supposes, with the express purpose to make their art appear more venerable to the common people,*—the reader, who has not studied the matter, can hardly form any idea. Perhaps we cannot introduce our subject better, than by giving here a single specimen of Skaldic *art*. No stronger contrast, indeed, could be offered to the plainness and rude simplicity of the real popular ballads, of which we are hereafter to speak. "Popular poetry," observes the distinguished German Scholar, W. Grimm, in comparing the rude ancient Danish ballads with the more elaborate songs of the Skalds, "popular poetry lives still in the state of innocence; she is naked, without ornament, bearing in herself the image of God. Art has arrived at consciousness; she has no longer the courage to represent things as they are; she must dress them up."†

The following curious stanzas have been preserved by Stephan Stephanius in the notes to his edition of Saxo Grammaticus.

1. "Haki Kraki hoddum broddum
Saerdi naerdi seggi leggi
Veiter neiter vella pella
Bali stali beittist heittist.

2. Haki Kraki hamde framde
Geirum eirum gotna flotna
Hreiter neiter hodda brodda
Brendist endist bale stale."

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* Introduction à l'Histoire de Danemarc.

† Preface to his translation of "Altdänische Heldenlieder."

To give a sense and meaning to these verses, they must be arranged as follows; the words in the two lines of each couplet being taken alternately, in a regular, though intricate and varying order:

1. "Haki broddum saerdi leggi,
Kraki hoddum naerdi seggi,
Veiter pella bali heittist,
Neiter vella stali beittist.

2. Haki hamde geirum gotna,
Kraki framde eirum flotna,
Neiter brodda endist stale
Hreiter hodda brendist bale."

The reader may observe that in both these ways of reading, the arrangement of the second verse is very different from that of the first. The sense of the song is no less artificial than the form; it is a succession of antitheses: 1. "Hakon has wounded the limbs with points (of weapons), Krake has delighted the men with money; the giver of the silk dresses has been devoured by the flames; the gold-enjoying king has been wounded with the steel." 2. "Hakon has tamed the men with spears; Krake enriched the mariners with gold; the carrier of the pointed steel perished by the steel; the scatterer of gold by fire."

The Scandinavian poets possessed no less than one hundred and thirty-six different forms of verse for their songs; most of them equally artificial. We need however hardly mention, that the really high value of the Scandinavian poetry is entirely independent of the strange *ars poetica* contained in the *Skalda** Its fables and legends are spread over all the Teutonic north; nay, its flowers have unfolded themselves in various forms, and through different centuries, in all the regions where the Northmen carried their victorious arms. There is also no doubt that previously and cotemporary with the artificial songs of the initiated bards, popular songs existed in the Scandinavian language, which were partly devoted to the same subjects. Some are preserved in the Edda†; some, although in an altered form, in the ancient Swedish and Danish ballads of which we shall speak in the sequel. They passed into these two languages gradually as these latter formed

* The *Skalda* is the third part of the second Edda, which contains in alphabetic order, the poetical phrases of the former volumes.

† See p. 275.

themselves from their mother tongue ; while with the grandeur and the glory of the Icelanders, the only nation who remained in the possession of the original idiom, they gradually perished in their original shape. In Iceland, no trace is any longer to be found of them, with the exception of the portion contained in the ancient written *Sagas*.

How much these venerable relics of antiquity are respected and loved by the present Icelandic peasantry, is generally known. Their usual evening reading during the long nights of their almost everlasting winters, consists of some old Saga, or such other histories as are to be obtained on their island. Dr. Henderson in his valuable work on Iceland, (page 357,) gives a most delightful description of such an Icelandic winter-evening, when the great lamp is lighted, and all the family assemble to sit down to some useful work ; and the head of the family, or another intelligent member, advances to the seat near the lamp, and commences the reading, which is frequently interrupted by remarks and explanations for the benefit of the children and servants. " In some houses," this writer adds, " the Sagas are repeated by such as have got them by heart ; and instances are not uncommon of itinerating historians, who gain a livelihood during the winter by staying at different farms till they have exhausted their stock of literary knowledge. — The custom just described appears to have existed among the Scandinavians from time immemorial. The person chosen as reciter was called *Thulr*, and was always celebrated for his knowledge of past events, and the dignity and pathos with which he related them." The joyful and generous interest which even the poorest of the poor inhabitants of Iceland have manifested in the undertaking of the Society at Copenhagen, which is about to publish their national relics, proves better than any thing which can be said, that the present population of that island is no degenerate race.

The connexion between the Teutonic nations is strikingly proved by their common superstitions ; and the same tie unites them intimately with the remnants of the Celtic race. And here we must remark, that the frequent appearances of supernatural beings, and their lively interest in human affairs, is one of the principal marks of distinction between the popular poetry of the Celtic and Teutonic nations on the one side, and the Slavic and South-western nations on the other. Not that spirits are excluded

from the latter ; but the relation to the other world is more seldom brought into view, and is *almost* exclusively confined to nursery tales. Throughout all Great Britain and its neighboring islands, throughout all the three Scandinavian empires, and throughout all Germany, the belief in a class of spirits of a diminutive size and forming a race by themselves, has been from ancient times disseminated among the people, and still partially exists. These spirits were in English usually called Elf, plural Elves, later Fairies; in the ancient northern language *âlfr*, plur. *âlfar ;* in old German *Elbe*, in modern German *Elfe ;* in Swedish *elf*, plur. *elfar*, *elfvor ;* in Danish *elv*, plur. *elve ;* in Gaelic and Irish *Doane-shi* and *Shefro*, i. e. the good, the peaceful people. These all have their origin in the earliest times of paganism. The first teachers of Christianity did not succeed in eradicating the belief in them; but by representing them as the offspring of hell and instruments of the fiend, they impressed a character of gloom upon this superstition, which originally it had not. The mysterious and contradictory qualities of the elves may in this way be accounted for. The Edda indeed distinguishes already two kinds of elves, elves of light and elves of darkness ; but only in respect to the different regions of these spirits ; one class dwelling in the light of heaven, the other in the caves of the dark earth. In the Christian view the elves became fallen angels, precipitated from heaven because they suffered themselves to be seduced by the devil ; but not fallen deep enough to reach hell, and spellbound to the earth and the other elements. Thence their twofold and contradictory relation to man ; now, in remembrance of their original light, beneficent and kind ; then, influenced by their seducer, malignant and destroying. Thence also their anxiety and fear in respect to their own futurity, and their uncertainty about their lot at the last day. Hence their endeavor to substitute beings of their own race for children ; in order thus by a mental and physical admixture with the *redeemed* race, to regain a *soul*. Hence the sensitiveness, which drives them to rage when they see themselves considered by men as the offspring of hell ; and their gratitude when permitted to join in the prayers of men ; although they have seldom the courage to do so, or if they do, are accustomed to omit passages, or to murmur some words indistinctly, and to shew themselves especially timid before clergymen and near churches. All the elementary spirits of the northern

nations, water-nymphs, mountain-spirits, or those of the domestic range, participate in the same character, modified according to their situation, and especially according to the fancy of the narrator. Few of them appear as decidedly good or bad; they are good to those they love, and bad to those they hate; but always intrusive and intermeddling, mischievous and peevish.

This world of spirits never has been a regular system. It never has been more than the fanciful creation of a wild popular imagination, without internal connexion and consistency, and full of contradictions in itself, and still more with an enlightened religion. But who can deny that the belief in a multiplicity of mysterious beings, who surround men, who are endowed with a supernatural though limited power, who suffer and rejoice with men, — who can deny that such a belief gives an enlivening breath to dead reality? The march of intellect, and above all the diffusion of knowledge, which honorably characterizes the last half century, have nearly overturned the throne of this superstition, and we are far from regretting it. But wherever its ruins are still extant, they serve to give a peculiar poetical charm to the whole region.

But independently of these common superstitions, there is a great number of themes of popular ballads and tales, which several centuries ago were equally familiar to all these nations; and it is no inconsiderable number which are so even at present. After the final close of the great migrations of the nations, little intercourse took place between them until the Crusades caused a new movement. The influence of the latter, however important it may have been in other respects, can come little under consideration in respect to our present question. It may, therefore, justly be assumed, that those traditions, which we find in the middle ages extended over the whole North, partly originated before the Teutonic stock was ramified into its various branches; and partly were handed over to the different nations during the great migrations, which shook for whole centuries both Europe and Asia, and were not without influence on the two other portions of the world. To Great Britain they were carried by the Saxons and Danes; and in Scotland became amalgamated with the traditions of the older possessors of the country, which were probably derived by a previous overflowing from the same great source. In several of the stories preserved in the Icelandic Sagas, the German

origin is evident; the exploits of the heroes common to the Edda, to the Heimskringla and to the German *cyclus* of heroic traditions, were sung at the same time by the northern pirates, and by the Teutonic conquerors of Italy. The brother, who in order to find his lost sister, wanders through the world, and descends even into the deep sea, where the sister shelters him from the rage of the sea-monster, is the hero of certain popular ballads and tales, in at least four different languages, and in perhaps ten times as many different provincial dialects. The beautiful ballad, called in German "Edelkönigskinder," in Swedish "Konungabarnen," is extant in several German and in as many Scandinavian versions. Of the German ballad, "The Castle in Austria," there exist an old Danish and a Swedish version, printed as early as 1600. The Scottish "Frog-lover" is the "Froschkönig" of one of the most ancient German tales. Jack the Giant-killer and Tom Thumb are the heroes of Scandinavian, German and English nurseries. The old Danish ballad, "Skön Anna," exists in no less than three varying versions in Scotland, where it is known chiefly by the initial verse, "Who will bake my bridal bread," &c. The tradition of the harp made of the bones of a maid secretly murdered and strung with her hair, which sounds of itself and thus discovers the crime, exists in Swedish and Scottish ballads, and in one sung on the Feroe Islands, communicated by Rask. The same legend, in its principal features, is also the theme of a German nursery tale. The subject of Bürger's celebrated "Lenore," is equally familiar to all the Teutonic nations. The German poet founded his romance on a popular ballad, which he heard accidentally sung in an adjoining room. The Danish "Aage and Else," and another ballad in this language, have the same subject; and "Sweet William's Ghost," was founded on "The Suffolk Miracle, or a relation of a young man, who, a month after his death, appeared to his sweetheart, and carried her on horseback behind him for forty miles, in two hours, and was never seen after but in his grave."*

It would be easy to point out a great many other cases of remarkable coincidence. Rhymes apparently without meaning, interwoven in the games of the children in England, or fragmentary verses sung in all the nurseries of the United Kingdom, are often found in Germany in a more perfect form,

* Monthly Magazine, Sept. 1796.

and become intelligible as parts of some popular ballad. An incoherent German ballad finds its explanation in a Scotch or Gaelic tale; or a tradition preserved in the Scandinavian North, throws light upon a dark passage of an ancient Scotch ballad.*

A considerable number of fairy legends and popular tales, collected within the last twenty years by Danish and Swedish scholars, still pass from lip to lip in those countries, and were even till recently principally preserved by oral means. But to ascertain how much the *belief* in them is still alive, would require an examination on the spot, which has never been permitted us. It may be supposed, that while on the flat green islands of enlightened and prosaic Denmark, and in the south of the more populous Scandinavian peninsula, they form mere amusements for long winter evenings, there are regions in the mountainous solitudes of the North, where still reigns the full and unshaken faith, which indeed is alone able to give soul and breath to most of these popular tales. The inhabitants of the lonely Feroe and Shetland islands, are said to live still in constant intercourse with a world of spirits; and the different superstitions of the Scandinavian and the Gaelic races are wonderfully amalgamated in their traditions.

I. The rich treasure of Old *Danish* popular poetry is probably known to most of our readers only by reputation. The grand, nay, gigantic character of these ballads, must necessarily have rendered the merely heroic portion of them strange to the tame generation of the present age. But we are glad to hear that some of the more domestic, but yet equally romantic class, are still sung by the people; not in the Danish cities, and even not among the peasantry of Germanized Zealand; but in the remoter parts of the kingdom, or in the valleys of Norway, where less intercourse with foreign nations has preserved a purer nationality.

And what a powerful and vigorous race must it have been, among whom these heroic ballads could ever be *popular* poetry! What a race, whose imagination was not overwhelmed by the gigantic, the amazing power of these scenes! A portion of these ballads had indeed already ceased to live in the memories of the people in 1591, when they were first col-

* For other instances of remarkable coincidence, see J. Grimm's Introduction to his Translation of the Fairy Legends of Ireland; W. Grimm's Preface and Appendix to his Translation of Old Danish Ballads; Danske Viser; Svenske Folkvisor; Jamieson's Northern Antiquities, &c. &c.

lected and printed ; and the learned publisher had even then to consult old manuscripts. Another hundred of them, however, which were added a century later, could even then be written down from the very lips of the people.* The most modern of these songs, according to the best judges of the language, are not later than the fifteenth century ; the oldest not older than the thirteenth century. This of course can only be applicable to their present form, i. e. the external *form* of these ballads, or the shell. The *soul*, the kernel itself, we mean the subject and its poetical conception, existed undoubtedly much earlier. "The Sun of Homer," observes a distinguished German scholar, in maintaining this opinion, "has scattered his gems also over these icy mountains, over these frosted valleys! The existence of the Scandinavians was divided between a life, wild, warlike, and full of action, which in early times consisted mostly of piratical adventures, undertaken in order to gain a livelihood, or of excursions against their neighbors, in order to subject them to tributary vassalage ; and days of idleness and perfect rest. To enjoy, during these intervals, the luxuries and easy pleasures of life, was denied them by a rough climate ; during the long and gloomy winter nights they had leisure to give themselves up to meditations on the exploits of their ancestors. Thence their wealth in epic poetry, and in compositions undoubtedly among the most profound and most powerful which ever have been produced by the human mind. They all have something primitive, something rude; the form is often entirely neglected, harsh and stern; but they all have the vigor and the strength of youthful life, unrestrained and untamed, that despises all external rules and ornaments." †

And how imposing is this rude and naked nature! Without introduction, without explanation, the hearer finds himself in the very centre of the action. Depending on the power of his subject, the artless poet often announces the issue in the first lines. The words fall sharp, like the strokes of the sword ; heavy, like the hammer on the anvil ; and each word is a deed.

* The "Danske Kjämpe Viser," containing one hundred heroic ballads, was published in 1591, by Andrew Wedel Soeffrensen, the friend of Tycho Brahe, and dedicated to Queen Sophia of Denmark. In 1695 the work was republished, and another century of ballads added, by Peter Syv, and likewise presented to Amelia then Queen of Denmark.

† Preface to W. Grimm's "Altdänische Heldenlieder." We translate from memory.

Nothing is said but what is most necessary; and even here much is left to the imagination. We see ourselves transported from one realm to another; from the strand of the sea to the summit of the mountain; from the subterranean cave of the witch to the bower of the noble maiden; without even an intimation. No description; no lyric effusion; action stands close to action; and even the final result is omitted, because it follows of course. A misty veil covers the sides of the mountains, and the valleys between, while only the summits are lighted up by the sun; and we are left to trace the landscape by its principal outlines.

The mental features of the heroes also, in their wonderful power, are drawn only by a few bold strokes of the pencil. They are the immediate descendants of the gods of the North; themselves still a giant race, to which the diminutive measure of our own feelings must not be applied. Enormous in mind, in purpose, and in action, we see them performing deeds, which it seems to us only madness could have dictated. Their anger is rage; their love a devouring flame; blood only can quench their thirst for vengeance; and where even their own giant strength does not suffice, the dark powers of a subterranean world are invoked, and are often present with them in unison or in conflict.

Most of these remarks hold good also as to another class of the Danish popular ballads, which the modern collectors have brought together under the title of Romances and Ballads.* Although moving likewise in a region of romance and magic enchantment, they are brought nearer to the human heart by a picture of more human feelings, with an admixture of just as much ancient heroism as we are still able to comprehend and to admire. In general, less sketch-like than the older historical songs, they are distinguished by the same powerful conciseness, far from the minute diffuseness which is so tedious in the great mass of the English ballads. Many of them are of the most exquisite beauty, and belong to the gems of literature. In the tissue of a rude and gloomy period, we see pictures interwoven of the most delicate texture, and gold threads winding themselves even through the coarsest ground. In one of these ballads, founded on a very ancient tradition, familiar to all the Scandinavian North, Hagbar the hero will

* See Danske Viser, etc.

rather die, than tear in pieces the hair of Signilde, with which treacherous hands have bound him. In another ancient ballad, the power of maternal love breaks even the laws of nature. Nothing can surpass the energetic and tender *naiveté* of the idea, where the mother in her grave hears her children cry from the ill treatment of their step-mother, and by her intreaties induces the Lord to let her go to soothe them :

"'T was long in the night, and the bairnies grat ;
Their mither she under the mools [mould] heard that.

That heard the wife under the eard that lay :
Forsooth maun I to my bairnies gae !

That wife can stand up at our Lord's knee ;
And : May I gang and my bairnies see ?

She prigged [prayed] sae sair, and she prigged sae lang,
That he, at the last, gae her leave to gang."*

In a Swedish ballad, with the burden : "At Rimstead Queen Anna lies buried," which we darkly recollect to have heard in our childhood, a trait of *naive* moral purity occurs, which we never could forget. Queen Anna on her death-bed makes her confession ; and being inquired of as to her sins, after having examined herself, she answers :

"Nought have I to confess of wrong,
Save that once my white silk ruff
I starched upon a Sunday's morn."

The following beautiful ballad may serve as a specimen of the Danish popular poetry. We have chosen it, because it is one of which we positively know, that it is still, or was at least towards the close of the last century, sung by the common people in Jutland and in Faroë, in two or three slightly varying versions. It exists also in Swedish with some alterations.†

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* From Jamieson's Translation ; printed in the Notes to the Lady of the Lake, at least in the early editions.

† In respect to our attempts at translation in this and all the specimens given in this article, we must remark, that the verses of the originals are in general so rough, the measures so irregular, and the rhymes so imperfect, that any approach to elegance would have essentially impaired the *fidelity* of the translation. Indeed, fidelity is the only merit to which we can lay claim.

LITTLE CHRISTIN'S DEATH, OR THE BODING NIGHTINGALES.*

"Sir Médel at court of the king served he,
He loved the king's daughter, that fair lady.

The queen called her daughter, and thus said she:
And is it true what they say about thee?

Then shall he hang on a gallows so high
And below in a bonfire thou shalt die!

And her mantle blue little Christin put on;
To see Sir Médel at night she is gone.

Little Christin, with sorrowful heart went she:
Rise up, Sir Médel and open to me.

To enter here I gave none the right,
And none will I let in here at night.

Rise up, Sir Médel, and let me in,
I've spoken but now with my mother the queen.

She saith, thou shalt hang on the gallows so high.
And below in a bonfire I shall die.

No, neither shall I be hung for thee,
Sweet love, nor shalt thou be burnt for me.

Now gather the gold in the chest with speed,
While I go and saddle my own grey steed.

And his blue mantle he's over her thrown,
And to his grey steed he's lifted her on.

And when from the town they came to the grove,
She turns her eyes to the clouds above.

Seems then for thee the way too wide?
Or hurts thee the saddle on which thou dost ride?

O no! the way it seems not too wide,
But hurts me the saddle on which I ride.

His mantle blue he spreads on the ground;
List here, little Christin, to lay thee down.

O Christ, that one of my maids was with me,
Before I die, my nurse to be!

* We prefer this ballad in the form in which it was first printed in the Danish Spectator, 1793; and after this in Graeters' Bragur, Vol. III. 292. Nor do we see why it should be less genuine merely because the beginning is more decent, or the end more tragic, than in the other versions.

Thy maids they all are far from thee,
And thou hast no one near but me!

O rather here on the ground I 'll die,
Than a man a woman's pain shall spy.

A kerchief bind o'er my eyes and head,
And I 'll be to thee in the nurse's stead.

O Christ, that there was some water near,
My panting heart therewith to cheer!

Sir Médel he loved her so warm and true,
He went to fetch water in his silver-bound shoe.

And when through the bushy greenwood he went,
The way to the well seemed never to end.

And when to the well he came from the grove,
Two nightingales sung in the boughs above:

Little Christin she lies in the greenwood dead,
And two dead babes in her lap are laid.

Little he heeds the nightingales' song,
Back to the grove his way seems so long!

But when he came the thick wood among,
There it was true what the nightingales sung!

A grave both deep and broad dug he,
And there together he laid all three.

And when he stood on the grave so deep,
He thought 'neath his feet his babes did weep.

He leaned his sword against a stone,
And right through his heart the point is gone.

Little Christin she loved him so true and deep,
And now with him in the earth doth sleep."

Whether the following fairy ballad can still be called *popular* among any class in Denmark, we are unable to say; although a friend of ours states that he heard it sung by a girl who was not likely to have taken it from the Kjämpe Viser, or the Danske Viser. We give it here as one of the best specimens of the incomparable beauty of these ancient ballads; and at the same time as peculiarly expressive of the magic charm the elves used to exercise.

ELFHILL-SIDE.

"I laid my head on Elf hill-side,
My eyes they sunk to sleep;
There came two maidens tripping along,
They fain with me would speak.

One patted me on my cheek so white,
The other she whispered to me:
Rise up, rise up, thou fair young swain,
And join our dance and glee!

Wake up, thou fair young swain, wake up,
And join our dance and glee;
My maidens shall sing, if thou wilt hear,
Their sweetest melody.

The one began a song to sing,
Of all the fairest one;
The striving stream stood still thereby,
That before so swiftly ran.

The striving stream stood still thereby,
That before so swiftly ran;
The little fishes in the flood
With their fins to play began.

The fishes in the flood began
With their fins and tails to play;
The small birds in the greenwood all
They chirped their sweetest lay.

And hear, thou fair young swain, and hear,
And wilt thou with us dwell,
Then will we teach thee to read and write,
And powerful rune and spell.

I'll teach thee how the bear to bind
And the boar to the oak tree;
The dragon that lies on the gold so bright,
'Fore thee from the land shall flee!

And they danced out and they danced in,
All elvish in look and mien;
There sat the fair young swain all still,
And on his sword did lean.

And hear thou, hear thou, fair young swain,
Wilt thou not with us speak,
Then shall our sword and knife so sharp
With thy dearest heart-blood reek!

Had God not made it my good luck,
That the cock then clapp'd his wing,
I should have staid on Elfhill-side,
With the Elves in their dwelling.

Herewith I warn the Danish youths all,
Who to the court do ride,
That never they ride this way at eve,
Nor sleep on Elfhill-side."

II. The *Swedish* popular poetry is in body and spirit so very nearly related to the Danish, that we must confess our inability, with our limited knowledge of it, to discover their distinguishing features. More than two thirds of the ballads of these two nations, are possessed by them in common, often with very few deviations; and to ascertain which is the original, would be impossible. The scenes of several, now known only in Danish, are in Sweden; still more of the Swedish lay the scene in Denmark. The most ancient of the Swedish popular ballads, those of the heroes of the Nibelungen and their cotemporaries, exist even in this language only in manuscript or in print; but a great variety of heroic ballads, a little more modern, live still on the lips of the people; and the publishers of the very rich collection, the title of which stands at the head of this article,* and which appeared about twenty years ago, were able to draw almost exclusively from living sources. "The peasantry of Sweden," Mr. Jamieson remarks,† "are great singers; and, if possible, are more attached to old ballads, and the airs to which they are sung, than even the Lowland Scots; to whom, in their language, habits, characters, and appearance, they bear a most striking resemblance." The ancient ballads still current among the Swedish peasantry, are at least not later than the fourteenth century; although in subject and essence, some of them are undoubtedly much older. That they cannot be later, one of the editors of the above-mentioned collection, the poet and scholar Geijer, has proved from internal grounds. During the fourteenth century, a state of hostile feeling arose in Sweden between the nobility and people, which has never since disappeared; but of which there is no trace in these ballads. The people sang in them

* Svenske Folkvisor, etc. This collection is confined to East and West Gothland, Wermland, Upland and Smaaland. Another, made by Arvidson, was announced in 1833.

† Northern Antiquities, p. 372.

the adventures and the exploits of the nobles; whom they did not yet consider as their oppressors, but as the flower and the honor of the nation. There is, moreover, in these songs not a vestige of the national hatred between the Swedes, Danes and Norwegians; which likewise did not spring up until towards the close of the fourteenth century, coëval with the unhappy union of Calmar. Up to that time, the three nations, although separated and under different governments, evidently considered themselves as one race. After that time, their popular poetry is said to have assumed quite a different character.

The Swedes have been rich in popular productions in every age. The collection in question contains several modern popular ballads of uncommon beauty. In respect to form, the Swedish ballads, although in general very similar to the Danish, have more variety and completeness in their measures. The burden also is frequently full of meaning, and is for the most part preserved, while in many Danish ballads, it seems to be lost; the reason of which difference may be, that the former are always *sung*, while the latter have long since been more read than sung.

We have already stated, that the Danes and Swedes possess the greatest portion of their popular ballads in common. But it frequently happens, that what is ascribed in Denmark to the Merman, is in Sweden related of a mountain *Troll;* and the more poetical nature of their country has created among the Swedish people many *local* traditions, attached to hills and mountains, which the Danes do not know. Arndt's interesting journey through Sweden, contains much valuable information on this subject. The magic attraction of the waters, and the mysterious riddles of the mountains and mines, are as powerfully felt by the Scandinavian nations, as by the Germans; and also, as with these, the mirror of their imagination reflects this feeling in the shape of Water-sprites and Mountain-dwarfs. The German Water-sprites, or *Nixen*, are, for the most part, females; the Swedish *Necken* belongs often to the male sex. The *Strömkarle* is an old bearded man, who plays the harp to the dances of the Elves. In a Swedish nursery tale, two children play on the bank of a river; a water-sprite, (Swedish *Necken*, German *Nix*) rises from the water and sings and plays. But the children in sportive mischievousness, cry out: "Why do you play and sing, Sprite? you cannot be saved after all." The

sprite, hearing this, casts away his harp, cries bitterly, and descends into the deep. The children tell their father at home what has happened. The father then bids them go back, to comfort the sprite, and to tell him that also his Redeemer liveth. The children run to the river, and find the Sprite sitting on the waters, and still weeping. "Be comforted, Sprite," they cry, "Father says that also your Redeemer liveth." The sprite then resumes his harp, and begins to play again most cheerfully; because he now knows that his soul will not perish.*

The following ballad will enable the reader to compare Danish and Swedish traditions. It is extant in Sweden, in several varying versions, mostly only fragmentary. The bewitching power of the Elves here manifested, is in other ballads ascribed to female water-sprites; and the same adventure which here happens to the young swain at the evening hour, happens to others at day-break, but never later than the dawn.

ROSEGROVE-SIDE.†

"I was a fair young swain one day,
And had to the court to ride;
I set me out at the evening hour,
And listed to sleep on the Rosegrove-side.
Burden. Since I had seen them first!

I laid me under a linden green,
My eyes they sunk to sleep;
There came two maidens tripping along,
They fain with me would speak.
Since I, etc.

The one she patted me on my cheek,
The other she whisper'd in my ear:
Rise up, rise up, thou fair young swain,
If of love thou list to hear!
Since I, etc.

And forth they led a maiden fair,
And hair like gold had she:
Rise up, rise up, thou fair young swain,
If thou lovest joy and glee!
Since I, etc.

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* Svenske Folkvisor, Vol. III. p. 128.

† The same with the Danish Elf hill-side, on page 288. The same burden is sung also with the Danish ballad.

The third began a song to sing,
With right good-will she begun;
The striving stream stood still thereby,
That before was wont to run.
Since I, etc.

The striving stream stood still thereby,
That before was wont to run;
And all the hinds with hair so brown,
Forgot which way to turn.
Since I, etc.

I got me up from off the ground,
And on my sword did lean;
The maiden Elves danced out and in,
All elvish in look in mien.
Since I, etc.

Had it not then my good luck been,
That the cock had clap'd his wing;
I should have slept in the hill that night,
With the Elves in their dwelling.
Since I had seen them first."

The traditions respecting Sir Olof's unfortunate meeting with the Elves, the morning before his bridal day, are also current in both countries. They are more perfect in Danish, but more generally diffused and more varied in different versions, in Swedish; the natural consequence of their being preserved in Sweden down to our own times chiefly in the mouths of the people, or in their older form in manuscripts deposited in the royal libraries, while in Denmark they were centuries ago multiplied in print, and ceased from that time to be exposed to arbitrary or accidental changes. We give here one of these melancholy ballads, as it is still sung in Upland and East Gothland. The collection from which it is taken contains another version, sung in the latter province; and a third, preserved in the royal library. It is probable that many more exist.

SIR OLOF'S BRIDAL.

"Sir Olof rode out at the break of day;
There he came to an Elf-dance gay.
The dance it goes well,
So well in the grove!

The Elf-father, his white hand outstretch'd he;
Come, come, Sir Olof, and dance with me!
The dance, etc.

Nought can I dance, and nought I may;
To-morrow is my bridal day.
The dance, etc.

The Elf-mother, her white hand outstretch'd she;
Come, come, Sir Olof, and dance with me!
The dance, etc.

Nought can I dance, and nought I may;
To-morrow is my bridal day.
The dance, etc.

The Elf-sister, her white hand outstretch'd she;
Come, come, Sir Olof, and dance with me!
The dance, etc.

Nought can I dance and nought I may
To-morrow is my bridal day.
The dance, etc.

And the bride she spoke to her bridemaids so:
What may it mean that the bells do go?
The dance, etc.

It is the custom on this our isle,
Each young swain ringeth home his bride.
The dance, etc.

And the truth from thee we no longer conceal;
Sir Olof is dead and lies on his bier.
The dance, etc.

Next morning when uprose the day,
In Sir Olof's house three corpses lay.
The dance, etc.

They were Sir Olof and his bride,
And his mother who of sorrow died!
The dance it goes well,
So well in the grove!"

The historical fact, on which this tragic tradition is founded, is unknown. But it is not unfrequent that elvish traditions are attached to well known historical persons; and unfortunate events are ascribed to the influence of subterranean powers. One of the sons of Gustavus I, Duke Magnus, died in mental

derangement. He was said to be *bewitched*, some said by an elf-maid, some by a water-nymph, because he refused her love. Two or three ballads relating to this subject, are still sung in Smaaland and East Gothland. As our readers have seen by the two preceding ballads, how Swedish elves behave, we will now introduce to them a Swedish water-nymph or *Hafstroll.*

DUKE MAGNUS.

"Duke Magnus look'd out from his castle-windów,
How the stream so rapidly ran;
There he saw how there sat on the foaming stream,
A fair and lovely womán:
Duke Magnus, Duke Magnus, betroth thee to me,
I pray thee now so freely;
Say me not nay, but yes, say yes!

And I will give thee a travelling ship,
The best that knight e'er did guide,
That sails on the water and sails on the land,
And through the fields so wide.
Duke Magnus, Duke Magnus, betroth thee to me,
I pray thee now so freely;
O say me not nay, but yes, say yes!

I have not yet come to quiet and rest,
How should I betroth me to thee?
I serve my king and my country,
But to woman I 've not yet matched me.
Duke Magnus, Duke Magnus, betroth thee to me,
I pray thee now so freely;
O say me not nay, but yes, say yes!

And I will give thee a steed so grey,
The best that knight e'er did ride,
That goes on the water and goes on the land,
And through the woods so wide.
Duke Magnus, Duke Magnus, betroth thee to me,
I pray thee now so freely;
O say me not nay, but yes, say yes!

I am a king's son so good,
How can I let thee win me?
Thou dwell'st not on land but on the flood,
Which would never with me agree!
Duke Magnus, Duke Magnus, betroth thee to me,
I pray thee now so freely;
O say me not nay, but yes, say yes!

And I will give thee so much gold,
As much as can ever be found;
And stones and pearls by the handfull,
And all from the sea's deep ground.
Duke Magnus, Duke Magnus, betroth thee to me,
I pray thee now so freely;
O say me not nay, but yes, say yes!

O fain I would betroth me to thee,
Wert thou of Christian kind;
But thou art only a vile sea-sprite,
My love thou never canst win.
Duke Magnus, Duke Magnus, betroth thee to me,
I pray thee now so freely;
O say me not nay, but yes, say yes!

Duke Magnus, Duke Magnus, bethink thee well,
Speak not to me so scornfully!
For if thou wilt not betroth thee to me
Then crazed shalt thou for ever be!
Duke Magnus, Duke Magnus, betroth thee to me,
I pray thee now so freely;
O say me not nay, but yes, say yes!"

But not always are the dark powers victorious. Christian faith and human skill often overcome their temptations and their influence. They are also very susceptible to the power of music; and may be bribed by it to give up their prey. The following ballad affords one of the numerous instances of the popular belief in the power of music. Traditions of this description could originate only in the imagination of a highly poetical people. The ballad we here communicate, is still sung in West Gothland and Wermland, to a very pleasing and pensive melody.

THE POWER OF THE HARP.

" Little Christin she weeps in her bower all day;
Sir Peter he sports in the yard at play.
My heart's own dear!
Tell me, why dost thou grieve?

Is it saddle or steed that grieveth thee?
Or grieveth that thou 'rt betroth'd to me?
My heart's, etc.

Not saddle, nor steed is it, that grieveth me;
Nor grieveth that I 'm betroth'd to thee.
My heart's, etc.

Far more I grieve for my fair yellow hair,
That the deep blue waves shall dye it to-day.
My heart's, etc.

Far more I grieve for Ringfalla's waves,
Where both my sisters have found their graves!
My heart's, etc.

When a child, it was foretold to me,
My bridal day should prove heavy to me.
My heart's, etc.

I will bid thy horse to have round shoes,
He shall not stumble on four gold shoes.
My heart's, etc.

Twelve of my courtiers before thee shall ride,
And twelve of my courtiers on either side.
My heart's, etc.

But when they Ringfalla forest came near,
There sported with gilded horns a deer.
My heart's, etc.

And the courtiers to hunt the deer are gone;
Little Christin she must go onward alone.
My heart's, etc.

And when over Ringfalla bridge she goes,
There stumbled her steed on his four gold shoes.
My heart's, etc.

On four gold shoes and gold nails all:
The maid in the rushing stream did fall.
My heart's, etc.

Sir Peter he spoke to his footpage so:
Now swiftly for my golden harp go!
My heart's, etc.

The first stroke on the gold harp he gave,
The foul ugly sprite sat and laugh'd on the wave.
My heart's, etc.

Once more the gold harp gave a sound;
The foul ugly sprite sat and wept on the ground.
My heart's, etc.

The third stroke on the gold harp rang ;
Little Christin reach'd out her snow-white arm.
My heart's, etc.

He play'd the bark from off the high trees,
He play'd little Christin upon his knees.
My heart's, etc.

And the sprite himself came out of the flood,
On each of his arms a maiden proud.
My heart's own dear !
Tell me, why dost thou grieve ?

For the sake of variety we conclude our specimens with an ancient ballad of a different character, the composer of which was influenced by Christian feelings ; while the spirit of all the preceding, is the faint and gradually retiring echo of the old Pagan times. The following simple and very ancient tale is extant both in Danish and Swedish ; and indeed is one of the few which is still heard in Denmark. We give it here from the Swedish ; because we like the Swedish copy better, as being more complete, and especially more poetical. As here given, it was taken down in West Gothland ; but it is said to be a favorite piece throughout the whole country, and to be found on every stall.

LITTLE KARIN'S DEATH.

" The little Karin served,
Within the young king's hall ;
She glisten'd like a star,
Among the maidens all.

She glisten'd like a star,
Of all the fairest maid ;
And to the little Karin,
One day the young king said :

And hear thou little Karin,
O say wilt thou be mine ?
Grey steed and golden saddle,
Shall, if thou wilt, be thine.

Grey steed and golden saddle
Would not with me agree ;
Give them to thy young queen,
And leave my honor to me !

And hear thou little Karin,
O say wilt thou be mine?
My brightest golden crown
Shall, if thou wilt, be thine

Thy brightest golden crown
Would not with me agree;
Give it to thy young queen,
And leave my honor to me!

And hear thou little Karin,
O say wilt thou be mine?
One half of all my kingdom
Shall, if thou wilt, be thine.

One half of all thy kingdom
Would not with me agree;
Give it to thy young queen,
And leave my honor to me!

And hear thou little Karin,
Wilt thou not yield to me,
A cask with spikes all studded
Shall then thy dwelling be.

If a cask with spikes all studded
Shall then my dwelling be,
God's holy angels know full well
That without guilt I be!

They put the little Karin
In the spiked tun within;
And then the king's young servants,
They rolled her in a ring.

And from the high high heaven,
Two snow-white doves there came;
They took the little Karin,
And lo! they three became.

And from the deep deep hell,
Two coal-black ravens came;
They took the wicked king,
And lo! they three became"

We have only to add a few words on the *music* to which the Northern ballads are sung. All popular music is simple. The melodies move with little variation among a few notes; but the impression of the whole is strong and distinct; and

only the *whole* is the object. While modern composers of ballad-melodies prefer to set each verse to different notes, according to the different character of the words; the tune of a popular song, which is not unfrequently repeated twenty or thirty times without alteration, must only be considered as the *bearer* or support of the *whole*. And as such, it is in general expressive to perfection. A considerable number of the ancient Danish melodies have been preserved; of many other ballads the tunes are lost; and of some, the melodies are extant, while their words have perished, or have only revived in scattered fragments. Peter Syv, the editor of the largely augmented Kjämpe Viser, says that even the Psalms were sung in the churches to the sweet and pleasing airs of the popular songs. The Swedish melodies above all, of which there exists a great variety, ancient and modern, are in general distinguished by exquisite sweetness. They are all without exception in the minor or flat key; as are likewise most of the Danish melodies. The above remarks on popular music hold good of them all.

III. *Germany.* It is well known to our readers, that the German imagination has from ancient times peopled with spirits of various descriptions the forests and castles, mountains and rivers. The two latter particularly, with their mysterious caves and their unexplored deeps, have always been the theatre of supernatural influence. Much attention has been recently paid by foreign travellers to those legends and tales; although these must have lost their principal charm in the lips of a skeptic guide, enlightened by the new-fashioned light of the last century. There is no doubt that these tales and traditions, whether they appear in prose or in verse, are real *Popular Poetry;* but to treat of them at large would oblige us to go far beyond our limits. A few words may serve as an introduction to our remarks on the popular poetry of Germany.

The Elves or *Elben*, although a race of spirits of genuine German growth, are little known in Germany by the common people of the present generation. In ancient German poetry the dwarf *Elberie* appears frequently; in the chronicles of the middle ages, and even in the later witch-trials, the name *Elbe* is used as synonymous with *Hexe*, witch. Into modern literature it has been introduced by the poets of the last century, under the somewhat altered name of *Elfe*, from the North, and from England; and is there at present perfectly natural-

ized.* But the only form under which this appellation still exists among the common people, is that of the *Alp*, where it signifies *Nightmare;* it is the Scandinavian *Mare* or *Marra*, the *Phuka* of the Irish, the *Gwyll* of the Welsh. The place of the Elves is taken in Germany by the dwarfs, the witches, the wights and sprites of various names. The dwarfs are not deformed, half-human creatures; but, like the Elves, are well shaped intelligent beings of a diminutive size, and perform in the German legends precisely the business of the Elves in the Scotch and Irish tales. Where they appear single, and come to the assistance of individuals, they are known under the name of *Graumännchen*, *Bergmännchen*, etc. and then they are mostly in some connexion with the eternal enemy of mankind, and demand a high price for the help they bestow. But often they are introduced as living in large societies in the womb of the mountains, having a king and a queen, and practising all the ceremonies of a court with much of ludicrous dignity and stateliness. They are then of a kind and peaceful nature; and in many cases good Christians may have intercourse with them without endangering their souls. They have plenty of gold and jewels, and sometimes require the assistance of human strength to carry their treasures; or they come to invite some experienced lady to assist their queen in childbirth; and in all these cases they reward those who have helped them most royally. But there are also many instances where the same spirits do mischief. Their favorite business in Ireland is the exchanging of their own offspring for human children, much to the annoyance of the poor mother, who cannot quiet the howling and screaming creature, nor satisfy its voracious appetite; and this is also sometimes practised by them in Germany. In some regions around the Harz mountains an infant is still carefully watched until it is baptized, lest it should be stolen or exchanged. As this superstition prevails almost exclusively among the women, it appears chiefly in nursery-tales. But we remember also a popular ballad, sung in the southern regions of the Oder, where such a *Wechselbalg* or

* Grimm's Introduction to his translation of Croker's Fairy Legends and Traditions of Ireland, pp. lv — lvii. Grimm is of opinion that the signification of the word *Alp* was originally connected with the Latin word *albus*, white, and with the Greek ἄλφιτον flour, and Ἀλφιτώ a female spectre with which nurses terrified children, and which reminds us of the "White Lady" of the Teutonic nations.

changeling is introduced. The ballad begins by placing the hearer immediately in the midst of the scene.

"Nun krähn die Hahnen alle,
Der Böse muss das Kind lan fallen."

"Now crow the cocks all,
The fiend must the babe let fall."

The intention of the evil spirit to keep in his power the stolen child being thus frustrated, a gentleman finds the boy on the road, calls him Benedict, and lets him grow up as his son. But Benedict has no rest until he has found his own parents, and driven away the changeling. This latter, although the genuine son has grown up meanwhile to the age of a youth, still lies in his cradle, howling with the voice of an old man; and still sucks with insatiable greediness the poor mother's milk. When Benedict enters the parental hut, the Elf, whose business for several lives must have been that of a changeling, flies howling:

"Acht Mütter hab ich zu Tod gezehrt
Die neunte hast du mir verwehrt."

"Eight mothers I have suck'd to death;
The ninth, thou hast made me spare her breath."

The German water-spirits especially, have an urgent desire to communicate with men, and to blend their race with mankind. The tradition of the Stauffenberger, who married a water-nymph, which is transmitted to the present time from the thirteenth or fourteenth century, is spread in manifold forms all over Germany.* All Europe knows the popular opera, "The Nymph of the Danube," founded on this tradition; and the beautiful novel of Baron Fouqué, called "Undine," which tells the same story as reflected in the pure and imaginative mind of the poet, *ought* at least to be known by all Europe and America.

Indeed, although the ancient throne of superstition is overturned, its thousand fragments still lie scattered all over the country; and many an inmate of the mysterious region which no geographer has yet explored, comes still as a frequent visitor to the rustic hut. They come under different names, and

* A version of this poetic tale is given by Mr. Jamieson, in his Northern Antiquities.

in different shapes, as Hodeken, Knecht Ruprecht, Rübezahl or Number Nip; as the faithful Eckhardt, Dame Holle, etc. according to the province where they had their former home. Many things which are derided *here*, are considered as venerable *there;* and above all, much that is disbelieved in theory, exercises no small power in practice.

The fondness of the German people for poetry and song seems to have been brought along by their ancestors from their original seats on the banks of the Caspian. The Germans of Tacitus, the Franks, the Lombards, and the different branches of the Goths, all can be historically proved to have had their poets; although it nowhere appears that any of these nations had a *class*, or *caste* of bards, like the Celtic races, and in some measure the Scandinavian.* Of the character of their songs, which for a considerable time have occupied the imaginations and ingenuity of German historians, we know nothing; but may conclude that they were chiefly warlike. No poem, which can be *proved* to be older than the Carolingian period, is extant; but there are many evidences that tradition in a poetical form, i. e. *popular ballads*, then existed. It is stated by old historians, that the praises of Alboin, king of the Lombards, resounded in the songs of the Bavarians and Saxons many ages after his death. At a diet held in 744, where St. Boniface was present, an act was passed against the singing of *satirical* ballads. In 789, it was severely forbidden to the Nuns to copy or communicate to others certain popular love-songs;† and from other historical passages it is manifest that heroic ballads were current among the people. Charlemagne first caused them to be collected. That the *barbara et antiquissima carmina, quibus veterum actus et bellum canebantur*, affirmed by his biographer Eginhard to have been the objects of the great emperor's care, were not, as has long been believed, the songs of the bards from the times of Arminius, but heroic traditions kept up by the people in ballads and songs, seems after the arguments adduced by the Schlegels and the

* Bragur II. p. 43. J. Grimm Ueber den altdeutschen Meistergesang, Gött. 1811. The error, founded on a misapprehension of some passages in Tacitus, Ammianus, Diodorus, and other ancient historians, that the ancient Germans had *bards*, and that these bards, like those of the Gauls, formed a distinct class, has even in modern times not yet been given up by several very able and learned writers, e. g. Docen, Görres, etc.

† Schmidt's Geschichte der Deutschen, I. p. 508.

Grimms, no longer subject to any doubt. The great ancient national Epos, the Lay of the Nibelungen itself, was perhaps never known by the common people; but the traditions on which it was founded, and the whole cyclus of heroic legends contained in the "Book of Heroes," and likewise many more, were current among them; and through whole centuries were transmitted from generation to generation only by oral means. The oldest ballad extant, at least in a fragment, is the Lay of Hildebrand, "Das Hildebrandslied," which has a decidedly popular character. Hildebrand is one of the heroes of the Nibelungen. From the ninth century several minstrel ballads (Bänkellieder) are mentioned in chronicles, e. g. "About Hatto's Treason, Kurzbold's and Benno's Exploits," etc. The celebrated hymn in honor of King Ludwig's victory over the Normans, known under the title of "Ludwigslied," must also have been familiar to the lower classes; although from the uncommon perfection of its form, one would conclude that it must have been the production of an educated poet.*

Of the *Minne-songs* (love-songs) and the poems cotemporary with them, although chiefly emanating from the nobility and having in part emperors and other princes for their authors, no small number appear to have been equally popular among high and low. Many of them, the so-called *Tanzweisen*, or dancing songs, were expressly composed to accompany the dances on public festivities. They were of course never separated from their tunes, and were played to day in the royal hall, and to-morrow under the linden tree, where the villagers held their festive dances. In Germany, as was formerly every where the case, and still is in Spain, dancing and poetry were intimately connected. Whoever has studied the nature of the German dance or waltz, (in southern Germany called Dreher, Schleifer, Ländler, according to the different character of the measure,) or has even only witnessed the dances of the peasants, will easily recognise the near relationship between dancing and poetry; although all traces of the latter have disappeared from the characterless dances of the ball-room. Even at the present time, although dancing is no longer accompanied by song, the peasant lad who expects to lead the dance, sings to the musicians a whole stanza of the song from which the

* With the "Ludwigslied," Herder begins his collection of popular songs: "Stimmen der Völker in Liedern."

tune is named. During the period we are speaking of, poetry and song appear to have been disseminated over all Germany; and a spirit of cheerfulness and enjoyment pervaded the whole nation. But songs which were produced by individuals of the common people, although there can be no doubt that many of this class were current, were never thought worthy of being written down. Nothing of all the poetry which has been preserved in manuscripts from this period, has survived among the people; and hence it seems out of place to give here any specimen of the most brilliant age of early German poetry.

In the fourteenth century, when the art of poetry sunk down to the lower classes exclusively, instead of gaining a more popular character, it lost on the contrary in that, as in every other respect. From the artificial forms which the later Minnesingers had chosen to adopt in imitation of the Italians, certain laws and rules unfolded themselves, which made poetry gradually a formal and pedantic school; nay, at length a regular mechanical business, which required the apprenticeship of a fixed number of years; just as the trade of a shoemaker or carpenter. Poetry became lost in a labyrinth of artificial forms. Relinquished by princes and knights, and confined to mechanics and citizens, poetry *seemed* indeed to be brought nearer to the great mass of the common people. But without life and soul itself, it could produce no living effect. We mean written, and, after the invention of printing, printed poetry; or poetry as an art. For among the common people, many good old songs were preserved and imitated; and the *Meistersänger* or Master-singers, had always occasion to complain of the artless wandering minstrels, *fahrende Leute* or *kunstlos Gehrende* and their "rustic and uncourtly songs."* In direct opposition to the *Meister*gesang, the *Volks*gesang, or Popular poetry, developed itself in its fullest bloom; although the former exercised a decided influence upon the latter. Especially popular were the songs of the miners, called *Bergreihen.* Historical ballads were also very common, mostly of inferior poetical value; but love and social amusements were then as always the principal themes. The chronicles of Limburg of the fourteenth, and some of the annals of the fifteenth century, are filled with initial verses and scraps

* Grimm, Ueber den altdeutschen Meistergesang, p. 133.

of poetry, not seldom marked by political allusions, and stated to be heard every where in the streets, as characteristic signs of the times.

The active interest which the people, during this period, took in song and poetry is strongly proved by the above-named chronicle; which regularly notices what songs were sung and became popular during each year. The same chronicle also bears witness how unpopular convents were in Germany, as early as the middle of the fourteenth century. A song, written in the character of a nun, was every where to be heard, which began:

> "God give him an unlucky year,
> Who me a nun has made!"

A leprous monk, who lived about the year 1374 on the Main, is also mentioned in this chronicle as a popular poet of distinction, whose lays were imitated by the master-singers.

Tschudi's Chronicle of Switzerland has preserved quite a number of war songs of that country, some of which are not without poetical merit. But comparatively few of these popular songs were regarded as worth preserving; and whatever has reached posterity by tradition, has reached it in an altered form. Thus the songs of initiation into the guilds or trades' fraternities, introductory to the reception of a new member, (Zunftlieder, Handwerkslieder,) still extant among the German mechanics, are said to be partly derived from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.* Of their general character we shall speak in the sequel.

Some of the most beautiful German ballads, still sung by the common people, at least in some provinces, are also said to be derived from these early times; and if we consider the coincidence of some of them with the popular poetry of other Teutonic nations, we are entitled to ascribe to them a still higher antiquity. Independently of them, however, not a few ballads and songs are extant, supposed to have originated in the fifteenth century; and their value justifies us in considering this period as the golden age of German popular poetry. The following ballad, sung to a sweet and touching air, was still current towards the end of the past century, in Alsace

* Bouterwek's Geschichte der Deutschen Poesie und Beredsamkeit, IX. p. 300.

and Suabia, in different versions; whether it is so at present, we cannot say with certainty. It is still sung in the southern valley of the Oder, and was once popular in Holland.*

THE LAY OF THE YOUNG COUNT.

"I stood on a high mountain,
And look'd on the Rhine so wide;
A little skiff came swimming,
A little skiff came swimming,
Wherein three Knights did ride.

And of these Knights, the youngest,
He was the Count his heir;
He promised he would marry me,
He promised he would marry me,
Although so young he were.

He took from off his finger
A ring of gold so red;
Thou fairest, finest, take it,
My own heart's dearest, take it,
And wear it when I 'm dead.

What shall I do with the ringlet,
If I dare not wear it before?
Say only thou hast found it,
Say only thou has found it,
In the grass, before the door.

Nay, why should I be lying?
It would not behoove me well;
The young Count he is my husband,
The young Count he is my husband,
Much rather I would tell.

Wert thou but richer, maiden,
Hadst thou but a little gear,
In sooth I then would take thee,
In sooth I then would take thee;
For then we equals were.

* First printed in very different versions, taken down from the mouth of the people, in Herder and in Bragur, a highly valuable periodical. Our authority for its antiquity, is W. Grimm; see Preface to his translation of Old Danish Ballads.

And though I have not riches,
Yet of honor, I have some;
That honor I will keep it,
That honor I will keep it,
Until my equal come.

But if there come no equal,
What then wilt thou begin?
Then I will seek a cloister,
Then I will seek a cloister,
To live as a nun therein.

'T was after three months' time had past,
The Count dream'd heavily;
As if his own heart's dearest,
As if his own heart's dearest,
In a cloister he did see.

Arise, my groom, and hasten,
Saddle mine and saddle thy steed!
We 'll ride o'er hill and valley,
We 'll ride o'er hill and valley;
The maiden is worth all speed.

And when they came to the cloister,
They gently knock'd at the door;
Come out thou fairest, thou fine,
Come out thou heart's dearest mine,
Come forth to thy lover once more.

But wherefore should I hasten
To thee before the door?
My hair is clipp'd and veiled,
My hair is clipp'd and veiled,
Thou 'lt have me never more.

The Count with fright is silent,
Sits down upon a stone;
The bitter tears he 's weeping,
The bitter tears he 's weeping,
Till life and joy are gone.

With her snow-white hands the maiden,
She digs the Count his grave;
From her dark-brown eyes so lovely,
From her dark-brown eyes so lovely,
The holy water she gave.

Thus to all young lads 't will happen,
Who for riches covet sore;
Fair wives they all are wishing,
Fair wives they all are wishing,
But for gold and silver more."

The custom of printing and selling songs and ballads on single sheets, called "flying leaves," (fliegende Blätter,) was almost cotemporary with the invention of printing. Even collections of songs were made in Germany, as early as the close of the fifteenth century; during the following century these collections increased considerably, and the songs were usually accompanied with notes.

Meanwhile, learned institutions had begun to flourish in Germany; the Latin language reigned with uncontrolled sway, and an educated man would have been ashamed to write a verse in his mother tongue. The Reformation also, although its chief authors were governed by a spirit very different from those, who afterwards declared war against popular poetry in England and Scotland, was by no means favorable to the development of poetical talent. Luther, as well as Zwingle, were themselves warm friends of poetry, and both of them composed songs still in some measure popular among all classes. But the state of the public mind, so pregnant with the germs of a mental revolution, suffered no exercise of the faculties, but for a moral or religious object. Arousing man powerfully, and directing his attention only to one great point, *the one thing needful*, the one great interest of the soul excluded for a time all others; and all poetry which was not of a spiritual kind was apt to assume a frivolous character. Popular ballads were the only blossoms of the age; and in these, the sixteenth century is considered by some inquirers into literary history as eminently productive.* On the other hand, as the people began now to read more than to sing, books of a purely popular character began to be printed for them. The Book of Heroes and the Adventures of the Horned Siegfried, were printed repeatedly during the sixteenth century; and romantic stories in long and detailed prose were written and read by all classes.

The thirty years' war, and the times which immediately

* Docen's Miscellen, I. p. 248. Heinsius Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur, p. 195.

preceded that period of horror and devastation, had a destructive effect on all that was beautiful and cheerful, and crushed with brutal rudeness the blossoms of the national genius. For a considerable time, the sources of popular productiveness seemed to be entirely checked, or broke forth only in impure and tasteless overflowings. Poverty, immorality, and rudeness of manners, prevailed among the lower classes. The politics of the reigning cabinets succeeded in excluding the people entirely from all participation in public affairs. Thus their active interest in them ceased; and their love of country perished. The historical ballads of this period, are little more than rhymed relations of dry facts; no poetical spirit breathes in them. All that was sung bore the immediate stamp of the present moment; poets had lost the courage and strength to tear themselves, even for a few moments, from the harsh and cruel reality. Tilly's terrible name re-echoed in some unmelodious strains; the battle of Leipzig was the subject of several rude ballads. "The Swede,"* who called himself a friend, was yet so much dreaded, even through Protestant Germany, that his name was used to frighten the children. A nursery-rhyme is still extant in Germany, which may stand here:

"Bet, Kindlein, bet!
Heute kommt der Schwed,
Morgen kommt der Oxenstjern.
Der wird die Kindlein beten lern."

"Pray, children, pray!
The Swede comes to-day,
To-morrow comes Oxenstjern,
He the children to pray will learn."

On the other hand, there never was a time in Germany, when educated poets had a more popular character than those of the first Silesian school; which was formed during the first half of the seventeenth century. They had a decided influence upon the people, especially in the cities, and may be considered in many respects as the representatives of the people. Most of them belonged to the middle classes of society; consisting of merchants, civil officers, etc. classes highly respectable, but not at that time so far separated from mechanics and common tradesmen, as at present, but further removed from the nobility. The influence of the French upon the nobility

* Gustavus Adolphus.

began at this time ; although it reached its summit only in the first half of the eighteenth century. Among the poets of the period we are speaking of, there is hardly a single nobleman. Many hymns composed at this time are still perfectly familiar to the German people ; and although the *names* of Flemming, Neumark, and P. Gerhard, are known only to the educated reader, it can be justly said that there is hardly an individual in Protestant Germany, who cannot sing the hymns : "In allen meinen Thaten," "Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten," and "Befiehl Du deine Wege." P. Gerhard's popularity was especially great ; and it is said, that several pious persons belonging to other congregations, were wont to visit the Lutheran church, only in order to sing Gerhard's hymns.*

The degeneracy of the Silesian school, called its second period, or the second Silesian school, occasioned by a false imitation of the Italian and Spanish poets, — which made the productions of this school a tissue of bombastic tastelessness, pedantic affectation, and often of gross licentiousness, — could not but separate it entirely from the people ; who are only too frequently pleased with the vulgar, but never with the affected. Still more was this the case with the stiff and tame French school of the first half of the eighteenth century ; which had gradually captivated all the educated classes of Germany. During these two last periods, a complete separation took place between the higher and lower classes, in respect to taste and amusements. While for their spiritual edification and comfort, the laboring classes adhered to the older ecclesiastical poets, they found after a week's hard labor a congenial holiday recreation in attending the popular dramatic representations, which began to flourish during this period. These genuine German dramas had their first rude beginnings in the middle of the fifteenth century, in the so called Shrove-Tuesday plays ; the more ancient *mysteries* having been mostly written in Latin, and at the utmost interspersed with German verses. The development of the German stage concerns us here only in respect to its immediate influence upon the common people. The stiff and pompous tragedies, called, "Haupt und Staatsactionen," intended to represent the life of the great and the powerful, but in which the Ger-

* Franz Horn's Poesie und Beredsamkeit der Deutschen, I. p. 326.

man *Hanswurst* or Merry Andrew never was excused from appearing, and also burlesque comedies interspersed with songs, were the amusement of all classes. But even when the polite world began to confine their attendance and notice of stage-plays to translations or imitations of the French, the regular popular dramas (Volkschauspiele), partly of very ancient date, were kept up; and they are still extant, although with many alterations, in puppet-shows, and in the exhibitions of the itinerant players at fairs in country towns. Few of these dramas have ever been printed; they were partly extemporized, partly committed to memory from manuscripts, which gave only general directions for what was to be done and what was to be said at such and such a place. That well known personage Dr. Faust, with his infernal compact and final punishment, was one of the favorite subjects of these dramas; a popular tradition, in itself of no small interest and depth, but of the highest importance to the literary world, as having given birth to one of the most wonderful productions ever created by human genius.

As for the present state of Germany, it may be said that, while the noble ideas of general improvement and universal information have cleansed the ground of heaps of dust and rubbish, they have in their impetuous course broken down and swept away many a lovely flower and many a wholesome plant. As native dispositions and external circumstances equally exercise an influence on the development of human tendencies, it may be taken for granted, that at the present time ancient popular poetry has survived in Germany exactly in the same proportion, as the inhabitants of the different regions of that country are a *singing* people; and has decayed as they are a *reading* people. The multiplicity of books must needs be destructive to the faculty of the memory. No one, who has a well before his door, will take the trouble to go to the mountains in order to quench his thirst out of the living spring. *Tones* impress themselves more *sensibly* and therefore more strongly than *ideas*; and hence, where a song was preserved by tradition, the words were always more apt to be lost or altered, than the melody. Few persons, however, and these mostly professed musicians, have sufficient musical cultivation to read notes like letters. But before entering more into detail, we will try to give in a few words the general characteristics of German popular poetry.

In attempting to do this, we meet with the same difficulties which we should have to encounter in characterizing the national spirit itself. Without so striking peculiarities as the English, or French, or Spanish national character, its chief feature consists in its universality. Simplicity, and the strength which lies in an abrupt and elliptical style, are the characteristic features of all popular poetry; but when we regard the treasure of songs and ballads which were *once* popular in Germany, (we do not speak of the remnants which are so now,) we are struck by a *variety* in forms, and subjects, and genius, unequalled by the popular poetry of any other nation. German popular poetry has not the tragic grandeur of the Scandinavian; nor, with a few exceptions, the inexpressibly sweet melancholy and bold romance of the Scotch; not the plastic and epic perfection of the Servian, nor the lyric dignity of the Spanish popular poetry. But the German singers have, in common with the English, the joyful and deep sense of nature and its divine beauties; with the Scotch, a cordial and profound feeling; with the Scandinavian, the condensed and chiefly dramatic representation, which despises all puerile execution. Their expressions of love are more heartfelt and hardly less glowing than those of the Spaniards; and this passion itself is far deeper, although in general more sensual and less delicate, than among the Slavic nations; while in playful imagination, which, without any special object, draws fanciful pictures, and delights in its own creations, they surpass not only these, but all the other nations in the world.

The Germans possess a great treasure of ancient historical ballads, of which, however, from reasons stated above, few still live among the people. The number of these ballads is so large, that a recent collector, who declares in his preface that he has taken little pains to search for them, but has only brought together "what accident and a favorable destiny put into his hands," was able, with this small trouble, to bring together one hundred and forty-three pieces.* They might probably easily be doubled. But the *poetical* merit of these interesting songs, is comparatively small. The Germans do not possess a single historical piece of the beauty of the celebrated Chevy-chace; very few, if any, which approach in value to the Romances of the Cid, or those of the civil wars of Granada;

* L. B. Wolf, Historiche Volkslieder der Deutschen, Stuttg. 1830.

and none which can be compared to the classical epics of the Servians, ancient and modern; which latter find indeed their equals only in Homer's immortal rhapsodies. The German historical ballads are distinguished by fidelity, and absence of that party spirit, which has been so often the inspiring muse of the English poet. Their principal defects are, perhaps, the immediate result of their principal merit. In respect to the whole of these ballads, the editor of the above-mentioned collection, justly observes: "There shines forth from them a mind simple and upright, which quietly, but not without heart-felt interest, relates what it has seen and experienced; honestly bringing to light and praising what appears to it the *right*, and repelling in good-natured anger the *wrong*; frequently also chastising it with a certain coarse wit, not far fetched indeed, but always striking. There prevailed, at the time when most of these ditties were produced, a poetry among the German people, which might be called the poetry of honesty. Not encouraged by the scholars of the age, just because they were mere scholars, it was generated along with the actions it celebrated, and received its nourishment from them." How important these ballads, which have been mostly preserved in chronicles, are, for both the political and moral historian of the German nation, the reader may judge for himself; but in a poetical respect also, they are far from being without interest. The ballad, for instance, called "The Duchess of Orlamünde," which as a whole is very valuable, has some stanzas of the very highest beauty. This princess, as a widow, fell in love with the Count of Nürnberg, and referred his expression, that there were "four eyes, which prevented him from marrying her," to the eyes of her two children by her former husband. She bribes "the wild Hager" to murder the poor innocent creatures; and, lest the wounds should betray the deed, she herself takes the pins from her "widow's-veil," and bids him thrust them into their tender brains, when they are at play. The murderer finds the children in the hall playing; and it is not without interest, that the rhymes, introduced in their game, are still sung by the children in Lower Lusatia. The description of the murder is touching in the highest degree, and is not surpassed by Shakspeare's celebrated scene between Hubert and Prince Arthur. The boy offers the murderer his dukedom for his life; the little girl, in her affecting childish way, offers him all her dolls, and at last the "bird" she

has just got. That bird persecutes the murderer. He confesses himself guilty, and then dashes out his own brains.

"God, O God! where shall I stay?
I hear the bird that calls me aye!
God, O God! where shall I flee?
I see the bird right over me!

* * * * * *

Both the children undecay'd
In their marble coffin lie,
As if murder'd yesterday;
All the wicked to defy."

The historical ballads of the Germans possess, for the most part, more of a provincial than of a national character. But this is far less the case with those narrative ballads, which, although perhaps occasioned by some real event, belong chiefly to the wide province of fiction. Many of them are disseminated over all Germany, often in dialects little resembling each other, and with many variations; but though ever so ancient, they are always sung to the same tune.

The following ballad, whose proper home we cannot exactly tell, is known all over Germany; and it may at the same time serve as an illustration of our observations concerning the ancient connexion of the traditions of the Teutonic nations. Ulrich's cruel act appeared entirely unaccountable to the German hearer or reader, until Mr. Jamieson, in his interesting Northern Antiquities, furnished the key. "As a *ballad*," this writer states, "at least in anything like a perfect state, I have never met with it in Scotland; but as a tale, intermixed with scraps of verse, it was quite familiar to me when a boy; and I have since found it in much the same state, in the Highlands, in Lochaber and Ardnamurchan. According to our tradition, Ulrich had seduced the younger sister of his wife, (as indeed may be gathered from the German ballad,) and committed the murder to prevent discovery. We do not remember that any names were specified, either in the Scottish or Gaelic manner of telling the story; in every other particular, the British tradition differed nothing from the German." We subjoin the ballad in Mr. Jamieson's translation.

ULRICH AND ANNA.

"It 's out rode Ulrich to take the air,
And he to dear Annie's bower can fare:
Dear Annie, wi' me to the greenwood gang,
And I 'll lear you the sma' bird's sang.

The tane wi' the tither they out are gane,
The copse o' hazel they 've reekit alane;
And bit and bit they gaed farther on,
Till they a green meadow cam upon.

On the green grass syne down sat he:
Dear Annie, come set you down by me!
His head on her lap he saftly laid,
And hot gush'd the tears she o'er him shed.

O Annie, dear Annie, why greet ye sae?
What cause to greet can Annie hae?
Greet ye belike for your father's gude,
Or is 't that ye greet for your young blude?

Or am I nae fair eneugh for thee? —
It 's gudes or gear they reckna me;
Fu' little thro' my young blude I dree,
And Ulrich is fair eneugh for me!

Upon that fir sae fair and lang,
Eleven young ladies I saw hang. —
O Annie, dear Annie, that did ye see?
How soon sall ye the twelfthen be!

And sall I then the twelfthen be?
To cry three cries, then grant to me!
The firsthen cry, she then cried there,
She cried upon her father dear.

The nexten cry that she did cry,
She cried to her dear Lord on high;
And the thirden cry, she cried sae shrill,
Her youngest brither, she cried until.

Her brither sat at the cule red wine;
The cry it cam thro' his window hyne.
O hear ye, hear ye, my brethren a',
How my sister cried there out i' the shaw!

O Ulrich, Ulrich, gude brither mine,
Whare hast thou the youngest sister mine?
Up there upon that linden green,
The dark brown silk ye may see her spin.

Whereto are thy shoon wi' blude sae red?
* * * * * * *
Well may the red blude be on my shoe,
For I hae shot a young turtle dow.

The turtle dow that ye shot there,
That turtle dow did my mither bear.
* * * * * * *
* * * * * *

It 's deep in the grave, dear Annie was laid;
Fause Ulrich was high on the wheel display'd;
O'er Annie, the cherubim sweetly sung;
O'er Ulrich croak'd the raven young."

The Germans cannot be said to be so rich in narrative ballads, as the British nations; although they possess some, which may be compared with the most beautiful Scotch ballads, and which in general surpass the English in conciseness and energy. With a few pencil strokes, they paint a whole picture; often, indeed, only a sketch, but a sketch of such decided character, that the hearer's imagination will easily supply the rest. Most of them are short; some, like the Scandinavian, excluding all narration, are entirely dramatic. The following, where only one verse is narrative, but which seems to us to present before the hearer's eye a whole tragedy, may serve as an illustration of our remarks. If we may conclude from the abbreviation *Nanerl*, *Nanny*, from *Anna*, it originated in Austria or Bavaria; where also *Joseph* is a favorite name. Schiller, however, with whom this beautiful piece gave occasion for a bombastic paraphrase, a production of his still undeveloped genius, must have heard it in Suabia, where also the first publisher found it on the lips of the people.*

THE INFANTICIDE.

"Joseph, dear Joseph, O what hast thou done,
Thou hast made fair Nanny a most wretched one!

* First printed in Reichardt's Musicalische Zeitung.

Joseph, dear Joseph, it soon will be past;
Through the gate of shame they carry me fast.

Through the gate of shame, to the place so green;
What love has done, will there be seen!

Headsman, dear Headsman, O do not be slow;
I gladly will die, to my child I would go!

Joseph, dear Joseph, O reach me thy hand,
God knows I forgive thee, before whom I stand.

A herald comes riding, they see the flag wave;
Stop! a pardon I bring, fair Nanny to save!

Herald, dear Herald, her life-blood has flowed;
Good night, my fair Nanny, thy soul is with God!"

Who can be insensible to the touching beauty of this ballad, however rude and imperfect may be its versification, and however much it must lose in any version? Indeed, if every kind of poetry must needs lose half its beauties in a translation, the truth of the Latin saying, *Dulcius ex ipsa fonte bibuntur aquae*, will never be more readily acknowledged, than in respect to the idiomatic peculiarities of popular ballads. This holds goods in a still higher degree of merely lyric productions. They are grown into the very bone and marrow of the language itself; and a congenial spirit can at the utmost imitate, but never satisfactorily translate them. And yet they are the most essential features in the physiognomy of a people; or as Görres expresses it, they are like pulse and breath, the signs and the measure of the internal life. "While the great *epic* streams," as this ingenious writer justly says, "reflect the character of a whole wide-spread river-district, in time and history, these lyric effusions are the sources and fountains, which, with their net-work of rills, water and drain the whole country; and bringing to light the secrets of its inmost bowels, pour out into lays its warmest heart's blood."* To the German popular songs, the Scotch alone can be compared in the expression of feeling and sweetness of melody. The great composers of that nation have often improved on the latter, without intimating it; and as the whole people may be called more or less musical, and not a few of the most distinguished musicians have been born in the huts of the poor; the com-

* Volks und Meisterlieder.

positions of skilful artists have mingled so completely with those of the singers of nature, and are so amalgamated with the harmonious recollections of their youth, that it would be impossible at present to decide what emanated from the people, and what was only received and often re-produced by them. The rustic sweetness of the numerous Ranz de Vache, both Swiss and Tyrolese, the mysterious pensiveness of the German hunting songs, and the playfulness of their dancing melodies, have long been acknowledged by the cultivated world; and many a piece which bears on its front the name of some celebrated composer, is in reality set in a well known popular tune, and only harmonized or arranged by the artist.

According to an ancient German custom, a mechanic, after having finished his apprenticeship, before he is permitted to settle himself down as master, must travel, or, as it is called, *wander*, for two or three years, in order to become acquainted with foreign habits and skill. While the peasantry are the chief *preservers* of ancient songs and traditions, these wandering journeymen may be considered as the chief means of disseminating them all over the country. They carry with them books, printed expressly for them, consisting of songs and lays, which offer, as indeed does their whole life, a strange mixture of the deepest poetry and disgusting vulgarity. These books, however, are to be consulted as sources of popular poetry with discrimination; for their contents, like the single sheets which the peasants take home with them from market for their evening amusement, and which are printed throughout all Europe for the lower classes, and sold to them for the smallest coin current in their respective countries, — like them, these books are mixed up indiscriminately with modern and ancient, artificial and natural poetry. Everything is offered that can be expected to please.

There are to be found in the nurseries of all the countries where the German tongue is spoken, certain scattered fragments of ancient poetry, lullabies, rhymes interwoven in children's games, or detached sayings, often hardly intelligible as they there exist; but, as we remarked before, forming with those of other countries mutual supplements to each other, and thus becoming intelligible. There are other ancient rhymes, with which certain actions or performances are accompanied or introduced; e. g. the building of a house, so far as the carpenter is concerned, or when the mason begins and finishes his work; or

on driving the piles of a bridge, etc.* There are also many fragmentary ancient local songs, chaunted on certain festivals, at the opening of spring, at the harvest-home, etc. The trades' songs (Zunftlieder) mentioned above, belong likewise here. They are current under the title of "Songs to the glory, honor, and praise" of the respective trades. The weavers, millers, tailors, carpenters, and others, sing in them the praise of their own trades; and very often rail at other occupations, with wit not very refined, but a good deal of humor. The tailors especially are constant butts. One specimen of this kind may not be without amusement to the reader.

THE SNAIL AND THE TAILORS.

"Once on a time three tailors there were,
O dear, O dear, O dear!
Once on a time three tailors there were,
And a snail in their fright they mistook for a bear;
O dear, O dear, O dear!

And of him they had such a terrible sense,
They hid themselves close behind a fence.

Do you go first, the first one he said;
The next one he spake, I 'm too much afraid.

The third he fain would speak also,
And said, He 'll eat us all up, I know.

And when now together they all came out,
They seized their weapons all about.

And as now they march'd to the strife so sad,
They all began to feel rather bad.

But when on the foe they rush'd outright,
Then each one grew choke-full of fight.

Come out here! come out! you devil's brute,
If you want to have a good stitch in your suit.

The snail he stuck out his ears from within;
The tailors they trembled —'T is a dreadful thing!

And as the snail his shell did move,
The tailors threw down their weapons forsooth.

* Bragur, Vol. III.

And when the snail crept out of his shell,
The tailors they all ran away pell-mell."

In the songs here specified, we cannot expect to meet with real poetry ; they prove only the natural delight which persons of all ages and conditions find in rhythm and rhyme, and are remarkable only as illustrations of the moral history of a nation.

We observed above that the ancient ballads were orally preserved in Germany, in the same proportion as the people are musical ; and have been forgotten, as they are a reading race. Of the lower classes of North-western Germany, neither the one nor the other can be said. It is a race, vigorous in body and mind, full of good sense and natural judgment ; but of a decidedly phlegmatic temperament, not easily moved, and clinging to their ancient habits and prejudices with unconquerable obstinacy. To body forth in reality the colossal exploits of the ancient Teutonic heroes, it is almost sufficient to see the giant-like, blooming young men of Westphalia and Holstein. The inhabitants of North-eastern Germany are nearly related to them in character and language ; for although the peasantry of Mecklenburg are of Slavic descent, and the race of the Pomeranians strongly mixed with Slavic blood, yet the German language reigned in this part of the country almost exclusively as early as the fourteenth century ; and still earlier in the adjacent marshes of Brandenburg, where all the Slavi were cruelly extirpated. In the whole North of Germany, as far north as the Odenwald, the Harz mountains, and the frontiers of Lusatia, the Low-German, i. e. *Niederdeutsch* or *Platt-deutsch*, is spoken by the lower classes.

The German language, from the earliest times, has been divided into two great dialects, the Upper German or Frankish, and the Low German or Saxon dialect ; which latter furnished the groundwork of the present English idiom. Up to the thirteenth century, German writers were accustomed to mingle these two dialects ; and until the sixteenth century, both dialects, although gradually diverging, enjoyed an equal authority. In Thuringia and Mansfield, the latter the native province of Luther, and both of them border provinces between Lower and Upper Germany, the popular language consisted of an aggregation of both these idioms. Through that great man's translation of the Bible and other writings, the dialect of his

province, purified and enriched by his genius, became under the name of High German, the established language of books. It soon supplanted the Low German among the higher classes, at least in the cities. The last rescripts of the Mecklenburg government in the Low German dialect, are dated in 1542 and 1562. From that time the High German was adopted; and the third quarter of the sixteenth century may be considered as the period of its complete triumph; although the Bible continued to be translated into Low German through the seventeenth century, and was printed for the last time in that dialect in the year 1693.*

In spite of this degradation, which may indeed be considered only as the result of accidental circumstances, not only the lower classes of the North remained strongly attached to this dialect; but its peculiar softness, copiousness, and *naïveté*, served also to endear it to all those cultivated persons to whom it was familiar; and it is still considered as an inexhaustible source, from which the High German language can augment its treasures. Several distinguished writers have taken pains to elevate the different dialects of the Low German idiom, by writing poetry in them; mostly in the style of the people, and with the obvious aim to render their verses popular. But we doubt whether these endeavors have ever succeeded. To most of the Low German peasantry, the High German language is familiar enough to enable them to read in it. They are not a singing race; and we doubt whether one of their ancient ballads is still sung by them, although most of their dialects are rich in historical songs. Indeed, among the peasantry of Ditmarsh, the native province of the Niebuhrs, were composed almost the best historical ballads which the Germans possess, in celebration of their war of independence.† Deficient in the musical vivacity peculiar to the Southern Germans, the poetical taste, especially of the women, is more displayed in tales and stories, the recitation of which during their long winter evenings is accompanied by the music of spinning-wheels; since their native phlegm does not prevent habitual industry. No small portion of the nursery tales and traditionary stories collected by the two Grimms, originated in the Low German

* Kinderling's Geschichte der Niedersächsischen Sprache.

† O. L. B. Wolf's "Historische Volkslieder der Deutschen." Several Westphalian songs, collected by Justus Möser, are printed in Nicolai's "Feiner Almanach," 1777.

dialect. Ingenious invention, a most simple style, and a certain dry, abrupt wit, are their chief characteristics. The far famed *Eulenspiegel*, introduced as Howlinglass in the early English drama, may be considered as the true representative of the Low German peasant wit; and his dry and ludicrous repartees and numerous waggish tricks seldom fail to call forth a smile even from the wise and cultivated.

There are also in this part of the country, especially in some parts of Westphalia, several local traditions still current; and many superstitious old sayings are yet kept up. But it would be erroneous to suppose, that all these things were founded in real superstition. "Our ancestors," as an excellent German writer says, "were in the habit of tying little blocks of wood to their keys, in order not to lose them so easily; or, if lost, in order to find them the sooner. Just so they managed with the useful sayings which they wished to inculcate on the youth; they annexed to each maxim a little block, that it might be remembered more easily. Thus they said: 'Children! as many grains of salt as you scatter, so many days you will have to wait before the gate of heaven;' or, 'Do not lay your knives upon their backs, lest the holy angels who fly about, cut their feet on them!' or, 'Girls, do not look in the glass at evening; the evil one looks over your shoulder!' And experience confirms the remark, that these little blocks assist memory just as much as rhymes, which were employed for the same purpose before the art of writing was common, or as the boxes on the ears, which our ancestors were accustomed to give the boys when they set up landmarks."* But we feel that this path is leading us astray from our object; which is not proverbs, the collected *wisdom* of the nations, but popular poetry, which might be called with the same right their collected *feeling*.

Central Germany, i. e. Saxony, the electorate of Hesse, and Franconia, presents in many respects a very different aspect. The people are decidedly musical; they sing a great deal; but they sing Opera-airs, disseminated even among the peasantry by students travelling during their vacations, and by the wandering journeymen, — and popular songs alternately. Books are frequent; but a Saxon peasant-woman goes seldom to market without bringing home a broad sheet of poetry. The maid-

* Justus Möser's Werke, Berlin, 1798, Vol. I. p. 331.

servants in the cities sing many old ballads to the children; but whatever is preserved, is preserved only accidentally. There is no real love for the relics of former days; and the romances of Schiller and Bürger are mingled pell-mell with disfigured ballads from the fifteenth century. The following beautiful song, the tune of which is of a heart-melting sweetness and melancholy, seems however to have been made by a Saxon maid, the lorn love of a wandering journeyman.

THE WANDERING LOVER.

"My love he is journeying far away,
But I cannot tell why I 'm so sad all the day;
Perhaps he is dead, and gone to his rest,
And that is the reason my heart 's so opprest.

When I with my love to the church did repair,
False tongues at the door awaited us there;
The one it said this, and the other said that,
And this is the reason my eyes are so wet.

The thistles and thorns, they hurt very sore,
But false, false tongues, they hurt far more;
And no fire on earth ever burns so hot,
As the secret love of which none doth wot.

My heart's dearest treasure, there 's one thing I crave,
That thou wilt stand by, when I 'm laid in the grave;
When in the cold grave my body they lay,
Because I have loved thee so truly for aye!"

In the West and South of Germany, both the country and the people present a more poetical aspect. But before we lead the reader to the flourishing regions of Austria and Suabia, and the hilly vineyards of the Rhine, let him cast a look on the Eastern frontier, Silesia and her majestic mountains. The Silesian peasantry do not sing much; but the Giant Mountains harbor a whole host of fairy tales; the principal actor in which is the mischievous and fanciful goblin *Rübezahl*, whose name has been happily translated into English by *Number Nip*. There is however one corner in the South-eastern part of Silesia, the valley of the Oder, between Silesia, Moravia and Hungary, called the *Kuhländchen*, which may be considered in respect to our subject as one of the most remarkable spots

of all the world. The German language spoken here, is exceedingly impure and corrupt; but although surrounded by a Slavic population, we discover in it traces of only a slight Slavic influence. In this valley, comprising not more than about sixteen square miles, containing two cities and twenty-three villages, with not much more than thirty thousand souls, a friend of popular poetry succeeded in collecting nearly one hundred and fifty songs and ballads; all of them banished, alas! from the dwellings of the educated and the genteel, and permitted to be heard only in the dust of spinning halls, amidst the noise of inns, or accompanied by the bells of the flocks.* They are mostly sung by the women "with more voice than feeling," the collector observes, in old fashioned dancing tunes; often they hardly themselves understand what they are singing. There are, moreover, even in this small territory, whole villages, where these songs are already unknown; and to write them down seemed indeed to snatch them from oblivion. These songs did not all originate among this people; whom the abovementioned collector describes, as "friends of song, dancing and drinking; curious, talkative, sensual in their love; manifesting, however, in their choice of a mistress, a partiality for their country, and adhering to it with a certain degree of fidelity." We meet here with many songs which were once sung in different dialects, in other provinces of Germany. The ballad called the "Lay of the young Count," (p. 306,) is also sung here, and indeed in a much finer version than the more common ones; although perhaps in the most uncouth and corrupt jargon of all Germany. The ancient ballads, the "Castle in Austria," and the "King's Daughter," resound here still in living accents; both however with many variations. We give here the first of these, in its more ancient form, omitting the additions of modern times. The ballad which follows it, will, in its simplicity, remind the reader of Sweet William's Ghost, and serve to confirm our remarks in respect to the coincidence of popular ballads among different nations.

THE CASTLE IN AUSTRIA.

"There lies a castle in Austria,
Right goodly to behold,
Wall'd up with marble stones so fair,
With silver and with red gold.

* Meinert's "Kuhländchen," or *Fylgie.*

Therein lies captive a young boy,
For life and death he lies bound;
Full forty fathoms under the earth,
'Midst vipers and snakes around.

His father came from Rosenberg,
Before the tower he went:
My son, my dearest son, how hard
Is thy imprisonment!

O father, dearest father mine,
So hardly I am bound;
Full forty fathoms under the earth,
'Midst vipers and snakes around.

His father went before the lord:
Let loose thy captive to me!
I have at home three casks of gold,
And these for the boy I 'll gi'e.

Three casks of gold, they help you not,
That boy, and he must die!
He wears round his neck a golden chain;
Therein doth his ruin lie.

And if he thus wear a golden chain,
He hath not stolen it; nay!
A maiden good gave it to him;
For true love, did she say.

They led the boy forth from the tower,
And the sacrament took he:
Help thou, rich Christ, from heaven high,
It 's come to an end with me.

They led him to the scaffold place,
Up the ladder he must go;
O headsman, dearest headsman, do
But a short respite allow.

A short respite I must not grant;
Thou would'st escape and fly;
Reach me a silken handkerchief
Around his eyes to tie.

O do not, do not bind mine eyes!
I must look on the world so fine;
I see it to-day, then never more,
With these weeping eyes of mine.

His father near the scaffold stood,
And his heart, it almost rends;
O son, O thou my dearest son,
Thy death I will avenge.

O father, dearest father mine,
My death thou shalt not avenge,
'T would bring to my soul but heavy pains;
Let me die in innocence.

It is not for this life of mine,
Nor for my body proud;
'T is but for my dear mother's sake,
At home she weeps aloud.

Not yet three days had pass'd away,
When an angel from heaven came down:
Take ye the boy from the scaffold away!
Else the city shall sink under ground.

And not six months had pass'd away,
Ere his death was avenged amain;
And upwards of three hundred men
For the boy's life were slain.

Who is it that hath made this lay,
Hath sung it, and so on?
That, in Vienna in Austria,
Three maidens fair have done."

THE DEAD BRIDEGROOM.

" There went a boy so stilly,
To the window small went he;
Art thou within, my fair sweet-heart?
Rise up, and open to me.

We well may speak together,
But I may not open to thee;
For I have plighted my faith to one,
And want no other but he.

The one to whom thou 'rt plighted,
Fair sweet-heart, I am he;
Reach me thy snow-white little hand,
And then perhaps thou 'lt see.

But nay! thou smellest of the earth;
And thou art Death, I ween!
Why should I not smell of the earth,
When I have lain therein?

Wake up thy father and mother,
Wake up thy friends so dear;
The chaplet green shalt thou ever wear,
Till thou in heaven appear."

Besides these ancient ballads, which probably were common to all Germany, the inhabitants of the southern valley of the Oder sing Christmas carols and roughly versified scripture tales, which are still more or less current in all the Catholic provinces of Germany. There is, however, one species of ballads, which in Germany is peculiar to this district. These are such as we would call Slavic ballads, i. e. in which the Slavic influence is manifest; since the Slavic influence, although described as slight in respect to the language, is not inconsiderable in respect to the spirit of their poetry. The German village-bards, surrounded by a Slavic population which finds in music and song its best recreation, are prone to imitate them; as on the other hand, the Bohemian and Moravian rustic singers borrow from their German neighbors. We were struck at recognising in the following German ballad, a Slovakish original; for that the Slavic and not the German ditty is the original, we conclude from the greater completeness of the story, and from the nature of the fable itself. It was probably not translated, but recast; and that indeed in a poetical mind, notwithstanding its uncouth and gross language; since the only really poetical feature it contains, the gradation of the wounded tree as bleeding, weeping and speaking, belongs only to the German ballad.

THE MOTHER'S CURSE.

"There came along three Minstrels,
They went together so proud;
And they went over a meadow,
Where an alder was in the wood.

And one spake to the other:
That tree for my fiddle I need.
The one he began to strike,
The alder, it began to bleed.

Another, he began to strike,
The alder, it began to weep;
The third, he began to strike,
The alder, it began to speak:

O, strike not, ye three proud minstrels,
I am no alder in the wood!
O, strike not, ye three proud minstrels,
I am a maiden proud.

My mother once did curse me,
When I went for water to the well;
May she burn to dust and sulphur,
And to ashes in the lowest hell!

O go, ye three proud minstrels,
Go to my mother's door;
And play, ye three proud minstrels,
Of me a ditty before.

The minstrels, they began to play,
Of her daughter who went to the well:
May 'st thou burn to dust and sulphur,
And to ashes in the lowest hell!

Play not, ye three proud minstrels,
Sing not so before my door!
And if I had ten children,
Such a curse I would never give more!" *

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* To enable the reader to make his own comparison, we here subjoin a faithful translation of the Slovakian ballad:

"The maiden went for water,
To the well o'er the meadow away;
She there could draw no water,
So thick the frost it lay.

The mother she grew angry;
She had it long to bemoan;
O daughter mine, O daughter,
I would thou wert a stone!

The maiden's water-pitcher
Grew marble instantly;
And she herself, the maiden,
Became a maple tree.

There came one day two lads,
Two minstrels young they were;
We 've travelled far, my brother,
Such a maple we saw no where.

Come let us cut a fiddle,
One fiddle for me and you;
And from the same fine maple,
For each one, fiddlesticks two.

They cut into the maple,—
There splashed the blood so red;
The lads fell on the ground,
So sore were they afraid.

Then spake from within the maiden;
Wherefore afraid are you?
Cut out of me one fiddle,
And for each one, fiddlesticks two.

Then go and play right sadly,
To my mother's door begone,
And sing: Here is thy daughter,
Whom thou didst curse to stone.

The happy and childlike disposition of the inhabitants of Austria, together with the blessings of a blooming and picturesque country, a productive soil, and a paternal government,—for the Austrian government is severe and tyrannical only towards its foreign provinces,—makes life to them a succession of holidays; and every moment generates a new song. Max Schottky has collected the songs and ballads current in Lower Austria, for the most part in the vicinity of the capital. Those of Upper Austria have another and more sentimental character, but, so far as we know, have never been collected. Whether as much of ancient poetry is preserved in any other part, as in the Kuhländchen, we are not aware; but the whole country, as it is, breathes of poetry and music.

The disposition of the Bavarians is heavier; the climate is rough, the soil less fertile; and the celebrated Bavarian beer has not the inspiring power enjoyed by the population of the neighboring wine-countries. The regions of the Rhine and the Neckar have ever been the true home of German popular poetry, and are so still. No province of Germany has contributed more to the glory of their common country, than Suabia. Here dwells a race naturally of a serious disposition; but happily influenced by a mild climate, a soil easily yielding to reasonable industry, but not rich enough to indulge indolence, and a scenery which unites the grand and the lovely. The following pretty song, which exists in different versions, may serve as a specimen of the peculiar *naïveté* of a Suabian peasant lad. The melody is sweet and pensive.

THE FAREWELL LETTER.

"Now I go to the fountain,
But I drink not;
There I seek my heart's dearie,
But find her not.

Then I send my eyes round
Hither and thither;
There I see my heart's dearie,
Stand by another.

The lads they went, and sadly
Their song to play began;
The mother, when she heard them,
Right to the window ran:

O lads, dear lads, be silent,
Do not my pain increase;
For since I lost my daughter,
My pain doth never cease!"

See her stand by another,
O that hurts sore!
God keep thee, my heart's dearie,
I see thee never more!

Now I buy me a pen,
And buy ink and paper,
And write to my heart's dearie
A farewell letter.*

Write a farewell letter,
O that hurts sore!
God keep thee, my heart's dearie,
I see thee never more!

Now on the moss and hay
I lay me down;
And there into my lap
Three roses are thrown.

And lo! these three roses,
They are all blood-red!
I know not if my heart's dearie
Be living or dead!

Now I go to the chapel,
And pray for her bliss;
And when I come out again,
She gives me a kiss!"

That among the peasantry of Alsace, the French portion of Germany, more ancient poetry is still current than in other provinces, can easily be accounted for. The education of the higher classes is French. German books, although of course understood by the lower ranks, are comparatively rare; and French ones hardly intelligible, and mostly disliked by them. Thus the old ballads, transmitted down from a time when the national ties of the Alsatian people were not yet broken, seem to have been the only means of satisfying their fondness for poetry and song. The following ballad, which was first taken down by Herder, is called by this great writer, "a little lyric picture, while Othello is a powerful fresco painting,—unchecked action in all its boldness and terror." "The tune," he says, "has the clear solemn sound of an evening hymn, chaunted in star-light."

* In the original the rhyme of this verse is no better, viz. *Papier—Brief.*

LAY OF THE JEALOUS LAD.

"Three stars are in the heavens,
Beaming with love on high;
God keep thee, gentle maiden,
My horse where shall I tie?

Thy horse take by the bridle,
And tie to the fig tree;
Sit down awhile by me here,
And make some sport for me.

I cannot now be seated,
I may not merry be;
My heart is sorely troubled,
Sweet love, it is for thee!

What draws he from his pocket?
A knife both sharp and long!
He stabb'd his love to the heart with it,
The red blood on him sprung.

And as he draws it out again,
With blood it was all red;
O thou, great God in heaven,
How bitter is my death!

What draws he from her finger?
A little bright gold ring;
He throws it in the river,
There lies the shining thing.

Swim on, swim on, thou little ring,
Away to the deep, deep sea;
For dead is now my sweet love,
No sweet love lives for me!

And thus it never doth end well,
With a maid that would love two;
And thus we both have learned now,
What a false love can do!"

The valleys of Switzerland and Tyrol are rich in poetic echoes; and their songs are to the ear what the clear, silvery, transparent cascades, which gush numberless from their mountains, are to the eye; the impression of one supplants that of the preceding, and the traveller gets so accustomed to the cheering, refreshing aspect and sound, that he learns to con-

sider them as necessary ingredients of the landscape. The peculiar *naïveté* of these mountain dialects makes their songs utterly untranslateable into any other language. They lose entirely their character and charm; and if Goethe's saying, "Nature has neither core nor peel," holds good as to all popular poetry, it is especially applicable to these purely *idiomatic* lays and ditties. Of the two following specimens we give the originals, and subjoin a verbal translation, only in order to make them more intelligible to the foreign reader of German, without pretending to give their spirit. Both are sung by peasant-girls, and the tunes correspond well with the words.

I.

"Mein Herzel is zu,
'S kann 's keiner aufthu';
Ein einziger Bu'
Hat den Schlüssel dazu!"

"My heart is shut to,
None can it undo;
Only one laddie true
Has the key thereto!"

II.

"Uf'm Bergli hab i sässe,
Hab den Vögli zugeschaut;
Hänt gesunge,
Hänt gesprunge,
Hänt 's Nestli gebaut.

In ä Garte bin i g'stande,
Ha' de Imbli zugeschaut,
Hänt gesummet,
Hänt gebrummet,
Hänt 's Zelli gebaut.

Uf de Wiese bin i gange
Lug de Sommervögli an,
Hänt gefloge,
Hänt gesoge,
Gar zu schön hänt 's g'than.

Und da kummt nu der Liebste,
Und da zeig i em froh,
Wie se 's mache,
Und mer lache,
Und mer mache's au' so."

"I sat upon the mountain,
And saw the little birds;
How they sung,
How they sprung,
How they built their little nests.

I stood in the garden,
And saw the little bees;
How they humm'd,
How they drumm'd,
How they built their little cells.

I walked in the meadow,
And saw the butterflies;
How they skipp'd,
How they sipp'd,
And how prettily they woo'd.

And just then comes my dearie,
And him I laughing show,
How they play,
And we 're gay,
And we do even so."

We conclude this part of our subject with one lay more; which, displaying as it does a good deal of imagination, seems to us happily calculated to characterize German popular poetry in its relation to that of the other Teutonic nations. From the verse, "Flög' ich zu dir, mein Schatz, *ins Reich*," which we have rendered, "I 'd fly far far away to thee," we must conclude that Northern Germany is its home; since the common people used this expression to designate the South, with the exception of Austria.

LOVE'S WISHES.

"In the world I have no pleasure,
Far away 's my heart's own treasure!
Could I but speak to him, oh then
My heart were whole and well again.

Lady Nightingale, Lady Nightingale,
To greet my treasure never fail;
Greet him kindly, right prettily,
And bid him ever mine to be.

Then to the goldsmith's house I go,
The goldsmith looks from his windòw:

Ah goldsmith, ah, dear goldsmith mine,
Make me a ring quite small and fine.

Not too large, not too small, let it
A pretty little finger fit;
And let my name be written there,
My heart's own dear the ring shall wear.

Had I of purest gold a key,
My heart I would unlock to thee;
A picture fair would there be shown,
My treasure, it must be thy own!

If I a little woodbird were,
I'd sit upon the tall green tree;
And when I'd sung enough, from there
I'd fly far far away to thee.

Had I two wings as has the dove,
Then would I fly o'er hill and dell;
O'er all the world I'd soar away,
To where my dearest one does dwell.

And when I was at last by thee,
Ah! shouldst thou then not speak to me,
Then must I turn in grief to dwell
Away from thee — my Love, farewell!"

IV. We conclude with a few remarks on the ancient popular poetry of *Holland*. The most appropriate place perhaps, would have been, where we spoke of Northern Germany and the Low German dialect.* Dutch poetry, as a branch of literature, is certainly independent of Germany. Dutch popular poetry, however, is only one of those numerous overflowings from the same great and deep well, which water in various ways the different regions of that whole country. It is at least as intimately connected with the poetry of the other Low German dialects, as are the Swiss ballads and songs

* The Dutch language is a daughter of one of the two principal dialects of the German, viz. of the Saxon or Low German. The Anglo-Saxon, the Low Saxon, the Dutch, and the Flemish, are considered as sister dialects; all four originating immediately from the Saxon or Low German tongue. The Anglo-Saxon is still extant, although much altered, in the Frisian dialect; and, mixed with Danish and Norman French, in the English language. The Low Saxon, familiarly called *Plattdeutsch*, is spoken by the common people throughout the whole north of Germany and Prussia, in various different dialects. The Flemish and Dutch are confined to the Low Countries.

with those of the Upper German; and as nearly related to both these latter, as are the other dialects of the Low German.

Popular Poetry, we regret to say, no longer exists in Holland. The old ballads, perhaps still more extensively than in the North of Germany, are supplanted by opera airs and modern compositions of fashionable poets. To know what was once the recreation of their ancestors, we must consult their Chronicles, or the collections of Le Jeune and Hoffmann. And in these we meet with the same variety, and in this variety the same genius, which characterizes their brethren in Germany. Most of the romantic ballads of both these nations, are possessed by them in common; and the same relation exists between them, as between the Swedish and Danish. Ballads which are still heard, although in solitary instances, in the southern valley of the Oder, or in the regions of the Upper Rhine and Neckar, were some fifty years ago still sung by the peasant-girls on the Schelde. We even meet with traditions, which, by their being attached to certain localities, we should have concluded to belong exclusively to those places; e. g. the legend of the "Tannhäuser," which the Dutch possess in their tale of "Heer Danielkeen."

There is, however, one class of ballads, of which the Dutch have a more exclusive possession; and of which no similar species is met with among the Germans, except in a few pieces preserved in the Kuhländchen; nor among other nations, except in some of the English Christmas carols. These are *Bible ballads*, relating principally to our Saviour's birth and education, and to his resurrection. These narrative ballads were formerly sung indiscriminately along with Christmas and Easter hymns of a merely lyric character. The German scholar, who published two years since the judicious collection of Dutch popular songs, the title of which stands at the head of this article, says in respect to the older spiritual songs of Holland: "The greatest portion of them appeared in the middle of the fifteenth century, and disappeared again before the close of the following one. Many of them found favor with the people, and might therefore justly lay claim to the title of popular songs. These, like all other religious songs, were for the most part either adapted to the airs of profane songs or imitated from them. The greater number, however, were not so widely diffused, but confined rather to the circle of private devotion. Moreover, from the nature of

their contents, they were necessarily limited to a very small circle; since the greater part of these were songs which treated of the nature and circumstances of the soul in love with the Saviour, and of the means by which it sought to gain the affections of its bridegroom, Jesus Christ. Other classes of sacred songs were severally devoted to the celebration of the birth and resurrection of Christ, and to the praises of the blessed Virgin. Thus then, the earlier sacred poetry of Holland consisted only of four descriptions of songs, viz. Christmas Carols, Easter Hymns, Songs on the Virgin, and Songs on Christian Faith and Doctrine."

The two latter classes the Dutch possessed in common with all Christians, and especially the Roman Catholic nations of Europe. They disappeared in Holland in the same proportion as the Reformation spread. Among the German Protestants, only the hymns of the Moravians and of the School of Pietists, so called, the followers of the venerable Franke and Spener, breathe the identical spirit of these Dutch religious songs. There is the same dulcet play with the heavenly Bridegroom, which delights in adapting all the glowing colors and expressions of earthly love to the relation between the soul and Christ, and gives even to the purest feelings a dress of sensuality. Nothing could be more unlike the equally fervent, but sound and racy piety of the German spiritual singers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Flemmings and the Gerhardts! Of the two other classes, which we designated above as Bible ballads, we find among the Germans only a few traces. The so called *Fulneck Carols* are principally lyric. They are very ancient, and full of allusions hardly intelligible in our day. They resemble in some measure the Slavic songs of this description, which have mostly come down from time immemorial; and they have, on the whole, as little meaning as these latter. To the few Scripture ballads still extant in the southern valley of the Oder, and *perhaps* in some other places, the following remarks of Hoffmann hold good, as well as to the Dutch. "The Carols or Christmas Songs," he continues, "are those which most deserve our attention. In them we may clearly discern the childlike religious spirit of the olden time, when men were not content to relate in song the history of our Saviour's birth simply as recorded in the Scriptures; but sought by little traits drawn from national and domestic life,

to make it more attractive and instructive; and so to apply it directly to the hearts of the pious and the faithful."*

These Bible ballads, in which the scenes of Scripture were thus in a highly *naïve* and popular way rendered familiar to the nation, emanated from the same spirit which induced the Dutch and Flemish painters to conceive and represent many of the same subjects in a style peculiar to themselves, at least in the extent to which they carried it. An English Reviewer observes,† that the custom of familiarizing from reverential and affectionate motives the personages and events of Scripture, was as universal among other nations as among the Dutch. This is true to a certain extent. All popular poetry bears exactly the stamp of the time which produced it. No popular reciter of a scripture tale would ever think of giving it an oriental coloring, nor of imprinting upon it the stamp of that sublimity, which cultivated Christians are accustomed to associate with the thoughts of God and Christ. There exist numerous German popular tales and legends relating to the divine government, to St. Peter and the keys of heaven, etc. St. Peter bears, in general, the character of extreme forwardness, and his presumption is corrected by the Lord Jesus Christ, or by God the Father himself. In one of these legends the Lord, travelling with his disciples, sees a broken horse-shoe lying in the path, and bids Peter pick it up. But Peter pushes it contemptuously away with his foot. The Lord then, in his mild way, picks it up himself, and coming to a blacksmith's shop, sells it for three-pence. For these three-pence he buys cherries, and, after a long and fatiguing journey, when all suffer from thirst, he drops them one after another. Peter picks up the cherries with avidity, one by one, and instead of stooping once must stoop now twenty times; and is thus convinced that he ought not to despise the mean and the little. In another German legend, the author of which is the celebrated Master-singer Hans Sachs, the same apostle presumes to blame the divine government. Christ smiles and gives him the sceptre for one day. Just then a poor woman comes along leading a young goat to pasture. "Go," she says, "go in the Lord's name, God will shelter thee from wolves and from thunder; I must go home and work for my daily wages and get

* Hoffmann, l. c. p. 1, 2.

† Foreign Quarterly Review, July 1834, Art. VII.

bread for my babes. God will protect thee with his own hands!" "Hast thou heard the prayer of the poor woman?" the Lord asks Peter; "now thou must take this goat into thy care to day, because thou art to-day the Lord God." Peter does as he is bid. He runs after the young goat the whole day, up hill and down hill. The day is very hot and the goat seems never tired. At evening St. Peter, all covered with sweat, and sufficiently humbled, brings back the goat, fully convinced that he, who cannot even rule a goat, is not fit to govern the world; and that man does better to leave it to God. Thus all these tales are calculated to inculcate a certain religious truth;* while the Dutch ballads above-mentioned, on the contrary, have nothing of a moral tendency. The style of the German stories is certainly equally familiar; the Lord speaks exactly in the same manner as the story-teller is wont to speak to his inferiors, and the whole representation is as familiar and material as possible; but we nowhere meet with so many trifling particulars, with such a minute execution of details in the imitation of every-day nature, as in the Dutch and German ballads above specified. They resemble exactly in this respect the pictures of the Dutch school; while in respect to simplicity and want of skill in their conception, they are like the scriptural designs of the old masters, who represented God in his night-gown and with his pipe, taking a walk in Paradise on a fine summer evening, while lions and lambs skipped joyfully around him, and Adam and Eve hid themselves behind the trees. Some of the English Christmas carols may be compared to them; e. g. the ballad of the Cherry-tree, beginning:

> "Joseph was an old man,
> An old man was he, etc."

But the collection of Mr. Sandys affords few traits like the following in a Dutch ballad:

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* In another of these amusing and characteristic German popular tales, the home of which is Westphalia, a tailor to whom St. Peter has denied entrance into Heaven, slips in when the door is left open a moment. One day, when the Lord happens to take the air with his holy angels, the tailor peeps through the hole before the throne, through which God is wont to look at the world beneath. There he sees one of his brother tailors put aside a yard of cloth. In his virtuous anger he breaks off one of the feet of the throne, and flings it down on the thievish tailor. The Lord returns from his walk, and discovering what has happened, reproves him: "Take care! take care! if I had been so rash, what would have become of thee!"

"The mother she made for the child a bath,
How lovely then it therein sat!
The childling it plashed with its little hand,
That the water out of the bason sprang."

Or the following, relating to the manner in which the holy family labored in Egypt for their sustenance:

"Mary, that maiden dear,
Well could she spin;
Joseph was a carpenter,
And could his bread win.

When he was grown so old
That no longer work he could,
The thread he wound;
And Jesus to rich and poor
Carried it round."

The following family picture is from an ancient German ballad, preserved in the Kuhländchen. Joseph calls Mary up to make the fire and take care of the breakfast. Every thing is minutely described; how she rises, obedient to her husband, blows the coals left in the ashes over night, etc.

"And Mary took a porringer
So small and neat;
She made for her babe a gruel in it,
And put of butter in a bit,
And that was sweet!

And Mary to the hostess went,
And hung a kettle over the hearth,
The child to bathe so warm;
And then she bathes her dearest child,
It never will do him harm.

The hostess she had a little child,
It was both crooked and lame;
She bath'd it in the self-same bath,
Wherein dear Jesus just lain hath,
And so it strait became."

It would be easy to adduce parallels to this nursery-scene from among the ancient scriptural ballads still current in the West of England; but we have already trespassed beyond our limits.

ART. II. — *Moral Philosophy.*

1. *The Elements of Moral Science.* By FRANCIS WAYLAND, D. D., President of Brown University, and Professor of Moral Philosophy. Second edition. New York. 1835. 8vo. pp. 448.
2. *Christian Ethics; or Moral Philosophy, on the Principles of Divine Revelation.* By RALPH WARDLAW, D. D. *From the second London edition, with an Introductory Essay.* By LEONARD WOODS, D. D. New York. D. Appleton & Co. Boston. W. Pierce. 12mo. pp. 380.

THE two works, whose titles stand at the head of this article, appear to have attracted not a little of the public attention; the former having reached a second edition within six months from its first appearance, and the latter having been thought worthy of a reprint in this country, with the imprimatur of a Professor of Theology in one of our most popular institutions. At first sight, they seem to possess many points of close resemblance to each other, and one who had not actually read them, might expect to find some general similarity, to say the least, in the views which they present. The three clergymen, whose names are given on their title-pages, are all engaged in actual instruction, direct or indirect, on the subjects of which they treat. In their respective denominations, they are held to occupy a high rank, and from the supposed tenets of those denominations, might be presumed to agree, at all events very nearly, so far as theology is concerned, in their views of human nature, of its relation to the great principles of right and duty, and of the mode in which those principles are to be ascertained and proved. This, however, is very far from being the case. It is hardly indeed too much to say, that on these points the two books are absolutely contradictions to one another. Both written with evident care and ability, by men who could not previously have been supposed to differ widely from each other; both adopted as standard works by classes of men in the same predicament; they nevertheless proceed on altogether different principles, and of course arrive at very different results. If either one is right, the other must be radically wrong.

The object of the Scottish divine is to prove the insufficiency

and even danger of all moral speculations, based on any other ground than that of biblical interpretation. In his view, every Moral Philosopher who has preceded him, Butler himself included, has fallen into serious error, from this inherent vice of the whole system. The chair of Ethics is to be henceforth merged in that of Theology; and the seeker after truth, instead of reading, or attempting to read, as well that copy of the law of God which was "graven with his own finger on the table of the heart," as that other copy which was afterward "graven on a stone," — instead of by this means adding at once to his understanding of its requirements, and to his confidence in its authority, is hereafter to regard the one of these two books as sealed; lest, after having read it, his views should not precisely square with those of his fellow-inquirer, whose attention has been wholly given to the other. To use his own language, "if the authority of the document be established, and the verity of its statements consequently ascertained, then it becomes, on all matters of which it treats, *the only philosophy;*" "the sole object of investigation comes to be, the meaning of the language in which the intimations of the Divine Oracles are conveyed." The wise man of this world is to become "a mere learner, a listener and asker of questions at the feet of Prophets and Apostles;" setting himself "with his grammar and his dictionary, to find out what it is that these men say; and in every point of which they treat, to bow without gainsaying to their authoritative decisions." The adoption of any other course, can lead only to a "science falsely so called." The "amalgamation of Philosophy and Theology, has, from the beginning, been a copious source of error." "We should be unfaithful to our God, and throw a disparaging insult on His name, were we thus to consent that the wisdom of 'the only wise,' should make its obeisance to the chair of human science; or were we to admit that he has left his word with less conclusive evidence in its behalf, than that by which the wise men of this world can vindicate the dictates of their own sagacity."

Dr. Wayland, on the other hand, has ventured, in spite of this threatened danger, to pursue the older course in regard to Moral Science, and has given us a text-book on the subject, in which other authorities, besides those allowed by Dr. Wardlaw's system, are acknowledged and referred to. Human nature, which the author of the "Christian Ethics"

declares to be so corrupted, from its original character, that the study of its actual manifestations can afford us no real clue to its true design, is made in even greater measure than has been common in previous works on Morals, the basis of Dr. Wayland's arguments. His whole system, indeed, is *mainly* founded on the view which he has taken of it. Here and there, as we shall have occasion presently to remark, he has not *altogether* followed out this plan; but in the ablest and most interesting portions of his work, it is to be clearly traced. Scripture is referred to throughout, in confirmation of the views which he presents, but the general line of argument is by no means drawn from it. On the contrary, the whole of Dr. Wayland's book proceeds on the supposition, which the "Christian Ethics" controvert, that a careful study of human nature, as now manifested in its various states of comparative vice and virtue, may, and indeed will lead us, so far as it will lead at all, to right results as to its true character; just as a careful study of any other portion of God's creation, will enable us to ascertain much that is true concerning it, and need not conduct us to anything that is erroneous.

The appearance of two works, thus seriously opposed in principle to one another, and each receiving so considerable a degree of attention to its views, seems to offer a fit occasion for some general remarks, bearing on the main point at issue between them. This course will enable us to give our judgment on the general merits and defects, as they appear to our mind, of the books themselves. In adopting it, it may be well to take a rather wider range, than the discussion of the actual difference in this case requires, and to consider somewhat in detail, a question which has not yet received its full share of attention from the public, viz. "What is the true foundation of Moral Science, as a branch of Philosophical Study?" Is the distinction between right and wrong to be referred, as some of our controversialists would seem to intimate, only to the prescriptions of human law, or of public opinion, or even of the written law of God; or is it not rather to be traced back to the very constitution of the human mind? Are we, in order to follow it out satisfactorily, in all its details of practical application, to confine our attention to any simply written institutions, to any *special* decisions, of what sort soever; or are we not rather, by a careful analysis of the mental faculties which God has given us, of their rela-

tions to each other and to the world around us, to ascertain the great principles of his government, — the leading outlines of his design in the creation of our species? Are we not, by the faithful pursuit of such an inquiry, to derive new confirmation of our faith in revelation; new sources of light and knowledge, to enable us to understand its meaning; new motives to induce us, with gratitude and hope, to aim at rendering obedience to its commands? If, in the discussion of this question, we should dissent altogether from Dr. Wardlaw's positions, we yet trust, that the general tenor of our views, will serve to acquit us of the charge of holding Scripture in any lower esteem than those do who take an opposite view.

We are aware that in proposing such a discussion, we ask attention to a subject which is very far from popular, in regard to which, indeed, there exists a strong and deeply rooted prejudice in the public mind. The question as to the foundation of moral science has not, as we have said, received the share of attention which its importance merits. We may indeed go further, and extend the remark to the whole circle of the mental and moral sciences, and their dependencies. Metaphysical studies, as they have been unfortunately styled, are not the fashion. The revival, that has wrought such wonders for those departments of science which relate to the world without us, has not yet reached them; and our system of intellectual education presents to the reflecting observer, a strange mixture of zeal for the diffusion of every other kind of knowledge, as of the utmost value to man, with comparative indifference to, and contempt for, that course of study, by which alone he can acquire a knowledge of himself. Ask the pupil of the modern system to give his attention to any one of what are called the physical sciences, and he will admit, to some extent at least, the propriety of your advice; but direct his notice to the laws of his own mental nature, ask him to observe and analyse his various emotions, and processes of thought, to compare his own ideas, feelings, and actions, so far as he may be able, with those of other men; in a word, ask him to study the human mind, and he will plead his want of time to spare from his other and practical pursuits. It is enough for him that he does actually think and feel. As to the modus operandi in the case, that is of very secondary con-

sequence. He will compass sea and land that he may know, and thereby render subservient to himself, the powers of external nature; but self-knowledge, the power of understanding and acting on his fellow-man, the means of gaining that greatest of all victories, self-conquest, this is not what he aims at. The philosophy of the mind is, in his judgment, too abstruse and visionary, to be thought of beyond the limits of the college, where the folly of his ancestors unhappily in former times prescribed some little waste of time upon it. Speak to him of the laws of reasoning, of taste, of morals, of the rules by which he may distinguish truth from error, the principles which draw the line between beauty and deformity, between right and wrong. He will tell you that he makes these distinctions well enough for all his purposes, without reference to any such rules or principles. All men make them every day. What need is there of puzzling over a dry text-book of Logic, or dissertations on the sublime and beautiful, or treatises on Moral Science? Mathematical certainty and the practical spirit of the age are contrasted with metaphysical speculations, and the argument is ended.

That this is no exaggerated picture, we appeal to every man's experience of the way, in which, even by most of our intelligent men, every attempt to gain a serious hearing for such subjects, is treated. *Theorist* is just now a name of magical effect. Does any man appeal from the few crude and casually picked up notions, which form the sum of most men's knowledge of human nature, he is at once set down to be no practical man. He is a visionary and enthusiast. His views are no safe guide for those who would aim at really *doing anything* in the world. For this we want plain experienced men, not dealers in systems, or pretenders to philosophy. As if he were not in truth the more strictly an experienced and practical man, whose judgments are formed not on his own chance observations only, but who has drawn also on the recorded experience of others, who has reflected on and arranged carefully the results of this wide induction, and has followed them out in their applications to the concerns of life. What is a theory, using the term in its true sense, and without the implied reproach which is unfairly connected with it, but a systematized, straight-forward statement of the results of long continued observation? Why are a comparatively few facts on any subject, collected by a single observer, more valuable

than a far larger number, if brought forward as the result of many men's experience? Why is the knowledge of them to make a man a safe and valued counsellor, so long as they remain "without form and void," the burden of a treacherous memory, and to disqualify the same man for the same duties, so soon as, by the exercise of the higher powers of his understanding, he has reduced them to order, and it may be, written them in a book? When we are choosing an architect or engineer to construct our houses or rail-roads, or a gardener to experiment on our flowers and vegetables, or a farmer to improve the breed and training of our cattle, we never think to stipulate that he shall not have gathered any of his knowledge from others. The more he has read and learned of his profession, or, in other words, the wider has been his field of observation, and the more closely and thoroughly he has explored it, the better for our purposes. Why is our course different when we are choosing a school-master for our children, or a religious and moral teacher, or a legislator, for ourselves? The principle is the same in the two cases. If limited knowledge is better than none at all, is not extended knowledge better still? So says common sense in every other case; so says not popular opinion in this.

Unpromising, however, as may seem the attempt to divert this current of public sentiment to its right course, the attempt itself must not therefore be given up. The present state of things in this respect is not one, to whose continuance we can look forward with any satisfaction. We must call for the protest, and for the efforts of our directors of education, against it. Its results are to be seen in every direction, and the language in which they address us is sufficiently emphatic. Here the philanthropist, who seeks to improve the condition of his race, and who, in pursuit of this end, has to make war on any of the habits or institutions of society, is met with a triumphant appeal to existing laws and customs, to the opinions of distinguished men, or to that most absolute of all autocrats, the will of the public. To all his bright anticipations of the future, there is opposed a summary and unreflecting reference to the past. The saying of the wise man is wrested against him, and he is assured that "the thing that hath been, it is that which shall be, and that which is done is that which shall be done, and there is no new thing under the sun." To all his reasonings, drawn from the nature and prospects of man, to

all his appeals to our benevolence and moral feeling, the contemptuous sneer of his opponent gives for answer, that what he is condemning has the sanction of the law, the authority of precedent, the support of public opinion. And this reply passes current with the majority of those to whom it is addressed. Or to take another illustration, of which unhappily there are but too many instances, both in this and in other countries. There is another and very different class of reformers, agrarian agitators, who declaim loudly against priestcraft and monopoly, and resolve every thing they dislike into one or other of these hated evils, whose reforms, if carried out, would level all institutions in a common ruin. The past and present are with them the subjects of unqualified abuse. A futurity of endless change is their element. You warn them of the danger of sweeping and premature innovation; of the necessary inferiority, in all that ought to constitute the citizen and ruler, of that uneducated class, to whose worst passions they are appealing; of the immoral and destructive tendencies of many of their favorite and most popular doctrines; of the difficulty even now, the impossibility ere long, of arresting the career into which they are urging the community. What is all this to them, or to those on whom they act? The past abuses of aristocracy, the march of the human mind, the supreme and infallible decisions of the public will, — these are their watch words, irrelevant to be sure, but not therefore the less effectual for their objects. We are not stating here what has merely happened once, nor even what is now occasionally occurring. We speak of the prevailing feature of almost all our moral and political controversies; of the utter want of any commonly admitted principles of action, or tests of truth. Is this as it should be? Ought not they, to whom these questions are committed, and by whose voice the settlement of them is for the time determined, to be aware that the terms "legal" and "moral," "popular" and "right," do not always mean the same; that the enactments of human law, and the decisions of popular caprice, are often at variance with the dictates of that moral law, of which, so far as they go, they ought to be the exact transcript; and that in all such cases, it becomes the faithful citizen to labor, by all right means, for their correction? Let all such proposed changes, whether of law or of opinion, be canvassed as minutely as their enemies can desire, but let their ordeal be a fair one. Let not those who

contend on either side, be arguing on wholly different grounds from one another, and before umpires who cannot set either of them right. That this is so much the state of things at present, reflects no credit on the modes which have been adopted for the education of our people.

Nor is the effect of this system better on our religious controversies. The infidel raises a laugh at the priest-ridden follies of former days, and calls on men to reject forever the religious systems, which have been in all ages so fruitful of them. It is in vain that the use of revelation is contrasted with its abuse; the moral purity of Christianity itself, with the impure glosses and corruptions that have at times disfigured it. The scoffer is a sceptic about all this. He has not been brought up to draw such distinctions, and it is no wonder that his moral vision is too imperfect to perceive them clearly. The proof of the being and attributes of a God, offered by the noblest of his creations, the mind of man, and its adaptations to his other works, is too seldom and too slightly urged, for him to give it much attention. The whole subject, indeed, is an obscure one. Is not the mind, with all its powers, the result of accident? Have not even philosophers so considered it? Has it really any constitution, properly so called, and if it has, what are its elements? If there be indeed, as some think, a natural power of the understanding, whose office is to force on our minds the necessary connexion of effects with causes, and by enabling us to trace it in all things, to bear witness to that great *first* cause, to whose action all around and within us is to be ascribed, he has yet to learn its existence. If there be in the heart of man naturally implanted dispositions, leading him to do involuntary homage to whatever is above himself, to place unhesitating faith, nay, sometimes to take pleasure in truths which are yet incomprehensible to him, to "hope even against hope" for future happiness, these evidences of his inherent fitness for religious life, are still unregarded by him. If, again, in the natural instincts of humanity to "do justly and love mercy," there is to be found an evidence of the justice and goodness of Him who made man in his own image, these instincts are not acknowledged by him. The divine enlarges on the internal evidences of this revelation, its harmony with human nature, its adaptation to human wants; — to what purpose? The grounds of his reasoning are not recognised. Human nature and human wants are, with most minds, literally

unknown quantities, and cannot be made an available standard. Perhaps, indeed, by some of his shrewder opponents, he may be reminded of the position assumed in regard to this argument by certain even of his own class, and the ex-cathedrâ declaration of Dr. Wardlaw, that all systematic inquiries into human nature, have led more or less to anti-scriptural results, may be cited against him, as an evidence of the unreasonableness of his creed, or else of the utter emptiness of his argument in its favor.

And the people, in the meantime, whose judgment in this question is of so much moment, how stands the case with them? Are they better fitted than the disputants to follow out these trains of thought, and in so doing, to avoid those sources of error which have thus misled the disputants themselves? We know that most men never give a serious thought to such considerations at all. And yet to a mind that has ever reflected on them, they present by far the strongest and most unanswerable evidence of religious truth. The historical argument is a long one, and makes some demands on an unlearned man's *belief*, (and in the sense in which we here use the term, most men are unlearned,) in the *statements* of him who presents it. Every link of the chain has to be examined separately, and an impudent antagonist may easily, by a few well chosen assertions, make the uninstructed quite incredulous as to its whole fabric. This, on the other hand, is an argument that comes home to every man who has but the preliminary knowledge of his own nature. There is no gainsaying its conclusions. "He that runs may read it." And can we hope, knowing as we do, how much more powerful with the many a sneer is than *any* sober argument, that the defender of natural or revealed religion can succeed against the sneer of the sceptic, while he is himself unable to use with their full power, and his opponents and his hearers are alike unable to appreciate, his most convincing class of arguments? We do not wonder at the rapid growth, — we will not say, of avowed atheism, because that form of infidelity is not just now prescribed by fashion, but we do say, — of a practical and indefinite scepticism, a disposition neither to believe nor to deny any point in morals or in religion, — a disposition which, if unchecked, may lead to almost worse effects, than the noisiest and most open infidelity.

The limits of a review do not allow us to trace the results

of this all-pervading defect in our system of instruction, as they affect the controversies which are carrying on between the various sects into which the Christian world is divided, and to show how much their number, as well as their acrimony, is to be traced to this as a cause. We must pass on to a remark or two on the nature of the remedy for the evil.

On this head, our views are soon stated. The cause of the evil must be done away. Our course of education, so far as it tends to produce it, must be altered. Whatever be the defect in the early training of the young, or in the later operations of society and its institutions on the adult, it must be supplied. In seeking to ascertain this defect, we must look below the surface. It not enough that we redouble our exertions to teach well and universally, what is already taught. Men may read and write, may even be profound in their acquaintance with the whole circle of the sciences, as fashionably taught, may be sound lawyers, dexterous as politicians, learned in theology; and yet when weighed in the balances, may be found wanting as men and citizens, in the highest and most essential features of the character. The root of the evil is not, that the public in general, nor that our various classes of innovators and anti-innovators, moral, political, or religious, know too much or too little, talk too loudly or too slightingly of the law, or of public sentiment; nor yet that they are too well or too ill informed on general topics, or on the technicalities of religion. It lies deeper. It is that they know too little of themselves; that they are not enough versed in the great principles which are at the foundation of all these controversies; that they have not that which alone can serve them as their compass or pole-star, in the otherwise bewildering inquiry after truth. This knowledge we must give them, not indeed in the place of any other of the branches of what we rightly designate as "useful knowledge," but in addition to them all. They must learn the laws of the external world, so far as those laws can be ascertained, whether they relate to the abstract properties of space and number, which form the subject of demonstrative science, or to the simply observed phenomena of inorganic, vegetable or animal existence; but they must not be left in ignorance, — no, not even in *comparative* ignorance, — of the laws of nature, as they act upon the highest of those existences to which our powers of direct observation reach, as they are manifested in

the phenomena of the human mind. They must be made acquainted with this subject, not superficially, not as a matter of curious and interesting speculation merely, but as the great end and aim of all their previous studies, as the great business, we had almost said, of their life. Other knowledge they must be taught to regard as useful, highly useful; but useful mainly, inasmuch as it may be made to minister to this. To construct rail-roads, to facilitate the intercourse of nations, to render the most fearful of the powers of nature ministers to our will and contributors to our power; all this is well, is to be desired, and to be attained. But there is a higher object yet for our exertions, one which will yield us a far richer and more enduring reward, without which indeed all our other attainments will have rendered but half their blessings; and this is the bringing of *ourselves* into that condition, individual and social, for which our nature is designed, the effecting, in the world within us, changes as striking, as miraculous, we might almost say, as those which our discoveries in physical science have enabled us to bring to pass in the world without. We do not call in question the indirect influence which the spread of general information exerts towards this result, nor yet the more direct agency which the government of law, the restraint of private by public will, and the existing institutions of religion, have in producing it. But we want something more than this. We are not contented with anything short of *direct* knowledge in regard to any other branch of science. The farmer does not trust to a mere geologist the management of his crops, nor yet does he expect simply by his own practical knowledge of soils and their vegetable productions, to make himself a successful rearer of cattle. Yet geology is found to contribute to the improvement of the soil, and therefore of the harvest; a knowledge of husbandry in general, is a help to the improver of cattle. So too with man. Every kind of knowledge will do something for him; but it is the *direct* knowledge of himself that will do most. It is on this, that he must base his laws, by this, that he must form and estimate public opinion, by this that he must in no slight degree test his interpretations of that revelation, whose provisions are all suited and addressed to himself. When he has done this, the great problem of human improvement will be solved.

But we shall be perhaps reminded that in our colleges this study has been long prescribed, and asked why these grand

results of which we speak have not already ensued from it, if indeed it possess the high rank we award it. To this we answer, not by a denial of what any man may quote our college catalogues to prove, but by a brief comparison of what they state to be done in this matter, with what a true estimate of its importance, and a practical man's calculation of what is needed to render it efficient, would require. What then is the testimony of these witnessess? Some months, no doubt, are given, more or less completely to mental and moral philosophy. But the time is much shorter than that devoted to the classical or mathematical departments, nay, often less than is allowed to the modern languages and the natural sciences. And it should be borne in mind, in making this comparison, that while both the ancient languages and the elements of mathematical and natural science are made the business of our preparatory schools; and while, with the exception of the classics, all the other branches we have named are regarded with favor, and very commonly pursued as studies after the college course is ended; there is no preparation made for the studies connected with the human mind before the student enters on them with his class, and scarcely ever the idea presented to him of continuing them for himself, when his daily recitations cease. Nor must we forget, that the atmosphere of college is not a little affected by that which prevails out of doors, and that our students mostly enter on this portion of their course with pretty unfavorable impressions as to its utility, impressions which the common regulations of the course itself are little likely to remove. In general, the undergraduate finds his text-books on the two subjects almost wholly unconnected with one another. A philosophy of the Mind is presented to him, which makes but very poor provision for any practical Moral applications, and a philosophy of Morals, which has as slender a foundation in any acknowledged theory of Mind. Logic and Rhetoric also are in the same predicament; neither the rules which profess to guide the mind in the search for truth, nor those which prescribe for the modes of its communication, being provided for by his mental science, or referring ever so remotely to it. Nor after he has left college, does the tenor either of professional and literary, or of more active life, tend to correct this idea. Law, medicine, divinity, criticism, are all pursued and carried on independently, or very nearly so, of the philosophy he has learnt. The du-

ties of the man of business, of the teacher, of the citizen, are commonly performed without a reference to it. If we take into view all these facts, and they all bear on the question whether the human mind is studied as it should be, even in the course of what we call "a liberal education," we think there can be no doubt of its being at once decided in the negative. That under all these disadvantages, this study should nevertheless for the time force itself on the attention of our students so considerably as it does, and should be so highly estimated as it is by the few who continue to it that attention, is no slight evidence of what it might and would effect, were the influences which now act unfavorably upon its usefulness, displaced by others of an opposite character. This change, however, it is not in the power of our colleges alone to make. It must be favored from without. The public mind must awake to its importance, and instead of forcing on our colleges the hard though honorable duty, of risking unpopularity, by continuing to mental science the sanction they still extend to it, must call upon them to add to the weight of that sanction, by raising the study of human nature to its proper place in the scheme of education.

And why, we may be allowed to ask, before passing from this topic, why is this branch of education to be confined to the collegiate course? Have not other classes, besides our literary and professional men, a deep interest in its being taught to their members? All men have to deal with the human mind, to act upon it, and with it. All men alike have powers of their own to cultivate, and propensities of their own to subdue; all have a circle round them of associates or dependents, on whose minds they ought to exert some influence for good; all help to form the mind and mould the character of the young, to give a bias to the laws and institutions of their country. Ought not *all* then to be made partakers of that knowledge, by whose light only these high duties can be rightly discharged. "The proper study of *mankind*, is man." Then only, when every member of the community has pursued this study, will our obligation to extend it cease.

In thus presenting to those who desire the success of the great efforts at popular improvement, which are now making, the claims of the Philosophy of Human Nature to be considered one of the most essential departments in the education of every class of men, we do not at all enter the lists as the es-

pecial champion of any one of the many more or less clashing theories, which have been broached in regard to it. We take a higher ground. A knowledge of the true analysis of the human mind *must be* of the utmost utility to every human being. All truth is valuable ; this, most of all. Are we told that this or that system of mental philosophy is not really found thus useful? Our reply is, not indeed that it is therefore wholly false, but that it is not "the whole truth." There may be in it, the chances are that there is in every such system which man has ever built on any number of observations, however small, something that is true, and therefore useful; though, from defect in its foundation, that something may be but little. Our argument is not set aside, even by the assertion that no one of all the theories yet known can be turned to the uses we have assigned to the true theory of man. Such an assertion, could it be supported, would lead only to the conclusion that, as a whole, the true philosophy of man is yet in expectation. When discovered, we may be very sure that it will more than verify all the prophecies of the most sanguine of its eulogists. The way to bring about such a discovery, supposing it for the moment not yet made, is not to give ourselves no concern on the subject, and to direct our whole attention to other subjects about which we happen to be better informed, as if this were of no consequence. We must look upon it as therefore only of the greater moment, direct the public mind to it, point it out to the attention of the young, and set them also on the track towards discovering it. By this course we may reasonably hope to find it.

But, though this is not the place to enter on an examination of the various theories of the mind, or to state our preference of any one over the others, we cannot avoid expressing our belief that this process of discovery has not now for the first time to be undertaken. True, there are many theories, each supported by *some* facts and countenanced by some authorities, while truth, on whatever topic, is and must be single. A number of clashing systems cannot all be wholly true ; but each may contain some truth, and some may present a large preponderance of truth over error. The course of the philosopher will not be to reject them all, but to select from each, to widen in this way his induction of facts, and, as a result, to produce a system which may be wholly true, and which may therefore

bear him out in his applications of it to every one of those objects, which the true philosophy of man is to affect.

There is, on this point, not a little popular error. We are too apt to require originality, as we call it, in a work on the mind; as if the use of new and unheard of names, the statement of startling paradoxes, the display of fine writing, and of a train of thought too recondite for any of the uninitiated to follow it, were any thing more than an evidence of the still unsettled state of the whole subject. Our mental philosophers must not seek for any such originality, if they mean in earnest to be seekers after truth. The analysis of the mental operations does not require a formidable array of new and unintelligible names, nor will it lead us to any unintelligible or contradictory results. There is no reason why it should not be brought to the level of every man of ordinary capacity. Perhaps, when it is so presented, such men will wonder at the ease with which they recognise alike its meaning and its truth. The course of many of our philosophers will no doubt have to be materially changed before this effect takes place, but the result itself is not therefore the less certain. We have the analogy which the history of the natural sciences presents, in our favor. There is no reason why a theory of the mind should not be constructed, that shall be, to use the words of the Father of the Inductive Philosophy, "not vague and obscure, but luminous and well-defined, such as nature herself would not refuse to acknowledge." Let but our philosophers, while they analyse the operations of their own minds with all the minuteness, of which the case can be made to admit, correct their inferences, as drawn from this source alone, so far as may be necessary, by the observation of other minds. Let them reject from their consideration no theory that refers to facts in its support, however foreign it may appear at first sight from their own ideas; let them take into view all facts which they can collect directly or indirectly bearing on their subject, whether immediately relating to the brute creation or to man, to the bodily organization or to the mind, to men of this or that rank, age, or nation; let them discard that "science falsely so called," which seeks to solve questions to which the human mind is unequal, to explain the mysteries of Fatalism or Materialism; in a word, let them but deal with facts in their department, as other men already do in every other branch of science, and the work is done. The

materials are most of them ready to their hands, and very many of them indeed are already rightly sorted. Mental Philosophy will, of course, long admit of and require additions, just as is the case with the natural sciences. But that is no reason why we should not at once have it made a real and useful science, and admitted as such into our schemes of education.

So much then for the general importance and character which we assign to the study of the mind, and to those ethical and other studies which we consider dependent upon it. We proceed to what is more strictly the *object* of our present remarks, the nature of that dependence itself, especially as it relates to what is called by way of distinction, Moral Philosophy proper. The length to which this preliminary matter has been extended must be excused, as almost necessary, in the present disposition of the public mind, to the fair consideration of the question itself.

When an engineer, to borrow from an illustration now pretty often used, proposes to run a line of rail-road through a district, there are three distinct processes of inquiry through which in succession he has to pass, before he is prepared to enter on his actual operations. He has first to learn the physical properties of the country, its hills, valleys and rivers, the character of its geology, every fact, in short, connected with his undertaking, as well as the abstract results of his mathematical studies, as the accidental circumstances to which they are to be applied in the case before him. He must then, with this knowledge present to his mind, distinguish the favorable from the unfavorable circumstances, and determine the line which, all things considered, is the best; in other words, he must form and mature the plan, or model of his work. His third and last inquiry, relates to the means he is to use for its execution. If his plan be drawn before either his scientific knowledge or his surveys are complete, or if his contracts be made and his workmen employed, before both survey and plan are finished, his procedure will be so far wrong.

The case is much the same with the improver of his fellowmen. He seeks to effect a change for the better in the intellectual and moral character of man, as the engineer does in the physical features of a district; and for this purpose, he must resort to the same succession of measures. The various manifestations of the human mind as at present developed, every

fact which can be made to illustrate and explain them, must be his first object of inquiry. From this he must proceed to the selection of that class of manifestations, which are to be regarded as desirable, and then, and not till then, is he in a condition to make his third inquiry, and to seek for the means by which to render them predominant. This is the natural order of his studies. The material he is to work upon, the model by which he is to work, and the instruments he is to use, must be successively ascertained. His material must determine his model, his material and model together, his instruments.

This distinction seems to us to pave the way for a convenient three-fold division of the various sciences which have man directly or indirectly for their subject, and at the same time to suggest the relation which should subsist between them. If, in pursuing this division, we trace Mental Philosophy to one, and Moral Philosophy to another of these classes, we shall at once see how far either can be fairly said to depend on the other.

The division, then, which we propose to make, and which, though often not very distinctly kept before the mind by writers on these different sciences, is yet far from new, is simply this. Those branches of the philosophy of human nature, whose object is to give us a knowledge of its actual phenomena, to answer the question, "*What is?*" in regard to it, we call, as they have been commonly called, "*physical sciences.*"* Those whose object is to lead us to the design of

* Some ambiguity has resulted from the common restriction of the term "*physical science*," in popular language, to a class of sciences not having man for their subject, geography, natural philosophy, chemistry, &c., for example. This restriction is however improper. That class of the sciences relating to man, to which we have here extended the term, treats as directly of existing nature, and is therefore as correctly called "physical science," as that class, to which the name is sometimes exclusively applied. All who have ever attempted to deal in definition on these subjects, have had occasion to echo the complaint of Sir J. Mackintosh, on the inadequacy of their language to furnish them with unexceptionable words for the purpose. "The philosopher alone," says that author, "is doomed to use the rudest tools for the most refined purposes. He must reason in words, of which the looseness and inadequacy are suitable,and even agreeable, in the usual intercourse of life, but which are almost as remote from the extreme exactness and precision required, not only in the conveyance, but in the search of truth, as the hammer and the axe would be unfit for the finest exertions of skilful handiwork ; for it is not to be forgotten, that he must, himself, think in these gross words, as unavoidably as he uses them in speaking to others. — He might be more justly compared to an arithmetician,

human nature, to answer the question, "*What ought to be?*" in regard to it, have been commonly called "*the moral sciences*," though from the necessary confusion between the word "moral" thus used in a wide sense, and the more limited sense of the same word when used to denote "Moral Philosophy" only, some other term would be desirable. We shall here call them "*the speculative sciences*," for this reason, as well as from the impression that the term "speculative," though it may not be precisely what is wanted, yet conveys better than the older word "moral," their distinctive characteristic. The third class, those whose object is to ascertain the means of bringing into existence that state of things which the second class reveals, to resolve the question, "*how that which is, shall be made what it ought to be*," may be styled, as they always have been, "*the practical sciences*." The division thus proposed, appears to us, so far as its principle is concerned, an exhausting one. There is no kind of real knowledge on the subject of man, which is not referable to one or another of the classes which it recognises. To those ulterior inquiries as to the "*how*" or the "*why*" nature is created as it is, which have so often, to no purpose, perplexed our philosophers, we do not believe the powers of the human mind to be adapted. The attempt to explain, for example, the mode in which organization acts in producing the various forms of vegetable and animal life, or the compatibility of the laws of causation with human freedom and responsibility, has never led, and in the nature of things can never lead to any useful end, to any science, properly so called. Existing objects and phenomena, with their several qualities and relations, form the whole basis of true knowledge. When we have learned, on whatever subject, the existing results of the ordinations of nature, as actually apparent, when we have drawn the line between those that conduce directly to our well-being, and those which do not, and have ascertained the mode of reaping the advantages of the one set without incurring the disadvantages of the other, we have learned all that the Creator designed us, in our present state, to know.

To the first class then, as thus stated, all inquiries into the

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compelled to employ numerals, not only cumbrous, but used so irregularly to denote different quantities, that they not only often deceive others, but himself." — *View of the Progress of Ethical Philosophy*, p. 1.

actual condition of mankind, bodily and mental, are to be assigned. Anatomy, which proposes to ascertain the several parts of the body, and their varying appearances in different individuals, and physiology, which investigates the phenomena of life as they are connected with them, are branches of the physical science which treats of the human body. Mental philosophy is the physical science of the mind. Its object is to collect all facts which bear on mental existence, to learn the modes of thought and feeling of which the mind is capable, the original faculties with which it is endowed, with their various manifestations for good or evil, the principles which determine their action on one another, on the body, and on the external world, and those which regulate the influences of bodily organization and external circumstances, in general, on them.

The sciences which constitute the second class, still keeping in view the division we have laid down, follow on these respectively. Of the phenomena, with which the observation of the human body makes us acquainted, some conduce to the happiness, some to the misery, of man. The bones, which serve in most cases as firm and solid supports, are not unfrequently soft and useless; commonly suited in their proportions to the movements which they are to assist, and destitute of sensation, they are frequently disproportioned, and sometimes the seat of excruciating pain. The digestive apparatus in many cases fails to supply nourishment to the rest of the system, and becomes a serious inconvenience to its owner. The nervous system has its derangements. In a word, every organ of the body is by turns a source of pain as well as of pleasure. Is this a necessary result of its constitution, or is there not to be drawn a distinction between healthy and diseased action, between the designed and desirable condition of the system, and that in which, from some cause or other, it is often found? If so, what is this normal state of all these organs, now so variously affected? The answers to these questions constitute that branch of the science of the human body, which is speculative in its character, and for which we have as yet no English name in common use, unless the term "Hygiene" be so appropriated.

Similar contradictions are to be observed in the manifestations of the mental powers, when studied as we have shown the mental philosopher ought to study them. Man has been truly

called an enigma. In one man we see the powers of the understanding equal to almost any amount of observation and reflection, discovering truth and detecting error as if by intuition, while in another we find them hardly capable of exertion at all. Here we are struck by the perfect taste displayed in the conceptions of the poet or artist, there by the perfect incapacity of the multitude to do them justice; here by the display of enlarged benevolence, strict integrity, and enlightened devotion, there by the indulgence of absorbing selfishness and revolting irreverence. The powers of the mind, like the organs of the body, produce mingled good and evil. Was this the object of their creation? Was it designed, that what is believed by one man, should be either not understood or not believed by another, that what is beautiful in this man's eyes should seem devoid of beauty or perhaps deformed to his neighbor, that what we look upon as our duty to God or man should not be so regarded by those around us? Or are we to suppose that these opposite results are traceable to any general rules of the Creator's government, one class of them springing from their being rightly observed, and the other from their being more or less infringed upon? If so, what are these laws, and what would be the results of perfect obedience to them? What are the proper sources of human belief, the rules by which we should distinguish truth from error? What are the true principles by which man should be guided in his admiration of the beautiful? And what, again, should be the general state of his dispositions towards his Maker, and towards his fellow-creatures? The pursuit of these investigations leads us to the speculative sciences which relate to the constitution of the human mind. When we are seeking to learn the proper field of operation designed for the Intellectual Faculties, individually and collectively, that is to say, when we are engaged in the inquiry for the principles which should direct us in the formation of belief, we have entered on one of them. We may here give it the name of Logic, premising, however, that the sense in which we use the word, is much wider than is really allowed to it in our text-books, which profess indeed generally to explain the principles of reasoning, but mostly confine their attention to what is in fact but a trifling fraction of the whole field belonging to their science, — the theory and practice of the Syllogism. The philosophy of Taste is another of these sciences, having for its object the dis-

covery of the laws, by which both the understanding and feelings should be guided in their estimate and admiration of the beautiful and poetic, whether in art or nature. Moral philosophy is that other science falling into the same class, which treats of the balance that should subsist between the several powers of our intellectual and affective nature, in order to the right discharge of our duties to those beings, whatever their relations to ourselves, to whom our states of mind or our outward actions, may have any reference. Setting out with the admission of the existence of conflicting tendencies to action in the human mind, and of the vast variety of views in regard to duty, existing among men, it aims at showing the relations which these several tendencies should bear to each other in the mental economy, at deciding which of these various views should be adopted as correct. These sciences which we have named, may not perhaps be all that could be referred to this class. We do not here attempt to give a full catalogue of them. Any such attempt would belong to a work on the subject, rather than to an incidental notice. Our object is to show the position we conceive Moral Philosophy to occupy; not to offer a classification in some respects new, of other sciences. Logic, or as we might with our definition term it, the philosophy of belief, and the philosophy of taste, we have here referred to, rather in illustration of our views in regard to the philosophy of morals, than with any other design.

The third or "practical" division of the sciences which relate to human nature, is, we need hardly say, synonymous with the science of Education, taken in its widest sense; the examination of all the means which can be employed, to render man, in every respect, both in his bodily and in his mental constitution, what, from our previous inquiries, we conceive he ought to be. These means, of course, are various; some acting solely on the organs of the body, others designed to affect the mind in one way or another. Education, in this view of it, is a vastly different affair from a mere theory of school-keeping. Every influence, the slightest as well as the most powerful, which, from the cradle to the grave, in the nursery, the school-room, the college, or in after-life, may be exerted, no matter by what agent, on the bodily or mental condition, falls under its investigation. It aims not merely, as some would seem to think, at devising the best methods of communicating

information, or of preserving discipline in a school, but at showing how we may produce the perfect and harmonious developement of all the powers of the body and of the mind; how we may put an end alike to the diseases which shorten and embitter life, and to the errors of judgment and of heart which endanger the well-being of the individual and of the community.

If these remarks on the respective provinces of mental science, the theory of morals, and the philosophy of mental education, and on the relations consequently subsisting between them, be not wholly erroneous, the estimate we have made of the former sciences, as branches of useful study, is fully borne out by them. He only, as we all admit, can hope to succeed in the training of the body, who has become master of the sciences which teach the structure, functions, and design, of its several parts. He only can be considered perfectly, that is, properly qualified to discharge his duties as a practical educator of the minds of his fellow-men, (and *all* men *must* discharge them, well or ill, from the very fact of their being members of society) who has become acquainted with the powers of the mind and with the means by which they may all be made conducive to the general good. Is it not time that more should be done to give men generally this knowledge?

We are aware that by some this statement of the province of Moral Philosophy may seem to be unnecessarily refined upon. What is moral science, they may ask, but the science which teaches us what we ought, and what we ought not to do? If by the word "do," be here meant all that is really comprehended in the idea of a "*moral* action," we are ready to adopt the definition; but if the word be used, as it most commonly is used, in its popular sense of "doing" as distinct from "thinking," or "intending," we cannot assent to it. Christ's epitome of the moral law refers to motives wholly. *Love* to God and man, is its precept; not mere prayer, or alms-giving. Even the older and less comprehensive epitome, given in the decalogue, has the same reference to the disposition. "*Honor* thy father and thy mother," and "thou shalt *not covet*," are among its injunctions. Virtue is not, as Dr. Paley defined it, simply "the *doing* good to mankind." A man may be highly virtuous, and yet not succeed in really doing good in any proportion to his virtue; or again, he may

happen to be the greatest benefactor to his race, and yet not at all merit, from that fact, the character of a virtuous man. Expedient and inexpedient are the terms we should apply to actions, viewed separately from their motives; virtue and vice are qualities predicable only of the motives themselves. In common language, to be sure, we speak of virtuous "actions;" but in all such cases, our idea of the action so designated, if rightly formed, includes within it the intention of the act, as fully as the act itself. In this view of the case, Paley's definition is doubly in error. "Virtue," says he, "is the doing good to mankind, in obedience to the will of God, and for the sake of everlasting happiness." On this principle, the benevolent designs of Howard, would be declared devoid of the quality of virtue, if either they had failed to *do good*, or had been prompted by sincere regard to the well-being of his fellow-men, rather than by a sense of any divine command to this effect, or if he had been even disinterestedly obedient to the divine will, and had acted without reference to the reward offered for obedience. Our limits do not allow us here to enter on the discussion of what we deem the true theory of virtue. In general, we look upon the views of Dr. Wayland on this head, as greatly in advance, both in regard to their correctness and to their comprehensiveness, of those expressed by his predecessor, to which we have adverted. They are so, in our view, from the fact, that he has based them so much more directly and completely on the leading principles of the true philosophy of the mind.

While on this topic, we may be allowed, without being disposed to censure what we regard as an extremely valuable accession to the library of the moral philosopher, to express our regret that, in one or two instances, Dr. Wayland should have omitted to perceive, how much a little further reference to the same source would have improved his arguments, and added to the clearness of his distinctions. For example, after stating his faith in "*a distinct and separate faculty* to make us acquainted with the existence of the distinct and separate quality" of moral rectitude, he goes on with the following remark:

"But after all, this question is, to the moral philosopher, of but comparatively little importance. All that is necessary to his investigations, is, that it be admitted, that there is such a quality,

and that men are so constituted as to perceive it, and to be susceptible of certain affections in consequence of that perception. Whether these facts are accounted for, on the supposition of the existence of a single faculty, or of a combination of faculties, will not affect the question of moral obligation. All that is necessary to the prosecution of the science is, that it be admitted that there is such a quality in actions, and that man is endowed with a constitution capable of bringing him into relation to it." — p. 34.

Now while, in regard to this subject, we admit with Dr. Wayland, that a knowledge of this ultimate fact in the natural history of man, his actual ability to take cognizance of the distinction between right and wrong, is all that is "*necessary* to the prosecution of the science" of morals, we cannot, with him, regard the question as to the existence of one or more faculties to enable him to arrive at this result, as one by any means of "comparatively little importance." To the formation of any clear view of the proper balance of the different powers of the mind with reference to the idea of right and wrong, (and this, as we have said, we regard as the true aim of moral science,) it is of the utmost consequence that we have a clear conception of *what those powers really are* in their original constitution, which are concerned, directly or not, in the production of that idea. Nay, further, to the *satisfactory proof* of those fundamental doctrines of moral science, the real existence of any naturally implanted power of thought or sentiment having that special object, and the consequent authority of such power in the mind, it is almost, indeed we should be inclined to say, absolutely necessary, that by the researches pursued in the physical department of the science of mind, the power or powers themselves should be distinctly set forth and analysed, and their unity or plurality, their similarity or diversity of function, clearly shown. Thus, to explain our meaning, the doctrine of the "moral sense," as it is called, is objected to on the score of the non-universality of the feeling which it supposes to be an essential attribute of humanity. It is for the mental philosopher to show, that universality is not requisite to the establishment of its existence among the natural instincts of the heart, any more than the universality of sight among men, is necessary to the proof that man was created with such a sense, or that of the faculties which discern the musical relations of sound, or lead us to abstract reasoning, to prove the natural power of

man in the abstract to judge of music, or trace the connexion of cause and effect. The very existence of the words "right" and "wrong," establishes the natural existence of some power or powers of mind which have relation to them, just as that of the words "light" and "darkness," "harmony" and "discord," "cause" and "effect," proves that man was naturally made to see, to discriminate between sounds, and to pursue abstract reasoning. But again, it is objected, that men's judgments in the premises differ, that duty with one man is not the same as duty with another. Here, too, the moralist must refer to the results to which the physical science of the mind will lead him. May not what he calls "the moral sense," be a result of the action of several powers, differing in their separate functions, — of a feeling which simply prompts men to desire justice and to admit the obligation of duty, and of intellectual powers which discern, or seek to discern, those qualities of actions in which their propriety or impropriety consists? Nay, more, may not this combined result of impulse and reflection, be further modified by other natural impulses of the mind, more or less in particular cases at war with the direct influence of the moral feeling? If so, he may admit, to the fullest extent of the objector's wishes, that the strength of men's moral feelings, and the clearness of their moral perceptions, and the violence and peculiar character of their antagonist dispositions, vary greatly; that some men have hardly any conscience in their dealings, that others are sadly mistaken in their views of right; and yet he may insist and prove, that nature no more necessitated or designed these aberrations, than she did the want of sight or understanding in the blind or idiotic.

For the sake of the greater clearness and conviction with which we conceive Dr. Wayland could have invested his arguments by such a course, we regret that he has not added to the value of his inquiry as to the existence of a moral sense, by entering more minutely into the analysis of its constituent elements. No degree of acquaintance with this analysis of any class of mental phenomena, can be too minute for the guidance of the constructor of a sound and comprehensive theory of Morals. Dr. Wayland has done very much that demands our thanks in this respect. He is himself the man who is capable of doing still more.

But we must not forget, that against the whole of this pro-

cedure Dr. Wardlaw's decided and labored protest is entered, and that our defence of it is not established, unless we can show the ground of that protest to be untenable. The position assumed by him, the truth and authority of Scripture, is one which we are as little disposed to question, as he can be himself. To the application which he makes of it in the case before us, we cannot by any means assent. We have already, at the outset of our remarks, given it in his own language. We shall now, as briefly as we can, consider its force, as an argument against the philosophical study of human nature, which we have recommended.

Before doing this, we may be allowed to repeat the expression of our belief in and reverence for Scripture, as a communication of truth, moral as well as religious. We are willing to echo all the forms of expression, (and they are many and varied) in which our author has in different portions of his work, repeated the declaration of his own faith on this head. We believe it to contain "*the only philosophy*," we believe it to communicate "the wisdom of 'the only wise,'" we desire not to see it "make its obeisance to the chair of human science." On the contrary, we will quote, and with full approval, when it is accompanied by such a course of investigation as our other author has fearlessly pursued, the sentiment expressed by Dr. Wayland in his preface.

"Entertaining those views of the sacred Scriptures, which I have expressed in the work itself, it is scarcely necessary to add here, that I consider them the great source of moral truth; and that a system of ethics will be true just in proportion as it developes their meaning."

Still, while making these concessions, and we make them not at all in that spirit of "verbal courtesy," which Dr. Wardlaw attributes to those who differ from his conclusions, we have something to urge against his mode of applying them to the case in question. Instead of resting satisfied, that truth as drawn from the careful study of the works of God, can only harmonize with that which is by a like process elicited from his word, and thereupon setting himself in good faith, as Dr. Wayland and others have done and as we would have all men do, to develope the analogies which must subsist between the results of these two processes, Dr. Wardlaw prefers to assume, that all who study the works of the Creator, and seek by that means to learn the laws of his natural government,

unless they are willing, in so many words, to bind themselves to depart in no iota from the ideas of other men, as deduced from the *mere* study of the expressions used in the written law, are seeking to exalt "the dictates of their own sagacity," above the authority of the written law itself. We are tempted to ask whether our author really regards the discoveries of Newton and his disciples, made by the observation of nature in her other departments, as simply dictates of *their* sagacity, or whether he is not willing to allow the now established principles of astronomy, to be the result originally of divine and not of human skill. And if Newton, by the study of the heavenly bodies was enabled to declare "the wisdom of God" in their construction and arrangement, why may not another meet with like success, by taking the same course in regard to another subject? The "science falsely so called," whose summary rejection by an apostle is insisted on by Dr. Wardlaw, and held up as an example for the christian world to follow, had, indeed, no higher authority than that of human sagacity. It was the "wisdom" in which the Greeks of his day delighted, for which they looked in vain in the simple and pure morality of the Gospel; and which is not to be found any more in the book of nature by the philosopher, than it is to be traced in the writings of the apostle by the critic. That the student of nature should also be a student of revelation, is true enough; and it is equally true, that the student of revelation ought to be likewise an inquirer into nature. When the cardinals of the Catholic church declared the doctrine of Galileo in regard to the solar system to be "absurd, philosophically false, and formally heretical, because it is expressly contrary to the holy scripture," they proved the insufficiency of the mere study of revelation to make men philosophically acquainted with the external universe. Perhaps some of Dr. Wardlaw's sweeping charges against all moral science, may go far to prove a like insufficiency of the same means to ensure any philosophical view of the world of mind.

Granted, that scripture treats far more directly of mind and its phenomena, than it does of the material world; granted, that whatever it states on these subjects is, and ever will be, absolutely authoritative:—does it therefore follow, either that it is designed to give us a full and complete account of all that man can profitably know in regard to them, or that, even as far as it goes, it presents to us the facts which it makes known,

in the most systematic form, and in the most philosophical language? The truth is, that scripture throughout uses the terms in common use at the periods when its several portions were composed, as well in its statement of facts bearing on the mind, as of those which relate to matter. It was no more its design to unfold the philosophy of man in all its parts, thoroughly, and in precise, defined, and unambiguous terms, than it was to perform the same task for any other branch of science. Its true object was to reveal to man, what he could not, but by revelation, have learnt with any certainty; and not at all to dispense with that necessity, which is laid upon him by the whole constitution of the world he lives in, to improve his state and prospects, bodily and mental, by the use of all his powers of mind in acquiring every kind of knowledge of which they are capable. Suppose that, instead of the simple assertions which we find scripture to make, in popular language, of such detached facts and principles respecting the mind and moral truth in general, as were essential to its great design of making known the will of the Creator, a future world, and other mysterious and undiscoverable truths, it had taken the other course, and had attempted to reveal *all* that man could require to know of himself, and of his duties and interests here, as well as hereafter;—what could it have been at its first appearance but a sealed book to those who were, (as almost all then were, as too many are even now) entirely unprepared by their previous knowledge for any such information? What could it have been, in all ages indeed, but a standing contradiction to the course of divine providence in regard to every other branch of humanly attainable knowledge? We have no sort of doubt that all the incidental statements which it does make, are in full accordance with what the true philosophy of man, as learnt by observation, has to disclose. And this belief is to our mind only a stronger motive to the faithful and independent study of that philosophy. The harmony of Scripture with itself, the truth and fitness of its representations of man, the force and meaning of its moral precepts, cannot be fully seen, until the nature of man and the laws of the universe as they bear upon it, are fully known.

We cannot here enter on any discussion in detail of the arguments by which Dr. Wardlaw has endeavored to defend his main position. Such a discussion would lead us too near

the limits of controversial divinity. As to the correctness or incorrectness of the theological views on which they profess to be founded, or the degree of precision with which Dr. Wardlaw has stated them, it is not our intention to say anything. So far as the arguments themselves are urged against the study of mental and moral science, on the same principles and in the same manner with every other science, it is hardly necessary to say that we consider them to fail entirely of their object.

Of Dr. Wayland's work, if we have not spoken so much at length in this article as its merits might seem to require, it is because its eminently systematic and condensed character, preclude all hope of doing justice to it by any analysis or direct criticism, either of the whole or of any detached portions. We have preferred to vindicate the propriety and importance of the study of which it treats, and to offer some remarks on the proper mode of pursuing it. If, by this course, we can induce our readers to study the work for themselves, we shall have done them a better service, than we could by any extracts or detached criticisms. As a whole, without making ourselves responsible for every one of its conclusions, we may say that we consider it a highly valuable work, and one likely to do not a little in producing the reform in our course of education, of which we have been endeavoring to urge the necessity. We could have wished to find in it a greater amount of illustration, not only for the sake of giving interest to the work, but also as an essential in some cases to its full comprehension by merely casual readers. The author of such a work, it is to be presumed, will be by far the best illustrator of his own views, and he should not therefore leave the task, in any considerable degree, to others. Future editions, of which we hope there may be many, might be advantageously enlarged in this respect.

Since the appearance of the second edition of the work which we have been noticing, Dr. Wayland has published an abridgement of it for the use of schools. Of this step we can hardly speak too highly. It is, as we have already stated, more than time that the study of Moral Philosophy should be introduced into all our institutions of education. We are happy to see the way so auspiciously opened for such an introduction. In its general style and illustrations the smaller work appears to us to have been the result of more labor on

the part of the author, than the larger work itself. Indeed, as he himself informs us, it has been "not merely *abridged*, but also *re-written*." We cannot but regard the labor as all well bestowed. The difficulty of so choosing our words and examples as to make them intelligible and interesting to the child, is very great. The success with which Dr. Wayland appears to have overcome it, is in the highest degree gratifying. We have no doubt that its circulation and utility will far more than repay its author for the pains he has taken with it.

In conclusion, we may be allowed to express the hope, that the science whose claims we have been considering, may not long continue to labor under the comparative neglect, of which it has been our present task to complain, and that, whenever we may again approach the subject, it may be to express ourselves less in the language of complaint, than our sense of what was required by truth, has compelled us in this instance to adopt.

ART. III. — *The Alcestis of Euripides, with Notes.*

1. *The Alcestis of Euripides, with Notes, for the use of Colleges in the United States.* By T. D. WOOLSEY, Professor of Greek in Yale College. Cambridge. J. Munroe & Co. 1834. 12mo. pp. 124.
2. *The Antigone of Sophocles, with Notes, for the use of Colleges in the United States.* By T. D. WOOLSEY, Professor of Greek in Yale College. Cambridge. J. Munroe & Co. 1835. 12mo. pp. 124.

A FEW years ago, the Greek classical studies of our schools and colleges were mostly confined to books of extracts. If we were to judge of the progress of taste, by a comparison of the works mentioned at the head of this article with those to which our courses of public instruction have heretofore been limited, we should be far from thinking that the love of ancient letters is on the decline. It may be true that the present age has but few scholars like the Scaligers, Casaubons, and Bentleys of days departed; but such mighty names are not of frequent occurrence in the literary history of any age. And yet the Hermanns, Boeckhs, Thirsches, to say nothing of living

scholars in England and the United States, will stand a fair comparison, in point of wide and deep learning, with the most celebrated names in the annals of scholarship, while in elegance of taste, and the arts of composition, their superiority is immense and unquestionable.

But as a good education now means a great deal more than a knowledge of Greek and Latin, classical learning is not held in such exclusive estimation, as it has been in times gone by. Hence some people are naturally led to think that the study of ancient letters is fast losing the public regard. This study has gone through a change, it is true, but a change, leading to a broad cultivation of the understanding, and furnishing the means of a just, as well as liberal estimate of the value of the classics. The endless field of modern literature is opened to the student of polite letters; and he is taught that taste and genius were not the exclusive possession of the Greeks and Romans. He is allowed to form his judgment by comparing the master-pieces of antiquity, with the kindred works, which have upon them the freshness and glow of modern thought. Thus he may set Homer by the side of Dante, Tasso, Milton, or the Book of Heroes, and the mental exercise involved in doing so is not only delightful by itself, but the comparison will throw a new light on the wonderful genius of the old bard of Greece. Æschylus and Shakspeare may be read together; and the lover of English poetry will be at least entertained by the beautiful analogies, both in thought and expression, between the two greatest masters of tragic passion. Sophocles and Euripides may be finely illustrated by a parallel course from the dramatic poems of Alfieri, Schiller and Goethe, as well as by the curious contrast of the miscalled classical drama of France. The express imitations of the classics, by the poets of modern Europe, also afford the tasteful reader an agreeable subject of comparison. Milton's Sampson Agonistes has the daring sublimity of the Prometheus Bound. Goethe's Iphigenie auf Tauris has the tenderness of Euripides, with the exquisite finish and just sense of harmonious proportion, which belong to Sophocles. The Agamemnon, Antigone, Orestes and Alcestis of Alfieri bring upon the scene the chief personages of the Attic drama, invested anew with dramatic life. This illustrious poet is not perhaps the best example of the modern classic style. The heroes of his poems breathe a fury too much like the violence of his own head-

strong passions, for the sustained dignity and sculpture-like simplicity of Attic tragedy. Orestes, in particular, is always in a storm, and *will* exclaim, over and over again, "Oh, rabbia," in the very teeth of the usurper, when the fulfilment of his revenge, his own life, and the life of his friend, are suspended on the issue. Ægisthus is a modern villain, though some of his speeches show a spirit of classical propriety worthy the best days of Athens. His soliloquy, on approaching the palace of Agamemnon, is full of terrific sublimity. These and other dramas of Alfieri, on Greek subjects, afford an interesting and instructive commentary, both by their beauties and faults, upon the theatrical literature of Athens. In this way it is easy enough to show, that a wide study of modern literature, which the opinions of the age favor daily more and more, will strengthen rather than weaken a discriminating love of the ancient classics. It will sharpen the judgment, and refine the taste; for both judgment and taste are more the result of many comparisons and of gradual approximation, than is apt to be supposed. The kind of taste for ancient literature thus acquired, a love of antique poetry for poetry's sake, is doubtless more common now, than it has ever been before.

The two poems which Mr. Woolsey has chosen for commentary and publication rank justly among the most delightful works of their respective authors. In point of morality they reach the highest point of heathen purity. In general excellence of style they are unsurpassed, and in some passages unequalled.

The form in which Mr. Woolsey has given these works to the public is neat and convenient; and they are printed with Mr. Folsom's well known accuracy. The text of the Alcestis selected by Mr. Woolsey, is that of William Dindorf, contained in the Poetiæ Scenici Græci, published at Leipzig and London, in 1830. This text has received the approbation of Hermann, from whose judgment in such matters there lies no appeal. In the course of the drama Mr. Woolsey has introduced a few variations, supported by good authority, but in the main has followed Dindorf. A well written preface contains a clear statement of the subject matter of the play, with a critique on the several characters brought out in the development of the plot. A brief but comprehensive view of the poetical genius of Euripides, in which his beauties are pointed out, and his faults touched upon, with a discriminating

hand, gives additional interest to the volume. The body of notes at the end are remarkable for a union of deep learning, acute judgment and fine taste. Every scholar, familiar with the Attic drama, must have felt the extreme subtlety of the tragic style. Written as these poems were, to undergo the searching criticism of the most fastidious people, on whose severe judgment the poet's triumph or defeat was depending, they were wrought up with consummate art, out of the materials furnished by the most copious and flexible of languages. Besides this, an intense feeling of nationality was to be conciliated. The history of renowned ancestors, the exploits of heroes and demigods, were to be chanted in choral songs, intermingled with moral and religious reflections, naturally suggested by the downfal of mighty families, and the awful retributions of fate, which were the groundwork of most of them. The difficulty of understanding them is still farther heightened by the obscure allusions to remote historical events amidst the highest strains of lyrical poetry uttered in the forms of the venerable Doric. The Attic drama is moreover idiomatic to the last degree. Expressions growing out of the manifold relations of cultivated life, mingled with forms of speech naturally springing to the lips of a people who were lovers of war and rulers of the sea, make it necessary to build up anew in our imaginations the structure of Athenian Society, if we would enter fully into the spirit of the raciest portion of their literature. A commentator, therefore, on the Attic tragedy, ought to be at home in the whole circle of Greek history and fable, beside having a taste trained to feel the delicate blending of shades of meaning, in the finely linked constructions of poetry. The commentaries to these two tragedies show the qualifications we have pointed out, in a high degree. In discussions of the merits of different readings, so far as he enters into them, Mr. Woolsey exhibits a nicely balanced judgment that entitles his opinion to great respect. In unravelling the most curious constructions, his precision and acuteness are admirable. Every Greek scholar feels how much the force and beauty of Greek composition depend on the skilful arrangement of a great variety of particles. In the explanation of these, commentators have had but little success, as any one will see by looking into the common editions of Greek authors. But the exactness with which Mr. Woolsey renders single particles and combinations of particles by good English equivalents is really

surprising. Those who are wont to think the dead languages, as they are called, widely, if not wholly different from the living, will be astonished to see how nearly many of the most peculiar, and, at first view, untranslateable words and turns of phrase are given in the homely but expressive idioms of our own Saxon tongue.

It cannot have failed to strike the tasteful reader that many learned commentators on the classics have been wanting in some of the qualities most necessary to a philosophical criticism. Spending their lives in the study of grammatical niceties, poring fourteen hours a day over manuscript readings, and conjectural emendations, and choral metres and allegorical interpretations, the fountains of sympathy with human feeling have been dried up in their bosoms, the majestic forms of nature have become lifeless to their eyes, and the myriad voices, uttered from every part of God's world, have grown unmeaning to their souls. The friendly collision of mind with mind in the common intercourse of life, the genial glow of thought in conversation, the softening, refining, animating influence of cultivated society, touch no responsive chord in their hardened natures. For they,

> "Bereft of light, their seeing have forgot,
> Nor to their idle orbs doth sight appear
> Of sun, or moon, or star, throughout the year,
> *Or man, or woman.*"

They think every hour given to the calls of friendship, or the amenities of life, lost to the world because it is lost to their barren studies. They are stiff, dry, formal, pedantic; and they write over their study doors, such sage apothegms as "Temporis fures amici." How can such people feel the spirit of tragedy, or understand the inspiration of the lyric muse? There have been some learned commentators, to whom these remarks will not apply. Mitscherlich's notes on Horace are touched with the delicate taste of his author. Heyne's commentary on Homer shows a fine appreciation of antique poetry, in the midst of an amazing mass of scholastic erudition. Bloomfield's Æschylus has some specimens of eloquent criticism and beautiful illustration. Arnold's Thucydides exhibits no small amount of minute learning, with a skilful application of all the resources of modern geography and topography, to the clearing up of obscure passages in the difficult text of the histo-

rian. Now, in these two tragedies, there are many passages of surpassing beauty and tenderness, which Mr. Woolsey has not passed by unnoticed, like most commentators, or with a cold, anatomical dissection; but his remarks on them are animated by a feeling appreciation of their exquisite spirit, and show a profound knowledge of the niceties of Greek construction happily blended with a taste exercised in the higher criticism of sentiment, passion, and character.

The tragedy of Alcestis has been considered the most remarkable of all the plays of Euripides, for tenderness. The conception of the principal character is touching and beautiful. Admetus is doomed by the terrible decree of fate to an untimely death. Apollo has gained by some art, a hard-wrung consent to spare his life, on condition of another's dying in his stead. His friends and kindred, even his gray-haired father and mother refuse to save the ill-starred Prince. But his young and lovely wife Alcestis resolves to rescue him from his impending fate. This is the leading idea of the play. It is obvious that to carry out this idea in a consistent delineation of character, is no common effort of dramatic genius. It is obvious too that the plot has some difficulties at first sight, which are not easily gotten over. To make us look with complacency on a lovely woman laying down her life for her husband, that husband ought to be a worthy object of such self-forgetting love. But if he asks the sacrifice or even consents to it, he shows a selfish clinging to life wholly at war with that greatness of soul, which can alone bring our feelings into harmony with the action. It must be confessed that Euripides has not kept this revolting view of the plot sufficiently out of sight. The opening scene in the drama gives us the impression that Admetus has gone about among his friends to beg some one to die for him, and that when they all turn a deaf ear, he consents to the death of his wife. Of course, we despise him as a paltry, heartless coward. This impression is strengthened by the indecent language he utters, when his aged father comes to condole with him in his bereavement. But if we look a little more closely into the poem, our first impression is somewhat softened down, and the conduct of Admetus towards his father seems less hateful, on the supposition that the poet meant to represent him so overwhelmed by calamity, that he lost all self-command, and forgot, in the bitterness of sorrow, the respect due to the author of his being. The plot, however,

must still be considered faulty in these particulars. Alfieri has treated the same subject, in perhaps the most beautiful of his dramas, the *Alceste Seconda*. In unfolding the action, as he conceived it, the Italian poet has brought the redeeming considerations we have touched upon above, into strong relief. So far, therefore, his play is a decided improvement upon Euripides, though in some other points it falls far short of antique simplicity, both in sentiment and situation.

But setting these intrusive suggestions aside, and taking the character of Alcestis by itself, we must pronounce her one of the most exquisite creations of poetry.

> "She was one made up
> Of feminine affections, and her life
> Was one full stream of love, from fount to sea."

She is a being with whom all thought of self is merged in an absorbing love of those to whom she is bound by conjugal and maternal ties. Her character is drawn with unsurpassed delicacy, and every word she utters is in the strictest keeping with the spirit of a noble-minded woman. The scenes between herself and Admetus, when she is about to die, are beautifully imagined. Indeed the poet had upon his hands no common task when he undertook to delineate a being so soft, yet so firm, so gentle, yet so heroical. He had to represent, not merely a woman with the delicate lines of her moral and intellectual character, her quick perceptions, her swiftly changing shadowy trains of association, her imaginative affections, and her overwhelming sensibilities, — but a woman, who, besides all these, was moved by the tenderest love of the wife and the mother; from whom a husband is about to be torn by the will of Destiny; whose children are soon to feel the evils of orphanage. Still more, the will of destiny at last relents. Her husband may be spared but she must die. This is the point where all the feelings of the woman, whose life has been blessed in the possession of a beautifully harmonized spirit, a husband's love, and a mother's joy, to whom the earth, the air, the clouds, the stars, had been perpetual ministers of happiness, sweep over her agitated soul with an overwhelming power. Her husband's life is saved; that is the grand aim of her heroical suffering. But she must leave forever the home of her happiness, and her children must lose forever a mother's love and care. She comes abroad to look for the last time on

the light of heaven. She gazes on the long familiar scenes about her, and the solemn vision of approaching death wrings from her trembling spirit some natural words of sorrow which fill her husband's heart with agony. The destiny of her son and daughter, stir anew in her bosom the tender feelings and anxious forebodings of maternal love. In her farewell to Admetus, she speaks in a tone of the utmost propriety at that sad hour, of the claim her sacrifice of life has given her upon their grateful recollection ; and the reply of Admetus breathes the softest spirit of tender melancholy.

It is obvious that it requires a genius touched to the finest issues to support, consistently, the character of a delicate and lovely woman through such heart-subduing scenes, and under such conflicting feelings ; and no one who reads the poem attentively will deny Euripides the praise of having completely overcome the difficulties of the problem.

This character is the more remarkable because the feelings unfolded in it are not often brought out in so strong a light by the Tragic poets. The personages of the Attic drama, it has been well observed, have more of the severe simplicity of sculpture, than of the blended harmonies of painting. The affections springing from domestic life, though several memorable examples show that they were well understood, and deeply felt, are not the ordinary groundwork of ancient tragedy. The terrible power of Destiny, which appears in a tempered form in this piece, and human strength battling against it, are the grand central ideas, around which the circle of tragic emotions mostly revolves. But yet, under every form of civil society and religious faith, the ruling feelings of the human heart, the conjugal, parental, and filial affections, and reverence for the source of all good, will from time to time, burst out in the higher creations of poetry, with a brightness that cheers and warms. In moments of poetical enthusiasm, the kindling soul, even of the heathen bard, seems to rend asunder the veil of ignorance, weakness and doubt, and to have a sudden comprehension of those truths, dimly shadowed out by tradition, but set in broad sunlight by the christian revelation. Hence the elysium of Pagan mythology, — hence the anticipation of a life to come by the hero of the Iliad, when he mourns in agony over his fallen friend, — hence the assured hope uttered by Admetus, of dwelling with his wife, in that world of spirits to which she is hastening.

We venture to offer a translation of the scene already referred to. Our translation has no other merit than closeness to the original. After a dialogue between the chorus and a maid-servant, in which the situation of Alcestis is pathetically described, and the reason given for her appearance, the servant adds,

> "He weeps, his dear wife holding in his arms,
> Beseeching her that she will not forsake him,
> And asks what may not be; for she, bereft
> Of strength, and wasting with disease,
> Is wearing to the grave; a hapless weight
> Upon her husband's arms; but yet desires,
> Though scarce a feeble breath of life remains,
> To look once more upon the light of day."

This is followed by a further dialogue between the two divisions of the chorus, and then the scene ensues, which the servant has sufficiently accounted for.

"*Alcestis.* Thou sun and light of day,
And heavenly circuits of careering clouds, —

Admetus. Beholding thee and me, o'erwhelm'd with wo,
Guiltless of crime, yet art thou doom'd to die.

Alcestis. Thou native earth, — and thou protecting roof,
Thou wed-bed, in my own Iolcos laid.

Admetus. Rise up, poor sufferer, and forsake me not,
But pray the mighty gods to pity us.

Alcestis. I see the two oar'd boat; the boatman of the dead
Is beckoning me, his hand already on the oar.
'Why lingerest thou? haste on; — my task brooks no delay:'
Thus Charon hurrying, bids me to the realms below.

Admetus. Alas! the voyage that thou speakest of
Is full of wo to me: oh! wo is me.

Alcestis. He leads me — seest thou? — to the chamber of the dead;
'T is winged Hades, with his darkly flashing eye
Gleaming beneath the shadow of his awful brow.
What wilt thou do? oh spare me; wretched is the way I tread.

Admetus. Wretched to all, but most of all to me,
And these thy children who must share my wo.

Alcestis. Oh let me go; oh lay me down to die;
My feet are tottering, death is pressing on;
Dark night already o'er my eyelids creeps.

My children, see, your mother is no more.
Farewell, my children, take my last farewell,
And live rejoicing in the light of day.

Admetus, Alas! these words of sadness that I hear,
Are harder than the pangs of death to bear.
Forsake me not, by all the Gods I pray,
And by thy children, whom thou leavest orphans;
But take new strength, and rise from sickness up.
For shouldst thou die, I can no longer live:
My life and death on thee alone depend,
For I regard thy love with reverence.

Alcestis. Admetus, — for thou seest my present state; —
I wish to tell thee, ere I die, my prayer.
I held thee dearer than my life, and now
At life's dear cost, I give thee yet to see
The blessed light, and for thy safety die;
Although I might have lived, and wedded whom
Of the Thessalian lords I will'd, and dwelt
Amidst the splendors of the kingly state.
But torn from thee, and with my children orphans,
I would not live, and all the gifts of youth
In which I joy'd, I willingly gave up.
And yet thy father and thy mother left thee,
Although it well beseem'd their hoary age
To die with glory, and to save their son.
For thou alone wast given them, and no more,
If thou shouldst die, could any hope remain
Of other offspring, in their lingering years;
And we together had lived out our days,
Nor thou hadst mourn'd thy wife too soon laid low,
Nor seen thy children orphans; but this doom
The Gods decree, and we must bow thereto.
Well, be it so; but hear my only prayer; —
Not that an equal favor I shall ask,
For nothing is more precious than our life, —
But justice only, as thyself wilt say.
Thy love for these thy children equals mine
If thou dost think aright; sustain them then
To be hereafter masters of my house;
Nor set a step-dame o'er my children's head,
Who feeling not the love I bear, shall lay
On our dear ones, the envious hand of hate.
Oh! I beseech thee, let it never be.
A step-dame set o'er offspring of another
Is nothing gentler than a viper towards them.

A son indeed hath in his father's love
A bulwark to protect his youthful years,
Exchanging with him question and reply.
But thou, my daughter, how wilt thou pass through
Thy virgin years, in honorable state?
And what will she, thy father's bride, be to thee?
Oh, may she never fasten on thy name
Some low-born slander, that in bloom of youth,
Shall blight thy fame, and blast thy nuptial hour;
For thou wilt have no mother at thy bridals,
No mother's soothing in the throes of child-birth,
When naught is kinder than her gentle care;
For I must die, — not when to-morrow comes,
Nor some more distant, and uncertain day,
But even now am number'd with the dead.
Farewell, then, and be happy; thou mayest boast
That thou wast wedded to the best of wives,
And ye, of springing from the best of mothers.

Chorus. Be calm; for I fear not in his behalf
To give my faith that he will do thy will,
Unless he turn from reason's path away.

Admetus. It shall be done, it shall be done, fear not;
Since in thy lifetime thou hast been my wife,
In death, too, thou alone shalt bear the name,
And no Thessalian bride shall call me husband,
Be she the daughter of a high-born sire,
Or loveliest in the beauty of her form.
I pray the Gods to grant a father's joy
In these my children, since I have no more
The dear delight thy gentle presence gave.
And I shall mourn thee, not one year alone,
But every day my lingering life holds out,
Scorning my father, hating her who bare me,
Who show'd their love in idle words alone.
But thou didst save me, yielding for my life
All that was dearest; must I not then mourn
My sad bereavement of a wife like thee?
Yes, — cease the festal throng, the social scene; —
No more the wreath, and music's dulcet strain,
In these lone halls, where they but lately reign'd.
For I can never touch the lyre again,
Nor stir my spirit to the Lybian flute,
Since thou art gone, and joy is fled with thee.
The Sculptor's cunning hand shall shape thy form,
And I will lay me fondly by its side,
Enfolding still within my eager arms

The marble semblance resting on my couch,
And speak thy name, and press the lifeless form,
And think I hold thee, though I hold thee not.
I know indeed, 't will be a chilling joy,
But it will lift the burthen from my heart.
And in my dreams oft coming thou wilt cheer
My sadden'd spirit, while my senses sleep;
For e'en in shadowy visions of the night
'T is sweet to see the loved one stand before us,
Though swiftly flits the well-known form away.
If Orpheus' voice and wondrous song were mine,
That Ceres' daughter and her mighty lord
Subduing by the magic of my strain,
I might from Hades bring thee to the day,
I would descend, and neither Pluto's dog,
Nor Charon at the oar, the guide of ghosts,
Should hold me, ere I sped thee back to life.
But since I may not, wait my coming there
When I shall die; — and have a home prepared
That we may dwell together in that world.
For I will bid them lay my breathless corse
In the same cedar, side by side with thee;
For I will not be sunder'd e'en in death
From thee, who hast alone been faithful to me."

Of the farther development of the plot, and the issue of the drama, but little remains to be said. The burthen of the following dialogue is the mourning for the death of Alcestis, and the celebration of her virtues. The choral songs grow naturally out of the situation of the dramatic characters, and some of them are eminently beautiful; this is particularly true of the song in praise of Admetus, beginning at line 569, and that on the irresistible power of Fate, beginning at line 962. The character and conduct of Hercules, bring to light some curious traits of ancient life. As he is quite a subordinate personage, so far as the main interest of the poem goes, an example of high intellectual dignity will scarcely be required of him. But with all his boisterous and unseasonable merriment, he is actuated by noble and generous feelings. As soon as he learns the fate of Alcestis, he resolves to restore her to her husband's arms; and as he is the son of a god, and as the descent to Pluto's kingdom was no uncommon adventure in those old times, it will not do to be over sceptical about his ability to accomplish his resolution. The final issue of the piece is not unnatural, according to the mythological notions of the Greeks, and, making due allowance for differences of time,

religion, and character, is not unlike, as Mr. Woolsey intimates, the conclusion of Shakspeare's Winter's Tale.

The Preface and Commentary to Antigone, are even more creditable to Mr. Woolsey's ability, than those to Alcestis. The sketch of the poem, in the preface, is written with clearness and brevity. The difficulties in this play, that call for a commentator's explanation, are far more numerous, than in the Alcestis. Besides the many subtle forms of expression in the iambic dialogue, the choral songs, rising to a high strain of lyrical boldness, abound in far-sought and fabulous allusions, which heightened their effect on an Athenian audience, familiar from childhood with the whole circle of mythological tales, but which are a terrible stumbling block to the modern reader. Even the fine song of triumph, almost at the opening of the poem, has difficulties of text, of construction, and of allusion, which have given rise to a wide diversity of opinions among the commentators. And in that most intricate passage, beginning at verse 944, there are entangled expressions, of which no satisfactory meaning can be made out. In Mr. Woolsey's commentaries on these, and numberless other knotty passages, he puts them together in a more intelligible form, and shows a sharper perception of delicate shades of meaning, than we have ever met with, in explanations of any other edition whatever.

The style of Sophocles differs in several particulars from that of Euripides. The former had a more creative imagination, and dealt more in an ideal elevation of character, than the latter. It was, therefore, more natural for him than for Euripides, to select a form of language removed from that of daily life; and his choice of words is in accordance with the tone of his mind. He clothes the calm dignity of his thoughts, in elevated expressions, polished to the last degree. In every language, there are turns of phraseology, which have gone out of use for the common purposes of life, but have a solemn effect when brought into devotional exercises, and the higher kinds of poetry. This portion of Greek was probably greater than the corresponding part of other languages, being drawn from the copious springs of Homer's early epics, and Hesiod's venerable poems; and it probably admitted of being used with greater power, because the education of the young men of Athens imbued their minds with a love of ancient poetry, which was fostered afterwards by hearing it chanted at the Panathenaic festivals. Sophocles availed himself of this por-

tion of the Greek language and this taste of his countrymen, with consummate art. He selected the most refined phraseology of his day, but softened it down with the mellow tints of antiquity; he heightened its effect by mingling with it venerable forms of expression, with which an Athenian's pride of ancestry and patriotic recollections were closely allied. In this respect, Sophocles is not unlike Milton, whose stately muse assumes a greater majesty, by investing herself in a certain antique gravity, beyond the usage of the age, in which his poems were composed. But the style of Euripides was hardly above the tone of polished society in his own day. It is elegant and flowing, often negligent and diffuse, sometimes highly expressive, but never reminds the reader of the heroic simplicity of Homer. Setting aside the metre and a few poetical ornaments, it is little above the language which we may easily imagine Athenian gentlemen to have used in the discussions and conversations of their symposia. Hence Sophocles requires more labor to understand him, than Euripides. He is also more elaborate and methodical in the structure of his plot, than Euripides. The dialogues of the latter often run into long sophistical arguments, which have little to do with dramatic propriety. The dialogues of Sophocles are always compact, and to the point. In almost every one of his poems, there is a leading idea to which all the details are subordinate and in proportion; in other words a strict unity of subject, an harmonious development, and a regularly increasing interest.

Sophocles had also a more poetical and powerful conception of destiny, than Euripides. This profoundly mysterious power, appears under different lights, according to the age and individual character of the poet. In Homer, it is irresistible and omnipotent. In Æschylus, it has the same general attributes, but is more dark, gloomy and terrible, holding Jupiter himself in its inextricable meshes. In Sophocles, it is still terrible, but offers the consolations of religion, and the idea of atonement by death, even while it overwhelms with calamity involuntary crime. In general, as conceived by the tragedians, it was the hidden source from which human events took their unalterable direction, against which it was in vain for man to struggle. Sometimes it appears in the form of a curse, pronounced upon some particular family, and extending down to remote generations. In this form, it is the source of the deepest tragedy, and gives rise to those contests of man

with the course of events, which call out his mighty energies and display him in his most godlike attributes, at the very moment when he falls under the power of an overwhelming destiny. It is plain that the conception of fate rests on the same foundation as modern predestination. The problem of reconciling fate and freewill, was the same as that started in later times of harmonizing the foreknowledge of an omniscient Being, with voluntary, and therefore responsible moral action. It is not clear that the ancients conceived of fate as wholly consistent with human freedom. It seems likely that their views, in this respect, were not very well defined. They certainly represent man sometimes in the light of a victim to a destiny which he can neither foresee nor overcome, — and this is a source of unmitigated terror. But yet, as conscious freedom is inborn in the human soul, we cannot easily represent to ourselves a human will wholly fettered by an all-controlling destiny. The Œdipus Tyrannus is the most thorough display of the power of fate within the whole circle of ancient tragedy. But if we look at the drama from a point of view from which it may very properly be considered, we shall see a striking parallel of action between the doings of freewill, and the train of events laid by inexorable fate. The doom of the principal personages in it, is twice foretold. Laius is warned that he is to die by the hand of his own son, and so is left free to choose whatever mode he will of escape. Œdipus is forewarned that he will slay his father and marry his mother; his horror at the thought of such crimes, leads him to take what he supposes the shortest way of preventing their fulfilment. And yet the father and son, while acting out their own freewill, bring about the very catastrophe, they were both doing their best to escape. Laius exposes Œdipus to death; the infant is saved, and grows to manhood, ignorant of his parentage. When the oracle reveals to Œdipus the horrible destiny that awaits him, he turns his hasty footsteps from Corinth, meets his father, and the issue of that meeting is his father's death. Journeying on, he comes to Thebes, saves the city from destruction, and marries the widowed queen, his own mother. While he is king, a pestilence sweeps over the Theban people, because the blood of Laius is yet unavenged. The decrees which he proclaims, and the imprecations which he utters against the murderer, fall at last with desolating power upon his own head. Thus we are made to feel the

terrors of an inscrutable destiny, which no human effort can change; but at the same time we see that the tremendous catastrophe is wrought out by a series of actions flowing from the spontaneous agency of free human will.

These preliminary considerations are necessary to a just view of Antigone; a play in which several important points of ancient feeling and character are beautifully illustrated. In the Œdipus at Colonos, the involuntary parricide has expiated his crimes, if crimes they may be called, by a solemn and mysterious death. But the evil destiny of the house of Labdacus, still clings to his unhappy offspring. The two sons agree to reign alternate years, but discord springs up, and the occupant of the throne refuses to yield to the just claims of his brother. His brother flies to Argos, and marches thence upon Thebes with a warlike host of allies. The invading army is defeated, and the two brothers are slain by each other's hands. At this point in the evil destinies of the house of Labdacus, the action of the Antigone commences; but before we proceed to consider it, we venture to quote a striking passage from one of the choral songs, in allusion to the miseries of that ill-fated race.

> "Happy, whose life is free from taste of ill;
> For when a house is whelm'd by heavenly wrath,
> Wo never fails, but steals from age to age,
> As when the billow urged by Thracian blasts,
> And roll'd above the sea-swept erebus,
> Heaves up the dark, and tempest-driven sand
> From the abysses underneath the sea,
> And the lash'd shores re-echo with the sound.
> The olden woes of Labdacus I see,
> Falling anew on his devoted house;
> Nor his doom'd race, their fatal birth can flee;
> God smites them down, and they shall rise no more."

The ground-work of the Antigone, may be explained in a few words. After the defeat of the Argive host and the mutual slaughter of the brothers, Creon, king of Thebes, honors the body of Eteocles with funeral rites, but forbids, under penalty of death, the burial of Polynices, the leader of the invading army. Antigone, their heroic sister, and the betrothed bride of Creon's son, resolves to brave the tyrant's power, by bestowing funeral honors on her fallen brother. She tries to persuade Ismene to join her in this pious duty,

but being unable to overcome her timid sister's fears, sternly braces her spirit to the solitary task. She fulfils her purpose, and is at last discovered. She boldly acknowledges the deed, and offers a noble justification, but is condemned to be buried alive. Hæmon, her betrothed husband, endeavors earnestly, but in vain, to soften his father's cruel temper, and kills himself in despair before the lifeless body of Antigone. Creon now feels the bitter consequences of following his own lawless will, and trampling under foot the laws of heaven. His haughty spirit is stricken to the earth, under the heaviest blows of domestic calamity. This is an important part of the moral.

To feel the whole force of the motives under which Antigone acted, we must bear in mind that the ancients regarded the loss of funeral honors, as the last and heaviest of misfortunes, and to perform the rites of burial with just solemnities, was the most sacred duty the living owed to the dead. The spirit of the unhappy man, whose body lay deprived of sepulture, went down unhonored to the shades, and was doomed to wander restless and moaning, until some pitying hand scattered over the corpse the burial dust, and poured the sanctifying libation. Hence the tyrant chose this punishment as the most forcible expression of his anger, and the most fearful form of vengeance. Hence it became an imperious dictate of natural law with Antigone, to bury her brother. The struggle then lay between the fear of offending against the will of heaven, and the principles of everlasting duty, and the obligation to obey the edicts of human power. The end and moral of the whole matter, is the triumph of virtue over human weakness, and of strong principle over the crushing weight of despotic will.

The character of Antigone is one of the noblest conceptions of antiquity. In the delineation of it, the poet shows an exalted view of the relations of domestic life, and a profound knowledge of the human heart. As a daughter, she appears in a beautiful light, through all the tragic scenes of the Œdipus, at Colonos; wandering with her blind and gray-haired father, and bearing without a murmur, the utmost ills of exile and want. With the same elements of a tender, firm, and lofty character, she appears again, in the poem which bears her name, under other strongly agitating influences, but still true to the integrity of her nature. She has a duty to perform, in obedience to the voice of conscience, and she follows it out, with an unfaltering purpose, to its terrible consequences. She

blends the softest affections of the woman, with sacred principles and unshaken honor. She is the betrothed bride of Hæmon, loving and beloved; but while a binding duty is unperformed, she allows no softer sentiment to gain the mastery over her soul. By the strength of inborn virtue, she holds in abeyance the mightiest feelings of the heart, until the struggle is over, and her doom is sealed. But then the tenderness of her nature, which had before shone out in partial glimpses, sweeps over her spirit like a tide of many waters. The vision of lost happiness, — of wedded and maternal love, now never to be enjoyed, — passes before her, and forms a beautiful contrast to her former lofty bearing, in the sweetest strains of her last dying song. The poet allows the sentiment of love to enter into and give a coloring to the character, but with consummate taste, keeps it subordinate to the high moral purpose she is destined to accomplish; yet when that purpose is accomplished, the strong feelings of the heart resume their sway, and in the last moments of life, temper down the stern sublimity of her character to all the softness of a woman's nature. The exquisite propriety of this change of tone, is one of the happiest strokes of the art of Sophocles.

The following scene is almost literally translated. Antigone is brought before Creon, having been discovered, while performing funeral rites over her brother's body.

"*Creon.* Thee, thee, of earthward bending look, I ask;
Dost thou confess, or dost deny the deed?

Antigone. I do confess it; I deny it not.

Creon. Thou mayest betake thyself where'er thou wilt,*
Free from all peril of this heavy charge.
But thou† — tell briefly, nor with many words,
If thou didst know it had been heralded,
That none should bury Polynices's scorse.

Antigone. I knew, — how not? — for 't was proclaim'd to all.

Creon. How didst thou dare then to trangress the law?

Antigone. It was not Jove that utter'd this decree,
Nor Justice, dwelling with the gods below,
Who did ordain these burial rites for man.
Nor did I think thy will possess'd such power,
That thou, a mortal, couldst o'errule the laws,
Unwritten and immovable, of God.

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* To the guard. † To Antigone.

For they are not of now or yesterday,
But ever live, and none knows their beginning;
Nor would I, through the fear of human pride,
For breaking them, be punish'd by the gods.
For I knew well that I must die; — how not?
Without thy loud proclaim; and if before
My time I die, — I think it gain to die;
For how can one, whose life is circled round
With woes like mine, *not* think it gain to die?
A doom like this stirs up no grief in me;
But had I left my mother's child to lie
Unhonor'd and unburied on the plain, —
Aye, *that* were grief; — I feel no grief for *this*.
And if so doing, I am thought a fool,
He is the fool, who dares to think me so."

The other characters in Antigone are drawn with much more care and completeness than those of the Alcestis. Ismene is a distinct, individual personage, with some traits of exquisite beauty. She is weak and irresolute at the moment of trial; but when the action is over, and her sister is going to her doom, she boldly determines to share her fate. Creon, the tyrant, is vigorously drawn and represents in a strong light, the effects of despotic power, and self-willed temper on the character of man.

We conclude this notice, by again expressing our satisfaction at the appearance of these works. They are not only honorable to the taste and talent of Mr. Woolsey, but will bring reputation to the classical scholarship of our country. Among all the books of this kind, prepared either at home or in England, for students and private readers, we are not acquainted with any, which are equal to these in variety of merit. Trollope's Pentalogia, does not bear the slightest comparison with them, in copiousness, elegance, or value of the commentary. The series of Tragedies for schools and colleges, published by Valpy, and edited by Major and Brasse, are useful books on the whole; but the notes are mostly dry verbal discussions, often showing a *curiosa felicitas* in misunderstanding the poetical spirit of the passages attempted to be illustrated. We are glad to learn that Professor Woolsey is at work on two more tragedies, the Prometheus Bound and the Electra. When these shall have been published, the lovers of classical literature will be provided with a series of the master-pieces of the

Attic drama, illustrated by the blended lights of grammatical, philological and historical learning, under the guidance of a discriminating judgment, and a ready sympathy with all that is beautiful in poetical inspiration, and sublime in moral sentiment.

ART. IV. *The History of Rome.*

1. *The History of Rome.* By G. B. NIEBUHR. Translated by JULIUS CHARLES HARE, M. A. and CONNOP THIRLWALL, M. A. Fellows of Trinity College. Cambridge, 2 vols. 8vo. First American from the London edition. Philadelphia, 1835.

WE are very glad to find that the English translation of this celebrated work is republished in our country. Among the multitude of European books, continually issuing from the American press, some of little value, and others at the best entirely worthless, it is truly refreshing to see such a work as Niebuhr's History of Rome. We believe it to be the opinion of all those who are acquainted with the work, that it sheds great light on this most important part of ancient history, and exhibits a far more complete and satisfactory view of the government and political institutions of Rome than can any where else be found.

The first edition of Niebuhr's History was published at Berlin in 1811 and 1812 in two volumes. The novel views presented of the Roman constitution and early history produced much excitement among the literati of Germany, and though it was severely criticised by some of the German scholars, its reception was on the whole very favorable. The author was encouraged to proceed in his researches, convinced, as he says, that the revival of Roman history was in accord with the spirit of the age.

In England and America these inquiries, which were the subject of much interesting discussion on the continent, were for some years scarcely heard of. In an article of this journal about thirteen years ago, containing a notice of the first edition of Niebuhr's History it was mentioned as the misfortune, not to say the disgrace of both countries, that a work

of such transcendent merit should have been published for ten years and be yet so little known.

But for want of a translation the history was inaccessible to a majority of English readers. This obstacle no longer exists, and we are much gratified to have an English translation of the last and highly improved edition of Niebuhr's History. It was executed by Messrs. Hare and Thirlwall, of the University of Oxford, and has the advantage of being sanctioned by Niebuhr himself, who even furnished the translators with corrections that are not found in the German.

The first edition of the history had its origin in a course of lectures delivered by Niebuhr at the opening of the celebrated University of Berlin, commenced in 1810. Encouraged by the favor with which the lectures were received, not only by the students, but by the learned and intelligent of all classes, he was induced to prepare these lectures for publication in the first and second volumes of his history. But though the first effort of Niebuhr exhibited great learning and critical sagacity in investigating and analyzing the traditionary history of Rome, he saw, and no doubt more clearly than any of his readers or critics, that it contained many errors and defects. He freely acknowledges that though he had discovered the meaning of many an ancient mystery, yet more were overlooked, that in much he erred, and a still greater part was left in a disjointed condition, and feebly supported by proofs. His knowledge, he says, was that of a self-taught man, who had as yet been able to devote to study only such hours as he could withdraw from business. The leisure and the means for studying the history and antiquities of Rome under the most favorable circumstances were soon afforded to Niebuhr by the liberality of his patron the king of Prussia. Niebuhr, who had been the Prussian Ambassador to Holland in 1808 and 1814, was in 1816 sent by the king as his Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary to Rome. It was understood that the appointment was given to him with the special view, that the historian of Rome might pursue his researches on the spot, which was the scene of the events he was engaged in describing.

This monarch who is not only the founder of the two distinguished Universities of Berlin and Bonn, but who has carried into execution the best system that has yet been framed for the education of the youth of all classes in his dominions, has a claim on the gratitude of his subjects, such as no other sove-

reign can boast. His example in this respect may well put to shame all other governments in christendom whether monarchies or republics.

On his return to Germany in 1823, he settled at Bonn, where he remodeled the first volume of his History, corrected the second, and drew up the plan of the third. The new light he had gained at Rome, and especially the rich sources of information opened by the discovery, and publication of the institutes of Gaius and Cicero's Republic, induced him to write the first volume anew, and make it in fact a new creation. His own opinion of it, as compared with the first edition, is thus expressed.

"The work I here lay before the public is, as the first glance will show, an entirely new one, in which scarcely a few fragments of the former have been incorporated. It would have been far easier to preserve the ground-work of the first edition; I resolved on the more difficult task, as the most expedient, from its giving unity and harmony to the whole. That whole, made up of this and the next two volumes, is the work of a man in his maturity; whose powers may decline, but whose convictions are thoroughly settled, whose views cannot change: and accordingly I wish that the former edition may be regarded as a youthful work." — p. 12.

The second edition of the first volume appeared in 1827, and was immediately translated into English by Messrs. Hare and Thirlwall, and published in England in 1828. But notwithstanding the intense, and we believe we may truly say unparalleled labor and research already bestowed upon this volume, the parental care of the author could not yet abandon it. He again revised it, and the third edition appeared in German, in 1828 and the English translation in 1831.

The first edition of the second volume was deemed by the author incomparably more matured and complete than that of the first, and as to a great portion of it he supposed there was nothing to correct and little to add, and that the revision of it would be an easy task. How far this opinion was correct will best appear from his own account.

"Under this notion I fancied that a revised edition might be accomplished in a few months; but ere long I saw clearly that, in spite of all scepticism, a critical examination of the facts would enable me to restore and establish a certain and credible history from the epoch at which this volume begins, and this being so,

it became worth while to sift every particular with the utmost care, and during this period not to pass over, what in an age of great events would have been excluded as trifling. In like manner I perceived that the changes in the constitution might be traced step by step. Under favorable circumstances even this task might have been executed rapidly, like several disquisitions in the first volume; but that volume had left me in a state of exhaustion which was the consequence of the continued exertion of all my faculties, directed to a single object for sixteen months without any intermission except now and then a few days. My sight grew dim in its passionate efforts to pierce into the obscurity of the subject; and unless I was to send forth an incomplete work, which sooner or later would have had to be wholly remodeled, I was compelled to wait for what time might gradually bring forth; nor has he been niggardly, but though slowly, has granted me one discovery after another. I must, not however, omit that this exhaustion, which in fact resembled the dizziness of a person long deprived of sleep, excited a vehement desire for some different employment; and this led me most inconsiderately, having already such a task as this history on my hands, to engage in editing the Byzantine historians; which, along with other very laborious occupations, for instance the revisal of the third edition of the first volume, greatly impeded the progress of my plan after it had been twice recast; and as I wished to carry them all on together, my health, serenity, and clearness of mind for a time deserted me.

"At length I got quit of many of these interruptions; many of them were overcome; I again felt free and cheerful; the first sheets were written out, and were to be sent to the press the next morning, when the calamity which befell my house during the night, destroyed them all with the exception of a leaf that I happened to have lent to a friend. The materials however had been preserved, and my spirit did not fail, seven weeks after my misfortune, the lost manuscript was replaced, and the printing began." — pp. 6 — 7.

The second volume was published in 1830. The author had confidently looked forward to the completion of his great work, to which he determined to devote the remainder of his days. He considered it the work of his life, and which was to preserve for him a name not unworthy of his father's.*

* The reader will recollect that the father was Carstein Niebuhr, the celebrated oriental traveller, of whom a very interesting biography has been written by the historian. It has been translated into English by Professor Robinson, of Boston, and published in his learned Biblical Repository in 1832.

These pleasing anticipations were soon to be disappointed. The author died January 2d, 1831, at the age of fifty-four. The following note of the translators will show the state in which the work was left by the author, and what we are further to expect.

"Within three months of the publication of this volume, its great author died, and his work is destined to be no more than a fragment. Among his manuscripts, however, there has fortunately been found a continuous history from the dictatorship of Publilius, where the original second volume closed, down to the beginning of the first Punic war, written out for the press ten or twelve years ago. This, along with the corrections made in the latter part of the original second volume, embracing the period from the promulgation of the Licinian laws to the dictatorship of Publilius, has been placed in the hands of his illustrious friend Savigny; and its speedy publication is expected. As soon as it comes out, the translators will endeavor to complete what has now become their melancholy duty."

Niebuhr undertook to write a history of Rome from the earliest ages of the city, to the time when Augustus became the acknowledged sovereign of the Roman empire. He begins with the first dawn of the city, his intention was to terminate it at the period when her dominion was extended from the Atlantic to the Euphrates, and from the deserts of Africa to the Rhine and the Danube, comprehending, as Gibbon says, the fairest part of the earth and the most civilized portion of mankind. As the sea receives the rivers, says Niebuhr, so the history of Rome receives into itself that of all other nations known to have existed before her in the regions round the Mediterranean. It was a part of his plan to give a view of the character and condition of these nations, and not to leave the reader to seek the information in other works, where perhaps it may not be found. He considered it the province of the historian of Rome to give the best image of them that could be obtained by research and reflection. The plan of the work and the spirit in which it was commenced is thus stated in Niebuhr's introductory lecture of the course delivered before the University of Berlin, and which is prefixed to the first volume.

"I shall endeavor to examine the history, especially during the first five centuries, not under the guidance of dim feelings, but of searching criticism; nor shall I merely deliver the results,

which could only give birth to blind opinions, but the researches themselves at full length; I shall strive to lay open the groundworks of the ancient Roman people and state, which have been built over and masked, and about which the old writers preserved to us are often utterly mistaken; to execute justice in awarding praise and blame, love and hatred, where party-spirit has given birth to misrepresentations, and thereby to false judgments after upwards of two thousand years; to represent the spreading of the empire, the growth of the constitution, the state of the administration, of manners and of civility, according as from time to time we are able to survey them. I shall exhibit the characters of the men who were mighty in their generation for good or for evil, or who at least distinguished themselves above their fellows. I shall relate the history of the wars with accuracy, whenever they do not offer a mere recurring uniformity, and, so far as our information will allow, shall draw a faithful and distinct portrait of the nations that gradually came within the widening sphere of the Roman power. Moreover, I shall consider the state of literature at its principal epochs, taking notice of the lost as well as the extant writers." — pp. 16 — 17.

In our remarks on this work we shall endeavor to give a condensed statement of the views which Niebuhr has taken of the early history of Rome, and especially of her internal condition and political institutions, so far as can be comprised within the limits of an article of this kind. But it may be well first to consider what was the state of the Roman history at the time Niebuhr commenced his inquiries.

The modern historians of Rome have derived their materials chiefly from Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Plutarch, the most credulous of all writers, has furnished some portion of those fictions that modern writers have incorporated into its early history. Polybius, who is the best authority for the times of which he treats, has little concerning the early periods of the commonwealth. That little, however, is very important, as we shall see in the case of the first treaty with Carthage, and the Gallic invasion, where his account is utterly irreconcilable with the common history, and has strangely been overlooked by modern historians. Even Livy, surprising as it may appear, does not, as Niebuhr says, seem to have read Polybius, at least not till after the compilation of the first book of his history. Livy, though inimitably lively and beautiful in narration and description, did not possess the spirit of research and philosophi-

cal criticism, so valuable in every historian, but peculiarly necessary to one who undertakes to explore the dark periods of antiquity and give the history of a remote age. With the imagination of a poet, he seems often to have nearly the same indifference to the truth of his narrative. The constitution he altogether neglected, except when compelled by internal dissensions to turn his eyes upon it, and then his views and judgment were warped by his prejudices.

Roman history, as Niebuhr remarks, was for two centuries after the revival of letters, treated with the same submission of the understanding to the written letter, that for a long time prevailed in all other departments of knowledge. Any attempt to examine the credit due to ancient writers would have been censured as atrocious presumption. The ordinary rules of evidence were rejected as inapplicable to the historical writings of the ancients. The object aimed at, was, in spite of inconsistency, improbability and impossibility, to combine whatever was related by them, and where the contradiction was too evident, to make one authority as gently as possible give way to another, without effecting any further result.

The first writer whom Niebuhr considers to have discerned the true nature of the early history of Rome, was Perizonius, an excellent scholar and critic, professor of History, Eloquence and Greek, at the University of Leyden. His family name was Varbrek, but according to a common custom of the times, he changed it to Perizonius, a word of similar meaning in Greek. His Dissertationes, a large work in several volumes, relating chiefly to Roman history, Niebuhr pronounces to be a masterly effort of genius, and unsurpassed in this department. This work attracted but little notice, and the author experienced the common lot of those who are far in advance of their age. He died in 1716.

Beaufort, a Frenchman, whose national feeling was excited by the pretended Roman victories over his Gallic ancestors, in their first invasion of Italy, undertook to vindicate his countrymen from the slanders of the Roman historians. He had the satisfaction of proving clearly that the story of the rescue of the gold and the destruction of the Gauls by Camillus, was entirely fictitious, and that they left Rome, with their booty, and the ransom of a thousand pounds of gold, and were not molested on their return by Camillus, or the Romans. The work of Beaufort had a great influence with intelligent men of the

world in persuading them to give up the early ages of Roman history altogether.

In England, we do not know any political or historical writer whose investigations have made any additions to the knowledge of this portion of ancient history. The sceptical and sagacious Hume seems on this subject to adopt implicitly the common belief, and speculates very ingeniously in some of his essays on supposed facts and customs, which never had existence.

But the German scholars at the end of the last and beginning of the present century, were no longer satisfied with the work of destroying the credibility of the early Roman history. They sought after definite positive knowledge in the room of that imaginary knowledge which critical investigation had overthrown. They examined, criticised, and interpreted the ancients with the same freedom as if they were cotemporaries.

Niebuhr snpposes that the story of Rome under the kings has no good historical foundation. He has examined the ancient historians, sifted all the legends which pass for history, and collected all the scattered fragments of them wherever they could be found, not only in the historical writings of the Greeks and Latins, but among the poets, orators, philosophers, and writers of every description. In all these, he finds no solid foundation for the historical record of the early ages. The history as transmitted to us, is made up of popular legends in a variety of forms, combined with dry chronicles; and of scanty results drawn by one or two genuine historians from authentic documents. But he does not therefore give up the Roman history for a large part of its duration as hopeless. He believes that the forms of the constitution under the kings, and the times of the commonwealth, may be recognised with certainty. In this part of his work, and certainly by far the most important part, Niebuhr has been eminently successful. He does not pretend to great accuracy of detail, which would be of little comparative value. But the political institutions, he is of opinion, may be satisfactorily ascertained. During the early ages the constitution was so harmonious in its proportions, the relations so answerable to one another, that where a few traces and remains are brought to light, we may draw safe and certain conclusions concerning other parts. He has endeavored not only to give the original constitution, and the successive

changes made from time to time, but their causes and their consequences.

One source of the early history was the ancient practice for the chief Pontiff to write down on a whited table, the events of the year, such as prodigies, eclipses, pestilences, a scarcity, campaigns, triumphs, deaths of illustrious men, the introduction of any new custom or institution, the census, names of the magistrates, in a word all that Livy brings together at the end of the tenth book. The tables were then set up in the Pontiff's house, and the annals of the several years were afterwards collected in books. This custom existed from the beginning of the Roman state till the time of the Gracchi.

The other source from which the Roman historians drew their materials for the early history, Niebuhr supposes to have been the legendary tales concerning the foundation of Rome and the warlike exploits and beneficent acts of her kings. These legends he supposes were much more ancient than the genuine annals, and that they had the form as well as very much the spirit of poetry, and were transmitted in lays from one generation to another, that they were not therefore more authentic than any other poem on the deeds of ancient times preserved and transmitted by song. These traditional tales were probably received with entire belief, and held sacred by the Romans for centuries.

But there came a time when the marvellous tales of antiquity were no longer received with implicit faith. Little credit was now given to the original story that Romulus and Remus, the offspring of Mars, were preserved and suckled by a wolf, and when they wanted something more, the woodpecker, the bird sacred to Mars, brought them other food, and that the infants were nourished in this way until the wolf resigned her charge to the shepherd Faustulus. The miraculous conclusion of the reign of Romulus seemed incredible to men of a wiser age. According to the old legend, when Romulus was reviewing his people, the sun withdrew his light, Mars descended in a tempest and carried away his son, now made perfect, in a fiery chariot to heaven. When daylight returned, the people sought anxiously for their king and father, the child of the gods. The glorified hero himself appeared to Proculus, and bid him announce to the people, that he would watch over them as the god Quirinus.

Niebuhr supposes that no part of the story of Romulus has

any better historical foundation than that of his infancy and deification. The difference is, that these incidents we know to be false, but as to other parts of the story, we know not whether they are true or false, but there is no historical evidence for them.

The ancient historians made use of these legends as materials for history, by stripping them of the marvellous, assuming that there remained a core of dry historical truth. But though these tales, when thus deprived of a great part of their poetry, appear more credible, yet they were not history, and rested on no solid foundation.

The historians not only took the liberty to omit such parts of the story as appeared incredible, but also to alter and modify the rest, so as out of these legendary tales, to make a plausible and apparently consistent narrative. Niebuhr goes into an examination of all the various traditions concerning the origin of the city. The story of Æneas and the Trojans, and their settlement in Latium, he considers of Italian origin, but destitute of truth. We will mention a few of the numerous traditions concerning the origin of the city of Rome.

According to Nævius and Ennius, the mother of Romulus and Remus was Ilia, the daughter of Æneas, who was condemned for her crime, thrown into the Anio, and was made the bride of the river god. Virgil's description of the wolf's feeding and caressing the babes in her den, is framed after Ennius.

Dionysius mentions a Roman tradition, which represents Romulus and Remus as the grandsons of Æneas, delivered by him as hostages to Latinus, who left them heirs to a part of his kingdom.

The Greek writers, in general, before Timæus, were unanimous in their opinion that the city was built immediately, or in the next generation after the fall of Troy. But on one point they were divided. While most of them considered the Trojans as the founders alone, or together with the aborigines, some on the other hand, supposed the city to be founded by the Greeks, and some by a band composed of both nations. A few ascribed the foundation of the city to Æneas himself, a far greater number to Romulus, whom they represented sometimes as his son, sometimes as his grandson, or more remote descendant.

Callias, the historian of Agathocles, recognised Romulus

and Remus as the founders of the city, calling them the sons of king Latinus, by a Trojan heroine, named Roma, who had persuaded the women to put an end to their wanderings, by setting fire to their ships. Cephalon, the most ancient of the writers that are quoted, called Romulus and Remus the two younger of the four sons of Æneas. By the Greek writers, the Remus of the Latins is always called Romus.

Aristotle mentions Rome as a Grecian city, founded by the Greeks after their return from Troy.

The Romans did not ascribe their origin to any of the Italian nations, and in the traditions of the oldest times, they appear equally strangers to all the three nations, in the midst of which their city lay, the Sabines, Latins and Etruscans. According to Niebuhr, there is no honor to which the Romans had less title, than that to which the Athenians laid claim of being an original and peculiar people. If they belonged to no one nation, it was only, as may be discerned from their fables and legends, because they sprung from the coalition of several wholly distinct from one another. Each of them left its peculiar inheritance of language, institutions and religion to the Romans, who in their national character were unlike any of the parent races.

The speculations of Niebuhr, concerning the origin of Rome and its earliest tribes, are very learned and ingenious, but throw no light at all on the question, as to the period when the city was founded. All inquiry on this point, proves only that the time is altogether uncertain, and that no reliance is to be placed on the common era. No researches have yet penetrated the darkness which veils the foundation of the Eternal city.

In the following paragraphs, we have Niebuhr's views of the legends, which he supposes to make up a large portion of the early history, and his opinion of their poetic beauty.

"These poems, out of which, what we call the history of the Roman kings, was resolved into a prose narrative, were different from the nenia in form, and of great extent; consisting partly of lays united into a uniform whole, partly of detached ones, without any necessary connexion. The story of Romulus is an epopee by itself; on Numa, there can only have been short lays. Tullus, the story of the Horatii and the destruction of Alba, form an epical whole, like the poem of Romulus; indeed, Livy has here preserved a fragment of the poem unaltered, in the lyrical numbers of the old Roman verse. On the other hand, in what is related

of Ancus, there is not a touch of poetical coloring. But afterwards, with L. Tarquinius Priscus, a great poem begins, which ends with the battle of Regillus; and this lay of the Tarquins, even in its prose shape, is still inexpressibly poetical; nor is it less unlike real history. The arrival of Tarquinius the Lucumo at Rome; his deeds and victories; his death; then the marvellous story of Servius; Tullia's impious nuptials; the murder of the just king; the whole story of the last Tarquinius; the warning presages of his fall; Lucretia; the assumed idiocy of Brutus; his death; the war with Porsenna; in the last place, the truly Homeric battle of Regillus; all this forms an epopee, which in force and brilliance of imagination leaves everything produced by the Romans in latter times, far behind it. A stranger to the unity which characterizes the most perfect of Greek poems it divides itself into sections, answering to the adventures in the Lay of the Niebelungen; and should any one ever have the boldness to think of restoring it in a poetical form, he would commit a great mistake in selecting any other than that of this noble work.

"These lays were much older than Ennius, who moulded them into hexameters, and found matter in them for three books of his poems; and who seriously believed himself to be the first of Roman poets, because he had contemptuously shut his eyes against the merits of the old native poetry, and succeeded in suppressing it. Of that poetry and its destruction I shall speak elsewhere; here, only one further remark is needed. Ancient as the ground-work of the epical lays unquestionably was, the form they were handed down in, and a great part of their contents seem to have been comparatively recent. If in the pontifical annals, history was adulterated to favor the patricians, this poetry is pervaded throughout by a plebeian spirit, by hatred of the oppressors, and by evident traces that, at the time when it was sung, some plebeian houses were already great and powerful. The assignments of land, by Numa, Tullus, Ancus and Servius are in this spirit; all the favorite kings are the friends of freedom; the best of them, next to the holy Numa, is the plebeian Servius; the patricians appear in a detestable light, as accomplices in his murder; Caia Cecilia, the Roman wife of the elder Tarquinius, is a plebeian, a kinswoman of the Metelli; the founder of the republic and Mucius Scævola, are plebeians; among the other party, the only noble characters are the Valerii and Horatii; houses friendly to the commons. Hence I should be inclined not to date these poems, the contents of which have come down to us, before the restoration of the city after the Gallic disaster, taking this as their earliest age. The middle of the fifth century, the golden age of Roman art, may perhaps, have also been that of Roman poetry, the same period is also indicated by consulting

the Pythian oracle. The story of the symbolical manner in which the last king instructed his son to get rid of the principal men of Gabii, comes from a Greek tale in Herodotus; so likewise we find the stratagem of Zopyrus related of Sextus; we must, therefore, suppose, that there was some knowledge of Greek legends; and why not of Herodotus himself."

We come now to that portion of the work, which we deem the most important, and where we think the author has been most successful; we mean his inquiries into the internal condition of the Roman state, the different orders of the people, and the forms of the constitution under the monarchy, and the first ages of the commonwealth. There will, no doubt, be differences of opinion as to some parts of the theory which he has framed of the Roman constitution; some objections may be made to the whole, but we think the outlines and main portion of the fabric rest on a basis not to be shaken.

The old system, if system it may be called, that shape and consistency had none, we believe will be exploded, and can never be successfully revived. We think that Niebuhr has discovered what had been before universally misunderstood, the relation between the patricians and plebeians, the character and composition of the different comitia or assemblies of the people, and the nature and object of the institutions ascribed to Servius Tullius.

Some knowledge of the institution of the *gentes*, or as they are denominated, houses, is necessary to a good understanding of both Grecian and Roman history.

No institution was more common in the ancient world than that of *gentes* or houses. Every body of citizens in the states of Italy, Greece, and around the shores of the Mediterranean, were thus divided. A *gens* or house was a union or association of a number of families. It might at first often have been a union of families supposed to be descended from a common ancestor, but in most cases it was a political union.

Niebuhr supposes that all the original inhabitants of the Roman state were thus distributed into houses, that each of the three tribes, the Ramnenses, Titienses, and Luceres, at first consisted of one hundred houses. Each tribe was divided into ten curiae or curies, and each cury into ten houses, thus making thirty curies and three hundred houses. These houses bore some resemblance to the clans in Scotland; in some respects they were corporations. The Athenian commonwealth con-

sisted of three hundred and sixty houses ; each house had a peculiar name resembling a patronymic in form, as at Rome the Claudii, the Fabii, the Cornelii. This gave some appearance, but only a fallacious one, of a family affinity. The Homeridæ in Chios, were a house whose descent from the poet was inferred only from their name, though they were probably in no way related to him. The name was derived sometimes from the most distinguished family of the house, and sometimes from some hero. The houses were political institutions, formed by the legislator, to harmonize with his plan of the constitution of the state. Cicero's definition of a Roman gens, does not imply that the members have a common origin. He says they have a common name, are descended from freemen, without any stain of slavery among their ancestors, and have incurred no legal disability. The *gentiles* or members of a gens had common religious rites, offered sacrifices at stated times and places, and were bound to assist indigent members of the gens in extraordinary exigencies. In the second Punic war, the gentiles wanted to ransom their fellows who were in captivity, and were forbidden to do it by the senate. In the municipal towns and states of Italy, the institution of houses was general, and when they became incorporated with Rome, the houses were not dissolved, though they did not bear any political relation to the state. No houses but those which composed the three ancient tribes, were essential parts of the body politic. Thus the patricians boasted that they alone had a house or gens. There were thousands of plebeians at Rome, who belonged to houses in the municipal towns, and possessed gentile privileges there, but were not acknowledged by the state. This division into houses, was essential to the patrician order, and the ancient phrase for that order, was *the patrician gentes*, instead of patricians. A patrician was called a man of a patrician house, *vir patriciæ gentis*.

The patricians, their clients and dependents, made up the whole of the original Roman people. The clients, however, were a different class from the plebeians. The three original tribes, comprised all the Romans by means of the houses they belonged to, but the plebeians or commonalty were formed afterward.

How the relation of patron and client arose, is uncertain. The clients were not landholders ; sometimes they gained a

livelihood by the mechanic trades; sometimes received grants from their patrons of lots for building, and two jugera, or about an acre and a half of arable land, not as property, but as tenants at will of their landlords. They were entitled to paternal protection from their patron; he was to relieve their distresses; to appear for them in court, and to expound the law for them. On the other hand, the clients were to be dutiful and obedient to their patron; to promote his honor; to pay his fines; to aid him in bearing the public burdens, and charges of public office; to contribute towards portioning his daughters, and to ransom him or any of his family from captivity. There is a strong resemblance in this relation to that of vassals to their lords in the middle ages. It was a mitigated form of the feudal system.

If a client died without heirs, his patrons inherited; in a word, the bond between the patron and the client was so strong, and the authority and control of the one, and the subserviency of the other were so complete, that it is not easy to see how it should be supposed the plebeians and clients were the same. A client would not be allowed to oppose his patron, or to vote against him.

In the time of Julius Cæsar and Augustus, the original patrician houses had been reduced to fifty families. So many houses had become extinct, or merged among the lower orders, from poverty, that there were no longer persons enough for the priestly office, which could be filled by none but patricians.

There has been a good deal of uncertainty with regard to the constitution of the Roman senate. That illustrious body existed for thirteen centuries, and during a considerable portion of that time, its decisions had a greater influence on the destinies of the civilized world, than was ever exercised by any other similar assembly. But the origin of the senate, the manner of appointing its members, the duration of their office, whether for a number of years, or for life, are questions which are involved in much obscurity. Again, what public office gave a man a right to a seat in the senate, and was it during the time he held that office only or during his life? It is said that after the establishment of the Censorship, the censors had authority to appoint senators, and to remove them for unworthy conduct. How far this power was regulated by laws or exercised by an arbitrary discretion, is a question attended with much uncertainty.

We by no means say that Niebuhr has dispelled all the obscurity that hung over the subject, but he has given a much more probable account of the origin and nature of the senate, than we have ever had before. He rejects, altogether, the common notion, that the senate was an institution of the king, and the members appointed by him.

The king was chosen by the senate, not the senate by the king. He considers the senate to have been an assembly of the elder citizens, the representatives of the patrician houses. This was the constitution of the senate during the monarchy, and until the first age of the republic.

No plebeian was admitted till after the decemvirate. When the censorship was established, the censors are supposed to have had the power of appointing senators and removing them from office for a sufficient cause. Niebuhr thinks that the power to appoint, extended only to filling vacancies that occurred from each cury, and that the authority to expel was only from good cause according to fixed laws or settled usage.

The institution of the senate was not a measure of policy adopted by the founder of the city. In all the cities of the civilized nations round the Mediterranean, a senate was no less essential than a popular assembly. It was a select body of the elder citizens, such a council as Aristotle says there always is, in every state, whether the constitution be aristocratic or democratic.

The Roman senate corresponded to the tribes, curies, and houses; and, originally, when the number of houses was completed, they were represented by the same number of senators, the three hundred senators represented the same number of houses. Each gens or house, sent its decurion, who was its alderman and the president of its by-meetings, to represent it in the senate, so that the senate was composed of the heads and representatives of the houses, and must have been originally chosen by the houses and not by the curies.

When the state was without a king, ten senators presided over it during the interregnum. The office of king was elective. When it was vacant, the senate agreed among themselves on the person to be proposed to the curies, whose power was confined to accepting or rejecting him. It was a *rogation*, as in the case of a law, and hence the interrex is said *rogare regem* to put his acceptance to the vote. Numa and Ancus Martius, are said to have been appointed in this way.

The curies could not vote on any matter, unless it was laid before them by a decree of the senate.

It was the law passed by the curies, that invested the king with all the power he needed, as head of the state and of the army, and with authority to hold courts and appoint judges. He had the absolute command of the army, and was the priest who offered sacrifices for the nation. He convoked the senate and assemblies of the people to propose measures to them. But laws, questions of war and peace, were determined by the people. An appeal lay from his decisions, as a judicial magistrate, to the people, that is, to the patricians in comitia curiata; the kings were taken alternately from the Romans and Quirites or Sabines.

The discoveries, as we think they may justly be called, made by Niebuhr, concerning the character and condition of the plebeians, are among the most important in his work, and throw much light on the constitution of Rome and the events in the early period of her history. The plebeians, he has shewn, were not the clients of the patricians as has been hitherto universally supposed, but a separate and distinct class from the patres and clients as we have before mentioned.

In every state, the constitution of which was founded on a number of houses, such as the states of Greece and Italy, a commonalty grew up by the side of the burghers, the original landholders, who formed the houses. The members of this commonalty were recognised as freemen and fellow-countrymen, were under the protection of the laws, might acquire landed property, had their courts and meetings for making by-laws, were under none of the obligations of clients to their patrons, but were personally free and independent. They were bound to serve in time of war, but were excluded from all share in the government, which was confined to the aristocracy consisting of the houses.

The Roman plebs in early ages consisted exclusively of landholders and agricultural laborers, and none of them gained a livelihood by commerce or any mechanical employment. With the Romans, civic trades and commerce were in low repute, and agriculture in the highest. In the middle ages, as is well known, the case was directly reversed among the states of Europe. The plebs or commonalty arose from a number of different elements, and from very small beginnings was enlarged to an almost immeasurable extent. In the origi-

nal three towns, of which Niebuhr supposes Rome to have been compounded, a commonalty must have begun to form, from strangers who came to settle in the Roman state, and were received under the protection of the laws, and clients who were emancipated by their patron's consent, or by the extinction of his race, an event of no uncommon occurrence. But the most important and respectable portion of this order, or the genuine plebs, took its rise from the domain formed out of the towns won from the Latins. Many of these conquered places were converted into Roman colonies, others were destroyed, and the inhabitants carried to Rome. All were invested with the Roman franchises, or were considered as free citizens. This indeed gave them no political power before the formation of the centuries, for till that time this right was confined exclusively to the *Comitia Curiata*, or assemblies of patricians. They of course had no share in the government, formed no part of the state, politically speaking, and could not intermarry with the patricians. All the nobles of the conquered places were among the Roman plebeians.

No patrician could marry out of his order without losing his caste. But such marriages of disparagement must no doubt have often taken place, and the offspring belonged to the plebeian class. The clients being an entirely different class from the plebeian commonalty, did not coalesce with it until the later times of the republic. The plebeians had no patrons, unless the king himself might be considered as the patron of their order. The controversies between the different orders, about which we read so much in the early ages of the republic, were not between the patricians and the clients, but between the plebeians on the one side, and the patricians and their clients on the other.

The existence of the plebs as a free and very numerous portion of the nation, can be traced back to the reign of Ancus Martius. But it was not formed into a regular united body till the time of Servius Tullius, by the institution of the plebeian tribes.

The tribes established by Servius were local, and every local tribe had a region corresponding to it, and all the free members of the Roman state not included in the patrician gentes, who dwelt within the limits of the district or region, were registered as its tribesmen. The district had the name of its tribe whether in the city or country. The city was divided into four

regions, answering to the four civic tribes, and these were continued to the time of Augustus, when a greater number of districts was established, to accommodate the increased size and population of the city.

The number of regions into which the Roman territory without the city was parcelled out, and consequently the number of plebeian tribes, has been a subject of much doubt and controversy. Niebuhr has, we think, proved beyond any question, that the original number of rustic tribes was twenty-six, making with the four civic tribes, the complete number of thirty. The only objection to this number is the fact stated by Livy and others, that in the year 259, when a new tribe, the Crustumine was admitted, the number was increased to twenty-one. This diminution in the number of tribes is accounted for by the war with Porsenna, the Romans having been compelled to cede to him all their territory on the right bank of the Tiber, probably comprising about one third of the whole, and ten of the rustic tribes. The romantic story, that the conquered territory was restored by the generosity of Porsenna, has no true historical foundation, and was no doubt invented, like some other fictions, to conceal the humiliation and fall of Rome. In those times a vanquished people was usually compelled to give up one third of its territory to the conqueror, and the Romans were then forced to submit to the same law of conquest which they so often imposed on other states.

These tribes do not correspond in number with the patrician tribes, but with their sub-divisions, the curies. As the patricians voted only by curies, their original division of tribes seems to have sunk into disuse.

The tribes of Servius comprised at first only plebeians, and the patricians and their clients were not enrolled in them till a much later period. The *Comitia Tributa*, or assemblies of the plebeian tribes, were convoked by the tribunes, who presided at all their meetings. They met in the Forum, from which both the patricians and their clients had to withdraw, and were not allowed to be present at their meetings.

The institution of Centuries was one of the most important changes ever effected in the Roman institutions. No one has been more entirely misunderstood in its object, tendency, and composition.

We shall endeavor merely to state the conclusions of Niebuhr on this subject, without having time or space to assign the reasons on which they are founded.

The object of the legislator was to admit the plebeians, who were now the most numerous portion of the citizens, and formed the principal strength of the army, to a share in the government, from which they hitherto had been excluded. Another object was to unite in one body all the citizens capable of bearing arms, whether patricians, plebeians, or clients, so that the comitia centuriata were assemblies of all the men of all orders liable to perform military duty. The centuries were a popular institution, with an important share in the choice of magistrates, and in the government of the state, and also a military institution, and intimately connected with the organization of the army.

Of the whole number of one hundred and ninety-three centuries, eighteen were equestrian; six equestrian centuries, instituted by the elder Tarquin, comprised all the patricians who bore arms. The remaining twelve equestrian centuries were composed of plebeians, the first class of eighty centuries of foot were all plebeians, and far the greater portion of the other classes below them. The principles on which the centuries were formed, in respect to political power, is well known to be that of considering the state as a joint stock concern in which the weight of every man's vote is in proportion to the amount of his taxable property. The institution stopped much short of an entire democracy, where the votes are all equal, but it was a very great gain to the plebeians that the comitia centuriata, in which they had a very large majority of the centuries, should have such a share in the government as to be able to protect themselves.

There is one principle running through the Roman institutions which deserves attention.

In their popular assemblies great care was taken to prevent decisions by a majority of mere numbers. In the language of Cicero, *Curavit ne plurimum valeant plurimi.* Thus, in the comitia curiata, the decision was determined by a majority of the curies, and the vote of each cury, by a majority of the houses composing it. In the comitia tributa, the vote was decided by a majority of the tribes, not of the tribesmen. In the centuries, the principle was carried still farther, and a small minority in number might have the majority of the centuries. Great care was taken to prevent mere numbers from turning the scale. This principle, in Cicero's opinion, gave the Roman institutions a great advantage over those of the Greek states,

where measures were carried by masses, by the majority told by the head and not by the votes of the several orders. Each class of centuries had an equal number of senior and junior centuries, and the first class was divided into forty senior and forty junior centuries. But the senior centuries, though they had equal weight in the comitia, were probably not more than one third as numerous as the junior and so of the other classes.

Before the time of Servius the *populus* or patrician houses had the government and all the public property in their own hands. Politically speaking, they were the only estate in the Roman nation. But from this time forward the nation, consisted of the two estates, the *populus* and the *plebs* or commonalty, both in law equally free and independent, but differing in rank and dignity.

The words *populus* and *plebs* were opposed to each other, and both were used for a long time after to express the whole nation, and in religious formularies till the time of Cicero. The use of *populus* for the assembly of the centuries, was not known in the early ages of the republic, and for the whole nation not till later times.

It is stated that the *plebs*, with the concurrence of the *populus*, in the year 341, committed the charge of investigating the murder of Posthumius to the consuls.

A concilium was an assemblage of a part of the nation, not of the whole. The *concilia populi* were assemblies of the patricians or curies. This was the concilium to which Publicola paid homage by lowering his fasces. The same assembly decided the controversey between Aricia and Ardea, concerning the disputed territory, according to the principle of the well known fable, where the arbiter adjudges the whole of the property in dispute to himself. The patricians were then the only possessors of the public domains, and would have the benefit of any new acquisition. The plebeians had no interest in deciding unfairly, and the consuls would never have assigned to the plebeians the honor of settling a dispute between two foreign states. It was by the curies that Manlius, the savior of the capitol, was condemned after being acquitted by the centuries.

The institutions of Servius were so obnoxious to the patricians, that they conspired with the younger Tarquin, and put him to death. The commonalty were then deprived of those

rights granted by the institutions of Servius, and centuries elapsed before they were able to recover them. The practice of pledging the person for debt, was abolished by Servius, and that of pledging property was substituted. This was repealed in the reign of the last king, and the patricians contrived to prevent its renewal for two hundred years after the commencement of the republic.

There was a story that Servius intended to resign the throne, and entrust the executive power to two consuls, elected annually, and according to common tradition, there was some connexion between the consulate and his institutions. Livy says, that the first consuls were chosen according to the commentaries of Servius. These contained a detailed scheme of his institutions, as appears from the quotations of Festus. Niebuhr supposes it probable, that it was the design of the legislator to place the two orders of patricians and plebeians on a level, with regard to the consulship, and that each should have an equal share in that office. The first Brutus, he supposes to have been a plebeian, and chosen to represent that estate in the consulship.

Niebuhr says the object in appointing a dictator, was to deprive the plebeians of the advantages given them by the constitution of Servius. The patricians went farther, and withdrew the election of consul from the centuries, and vested it in the curies. After the banishment of Tarquin, and so long as his family was an object of alarm, the patricians exercised the powers of government with some degree of justice and moderation. But after the death of Tarquin, the patricians treated the plebeians as slaves, excluded them from all share in the public domain, and all influence in the government. The plebeians were at once forced to pay tribute, and to serve in almost continual wars. Aided by the terror of the dictatorship, the patricians revived the ancient laws of debt, which were not abolished till the decemvirate. These severe laws which pledged to the creditor the person, family, and property of the debtor, affected the plebeians alone. A patrician could not pledge his person, or be sentenced to servitude. A Roman prison, a dungeon into which no ray of daylight entered, was a place of horror and misery.

As an example of the errors concerning the Roman institutions, into which the most eminent statesmen and political writers have fallen, we may mention the Defence of the Ame-

rican Constitutions of Government, by the late President, John Adams. In this work, the author displays much ability, and extensive historical and political knowledge. But in his accounts of the Republics of Antiquity, he has entirely mistaken the nature of the popular assemblies in Rome, and the object and character of the institutions of Servius Tullius. He supposes that the *comitia curiata*, were assemblies of all the citizens, patricians and plebeians, rich and poor, and that in these meetings the poor always had a large majority; whereas these assemblies were composed entirely of patricians, and were exclusively aristocratic. He considered the plebeians, as the clients of the patricians, instead of being, as Niebuhr has shown, a separate and distinct order. Mr. Adams says, that Servius, by the institution of centuries, threw all the power into the hands of the patricians, whereas the object of Servius, or whoever was the author of the institutions ascribed to him, must have been directly the reverse. The patricians had all the political power before, and the institutions of the classes and centuries, gave the plebeians a share in the government.

It is not strange, however, that Mr. Adams should have adopted the erroneous notions concerning the Roman constitution, that were universally prevalent when he wrote. He has only erred in company with the most distinguished philosophical and political writers in Europe, as Machiavel, Montesquieu and Hume, who have taken the same or similar erroneous views of the Roman government and popular assemblies.

Ferguson, in his history, supposes that the Roman dominion extended but a few miles from the city, at the banishment of the last Tarquin, and the same erroneous notion is adopted by most historians. One of the most decisive proofs of the power of Rome, and the extent of her dominion at the end of the monarchy, is derived from the first treaty between Rome and Carthage. This treaty which was concluded the first year after the expulsion of the Tarquins, was translated by Polybius, from the original tables of brass, then existing in the Capitol. It appears from this, that the Roman dominions extended from Ostia, beyond Terracina, probably as far as Cuma, and perhaps farther. The Republic then possessed the whole inheritance of the monarchy. Livy, when he wrote his second book, either had not heard of this treaty, or chose to suppress his knowledge of it as too humiliating to Roman pride,

inasmuch as it divulged the secret of the early greatness of Rome, and of her fall by the war with Porsenna.

In the account of the war with Porsenna, there is, according to Niebuhr, nothing that can withstand the slightest criticism, as to historical truth. The Roman historians have endeavored to conceal the fact, of the entire conquest of Rome by the Etruscan king. They admit that Rome was compelled to cede to him all her territory on the right bank of the Tiber, but try to disguise the humiliating truth, by the fictitious tale of the romantic generosity of their adversary, and the heroism of Horatius Cocles and Mucius Scævola. After a short time, she threw off the yoke of the conqueror, but with the loss of one third of her proper territory, and her foreign possessions.

According to Tacitus, the city was compelled to surrender to the conquerer, — his words are "Sedem Jovis Opt. Max. quam non Porsenna, *dedita urbe*, neque Galli capta, temerare potuissent." Hist. iii. 72. The meaning of *dedita urbe*, especially when used by such an accurate master of language as Tacitus, admits of no doubt. The city surrendered to Porsenna. Whether he was not master of the Capitol, or whether *potuissent* refers only to the Gauls, is not very important; a surrender, according to the severe laws of war among the ancients, had the same meaning as a surrender at discretion in modern warfare. It placed the state, and every individual with his property, freedom, and life at the mercy of the conqueror. A town or state thus reduced, was amerced of a certain portion of its territory, commonly a third, and a tax or tribute, equal to one tenth of the produce of all the cultivated land, was imposed on the remainder.

It has been mentioned before, that a third of the plebeian district, or ten tribes, which Rome possessed in the time of Servius Tullius, was lost, and that this loss was incurred in the war of Porsenna. It appears from Plutarch, that there was a tradition preserved, that the Romans at one time paid a tenth part of the produce to the Etruscans. This can refer only to the time of Porsenna.

Pliny, in his natural history, says, that Porsenna expressly prohibited the Romans from using iron for any other purpose than agriculture. His words are, "in fœdere quod expulsis regibus populo Romano dedit Porsenna, *nominatim comprehensum invenimus* ne ferro nisi in agri culturam uterentur." Pliny here seems to be citing a document still in existence. Niebuhr

justly remarks, that a people on whom such a condition was imposed, must have previously delivered up their arms. There are several examples of a similar restriction in the history of the Israelites, imposed by their conquerors, as in the case of Jabin, King of Canaan, and the Philistines, in the time of Saul.

According to Dionysius, the senate sent to Porsenna an ivory throne and other badges of royalty. This must have been in token of submission to him as their sovereign.

It was our intention to notice some of the most interesting parts of the second volume, but the space we have devoted to the first, leaves us but little room.

The first volume, we consider to be the most important to a knowledge of Roman history, but the second, exhibits proofs of the same learning, critical sagacity, and unwearied diligence of investigation, as the first. From the commencement of this volume, the author undertakes the restoration of a genuine, connected history. It is in the history of the constitution, that he felt the most confidence, in tracing the successive changes produced either by the contest between the different orders of the state, or the silent operations of time.

A great portion of this volume is taken up with dissertations on subjects connected with Roman history, as on the Latin state, and the alliance of the Romans with the Latins, the agrarian laws, and the laws of the twelve tables. As agrarian schemes have excited some interest in modern times, in the French revolution, and have attracted some attention in our own country, we shall devote a few paragraphs to the mode in which landed property was held in Rome, and to the agrarian laws.

It will be seen, that the agrarian laws of Rome, did not affect the security of property, or limit the amount of land to be *owned* by an individual, and consequently afford no example for the schemes of our modern agrarians.

Niebuhr has given a very full and clear account of the tenure and condition on which lands were held at Rome ; the nature of the public domain ; the mode of its occupation, and the character and objects of the agrarian laws. This reflects so much light on the Roman institutions and the controversies between the patricians and plebeians, that we shall attempt to give our readers a condensed statement of his views on these subjects.

It would be a great error to suppose that landed property in Rome and other states of antiquity, was on the same footing as in this country, and in a great part of modern Europe. In Rome, (we speak of the monarchy and early ages of the commonwealth,) the power of accumulating *property* in land, and the right of alienating it was limited. This policy grew out of the peculiar situation of the small contiguous states in Italy and Greece. They were engaged in frequent and destructive wars with each other. Security against foreign aggression was a primary object of concern, and this security depended chiefly on their military force, or the number of citizens able to bear arms. Hence the endeavor to increase their numbers so far as their territory would afford the means of subsistence. This was a far more important object than to increase the wealth of individuals. When the people in a city or state had been diminished by war or disease, foreigners were invited to come and settle among them, and take possession of the lands and houses that were vacant. Hume quotes several such instances from Diodorus. He is a pernicious citizen, said M. Curius, who cannot be content with seven acres, or rather seven jugera, of land.

Niebuhr supposes that originally, the patricians at Rome, comprised the whole body of the landholders. That part of the Roman territory, held as private property, was divided into small allotments of two jugera to each citizen. A hundred such allotments formed a century, consisting of two hundred jugera. This was a district of a cury, and each cury had one such district. Each cury and district contained one hundred householders, and these were divided into ten decuries. The lots in each century or cury, were considered as one mass. The property of a citizen who died without heirs, went to his gens or house, and if his house became extinct, his property was inherited by the cury.

In the original Roma, before the accession of the two other towns, of which Rome was afterwards composed, there were ten of those districts or curies. This would make two thousand jugera in the allotments, and this, Niebuhr supposes was all the land that was held as private property, in the original territory of Rome, till the rise of the plebeian order. The rest of the land was the property of the state. It was either common for pasturage, or royal or public domain. As the patricians had the government entirely in their hands, they

had the control of all the public property. This they could parcel out among themselves as a possession, and occupy as they pleased, and portions of it were let by the patricians to their clients and dependents as tenants at will.

When the city was enlarged, as Niebuhr imagines, by the union of two other towns, similar allotments of landed property existed in those towns before, or were made at the time of union, and each undoubtedly had its domain. When by the union of the three towns, the number of the patrician tribes was increased to three, each tribe consisting of ten curies, there were thirty districts, each containing two hundred jugera, making in the whole, six thousand jugera, or about four thousand acres.

Every law, by which the commonwealth disposed of its public land, was called an agrarian law. Thus, for instance, the law by which the domain of the kings was parcelled out among the commonalty, on the termination of the monarchy, and that by which colonies were planted, and so of the law by which the state resumed its domain from the old possessors, (not proprietors) and assigned the right of property therein to others.

The common notion is, that an agrarian law sets a limit to the amount of landed property any person is allowed to possess, and assigns all beyond that limit to the destitute. The equal partition of land, demanded by the levellers in the French revolution, was deemed an agrarian scheme.

No laws were ever more just or more beneficial to the state than the agrarian laws of Rome, from the origin of the city to the time of Julius Cæsar. These laws all concerned the *public domain*, they set no limit to the landed *property* of any class or individual. They often limited the quantity which any one was allowed to *possess* of the public land. Those who occupied the public lands were called the *possessors*, the occupation was a *possession*. These terms were technical, and those who occupied the public lands had, strictly speaking, no property in them, but only the possession. They were tenants of the state at will, or at most, from year to year.

There was, strictly speaking, no injustice done, when the state resumed the possession of the public lands, and parcelled them out to others as property, or sold them to the highest bidder. Most clearly, there was no injustice in limiting the amount which any man should be allowed to possess of the

public lands, that part of the agrarian laws which has been so much misunderstood, and the subject of so much undeserved censure. The public land of the Roman state had attained to a great extent in the time of Servius. By the agrarian laws of Servius, a distribution was made, one part was reserved for the populus or patricians, another part was assigned to the plebeians in absolute property. The possessor of the public lands paid a small proportion of the produce to the state commonly one tenth. By the agrarian law of Spurius Cassius, another assignment was made of lands, acquired by the state, after the time of Servius. Both these laws probably limited the amount to be possessed.

The patricians alone had the legal right to occupy the public lands by *possession*, but had no right to an assignment of them as property. The plebeians could not occupy the public land by possession, but received assignments of it as owners. The share assigned to each plebeian, was seldom so large as seven jugera, or about five acres, frequently not more than two, subject to all assessments. The share that each patrician might possess must have been much larger. Hence the complaint of the tribune in Livy, that while the plebeians had but two jugera, the patricians were unwilling to be limited to five hundred.

When the plebeians had increased so as to become the most numerous class of citizens, and to constitute the main strength of the Roman armies, all the infantry, and a great portion of the cavalry, being drawn from the plebeians, according to the constitution of Servius, it was an intolerable injustice to give them no share in the public domain, won by their blood. There seems no reason to doubt the traditions, that assignments from the public domain were made to the plebeians by Ancus Martius and Servius Tullius. The Roman soldiers served without pay, and these assignments were the compensation for military services.

As the patricians originally constituted the state, politically speaking, they considered all the public domain as theirs, and no doubt rightfully at first. But when a change of circumstances gave the plebeians a just claim to a share of the public lands, the patricians were desirous to retain not only all that they possessed originally, but all that was afterwards gained in war, by armies composed chiefly of plebeian soldiers, serving without pay.

So far as concerned the state, it was undoubtedly far more advantageous to assign the public domain in small lots to the plebeians, subject to all assessments and to military service, than to permit the possession of it in large parcels, by the patricians. The payment of the tenth of the produce reserved as rent was often evaded. The aristocracy having entire control of the domain, did not call each other to a strict account for the tithe due to the state.

And the real question, in most, if not all the agrarian laws, that were the occasion of such bitter controversies between the two orders in the state, so far as we can see, was, whether the commonalty should have an equitable share of the public lands, or whether the aristocracy should possess the whole. In these contests the commonalty finally prevailed.

The agrarian laws of Spurius Cassius, of Licinius, and of Tiberius Gracchus, were eventually carried into execution, and absorbed a great portion of the public domain.

An extraordinary inference is drawn by Hume, from a mistake in the meaning of a law of the twelve tables, referring to the public domain, in the following passage from his essay on the populousness of ancient nations.

"By the laws of the twelve tables, possession during two years formed a prescription for land, one year for moveables;* an indication that there was not in Italy, at that time, much more order, tranquillity, and settled police, than there is at present among the Tartars."

A very broad conclusion from the premises. We believe it will be found on examination, that the law in question, of the twelve tables, relates to the public domain, so far as it concerns immovables, and merely provided that two years' possession fairly obtained, should give the occupier the right of possession against all others, but gave him no property in the land which belonged to the state, and might be resumed at pleasure. There was nothing in this part of the law inconsistent with order, tranquillity, and a good police. The other part of the law is equally unobjectionable. The word *usucapio*, translated prescription, did not mean originally such a possession as gave any right of property against the true owner.

Gibbon says, that the twelve tables of the Roman laws were dictated by the rigid and zealous spirit of an aristocracy, which

* Inst. lib. ii. c. 6.

had yielded with reluctance to the just demands of the people. Niebuhr supposes it to be an error to regard the twelve tables as merely a civil code like the institutes of Justinian, though the opinion has prevailed from the revival of letters down to the present time. The object aimed at was three-fold; to unite the two orders of patricians and plebeians, and place them as nearly as possible on an equal footing; to institute a supreme magistracy in the room of the consulship, with less power, and to limit its arbitrary authority; and lastly to form a national code for all classes of Romans without distinction.

The people wanted a written constitution to regulate the whole frame of government, to define and limit the authority of the magistrates, and determine accurately the legislative and judicial authority of the senate, the centuries and the tribes. They wanted also a remedy for the great diversity of privileges between the different orders, as well as a written code of civil and criminal law.

The statement of Livy, and the common opinion that the twelve tables were derived wholly or in part from the laws of Solon, both Niebuhr and Gibbon consider as altogether unfounded. Niebuhr says they are not of Grecian origin and have no relation to the Attic civil laws, and that with regard to the rights of persons, legal forms, and judicial proceedings, the two codes have not the slightest resemblance. He thinks, however, the Roman commissioners may have gone abroad to seek for legal wisdom in a state so renowned as Athens, then the most glorious and powerful of all republics, but that they afterwards found the laws of Solon inapplicable to Rome; but whatever information the Romans may have sought or obtained from Greece, he supposes to relate to the political institutions, and not to the civil code of law.

There was a great similarity in the political institutions of the civilized states around the shores of the Mediterranean. The institution of gentes or houses was common among them, and all had their senate and popular assemblies, and nearly all were in name or in fact republics. In many of these states, the changes in their institutions and their political history were somewhat similar, though they furnished examples of almost every modification of the relation between the different orders or classes of citizens. The states of Greece, at this time, might have furnished to the Roman aristocracy and commonalty abundance of examples both for warning and imitation.

The seven consulships of the Fabii are without a parallel in the annals of the republic, except at the beginning, in the case of the Valerii. From the year of the city 269 to 275, one of the consuls was chosen from the Fabian family; and this, Niebuhr says, must have been connected with some revolution, by which the oligarchy intended permanently to secure the superiority they had gained. These successive consulships in one house are thus accounted for. To accomplish the destruction of Spurius Cassius, and defeat the agrarian law, it was necessary for the oligarchy to engage the powerful house of the Fabii in the design, and the price paid was, that one of the consuls should always be a Fabius. But in order to secure this object, and with it the uncontrolled power of the patricians over the plebeians, it was necessary to transfer the election of consuls from the centuries, where the plebeians had a very great majority, to the curies, where none but patricians had a vote. This was accordingly done, and consuls most obnoxious to the plebeians, and most determined supporters of the aristocracy, were chosen. The agrarian law was not executed, and unnecessary wars were stirred up to employ the plebeians, for while the legions were in the field the forum was vacant.

The centuries in a few years regained the choice of one consul, but the other was chosen by the curies, till after the decemvirate. The troops under Sp. Furius, the consul chosen by the centuries, fought bravely for the honor of the man whom they had elected; but the troops under Fabius, the other consul, chosen by the patricians, did not look upon him as a legitimate consul, and threw away the victory when it was already in their power, abandoned their camp, and retreated to Rome. The Fabii saw that the consulship was but a melancholy honor, under such circumstances, and they resolved to make friends with the commonalty. Distinguished as they were for bravery and generosity, the attempt was successful; the reconciliation was complete, and a Fabius was the consul chosen by the centuries. The Fabian house no longer acted in concert with the patricians to preserve their usurped power. Cæso Fabius, who had condemned Cassius to death, because his agrarian law was an encroachment upon the aristocracy, now, when he entered upon his office as consul, recommended to the senate that the law should be carried into execution, but the aristocracy would not listen to him. They reviled him and his house as traitors and apostates

to their order. Fabius, after a glorious campaign, renewed his propositions for a reconciliation between the houses and the plebeians. Finding there was no hope of obtaining a hearing for them, his house resolved to depart with their adherents and dependents, from a place where they could no longer live in peace, and to found a separate settlement. They marched to the river Cremera, erected a fortress, and took an active part in the war against the Veientes.

The catastrophe is well known; they were destroyed to a man by the Veientes. Niebuhr supposes that they were intentionally sacrificed by the Roman consul, Menenius, who was encamped with his army but a short way off at the time, and was afterwards condemned as the guilty cause of this disaster. This account is more probable though less romantic than that of Livy.

We shall merely notice a few of the most distinguished personages in the second volume, and especially one or two of those whom Niebuhr has endeavored to vindicate from the unjust censures of other historians.

The most eminent and meritorious of these is Spurius Cassius, who was three times consul, and whom Livy calls the author of the first agrarian law. As represented by Niebuhr, he was one of the wisest statesmen and most accomplished patriots in the Roman annals. He gained three triumphs; concluded three treaties; formed an alliance between the Romans, Latins and Hernicans; and by his agrarian law endeavored to do justice to the plebeians, and attach them firmly to the state. He was tried and condemned by the populus, that is, an assembly of the patricians, whose enmity he incurred by the agrarian law. The law was finally executed, but not till after the death of its author.

The brave and patriotic founders of the Cincinnati, hardly made the best choice of the beau ideal of a patriot that antiquity could furnish. In his poverty, courage, disinterestedness and retirement to private life, Cincinnatus may resemble the heroes of our revolution; but he was the champion and efficient supporter of a much greater tyranny on the part of the patricians over the commonalty, than the founders of the Cincinnati ever resisted.

Niebuhr's account of him does not in most particulars differ essentially from that of Livy. In both he appears as the champion of the patricians in resisting the just demands of the ple-

beians. Niebuhr considers him as guilty of the murder of Spurius Melius, the rich knight who relieved the distresses of the poor in a time of famine, and who was slain in the forum for the pretended crime of aspiring to the sovereignty.

Marcus Manlius, the savior of the capital, he supposes was innocent of the crime of which he was accused, but was finally driven into insurrection by the persecution of his enemies. The assembly that acquitted him was that of the centuries; the assembly which condemned him was that of the curies. This, and not the sight of the capitol, was the cause of the different decisions.

Coriolanus is rendered as familiar to us by the genius of Shakspeare as by all the historians. The legend of his exploits is partly connected with real facts, and in part must be fictitious. Niebuhr supposes that he spared Rome when it was in his power to take it, but on such conditions that he was guilty of no treachery to his new associates, as he lived to an old age among the Volscians, and the story of his being slain by his rival was a fiction invented long after. The whole account is placed too early in the common history by twenty years. This, however, would not be enough to save the chronology of Shakspeare, who makes the personages of the play talk of Cato and Galen, one of whom lived two hundred, and the other five hundred years later.

We have thus endeavored to call the reader's attention to this most learned and valuable historical production. We know of no work which will better reward the attention of the scholar, and of those persons who read history, not merely for entertainment as they do the last popular novel, but for accurate and useful knowledge.

Niebuhr had several of the qualities necessary to an historian of the highest order. The extent and minute accuracy of his learning, his keen sagacity, sound judgment, unwearied diligence, and happy talent of bringing all his vast knowledge to bear upon his subject as he almost always does, has enabled him to elucidate the progress of society, and solve many perplexing riddles which had baffled the researches of other historians.

He had a high, though perhaps not an exaggerated, sense of the importance of his subject. When the Roman empire is viewed as connecting the ancient and modern world, and as the source from which the modern civilized nations derived a great part of their language, literature, laws and institutions; when the great events and distinguished personages exhibited

in its history are considered, we may justly conclude that no nation has had a more extensive and durable influence on the condition and character of the human race.

Some eminent historians in modern times have too much the character of partisans, and advocates, and view actions, characters, and events not in the light of truth, but through the medium of party prejudice, and write history in the style of political pamphlets, or newspaper essays. We do not perceive in Niebuhr an attempt to support any political system or party, but there is visible throughout the work a strong love of truth, a deep sense of right and wrong, a sympathy with the injured and distressed, and an indignation against injustice and oppression. No writer is more unlike the historians of whom Chesterfield complains, as shewing a "provoking contempt for humanity in general, and who would lead their readers to think that the human race consisted of about one hundred and fifty persons, called and dignified (commonly very undeservedly) by the titles of Emperors, Kings, Popes, Generals, and Ministers of State."

Niebuhr does not confine his attention to great events and great men, to consuls and dictators, victories and triumphs, but he shews the internal state and condition of society. Political events, changes in the constitution, laws, acts of public men, he considers and estimates with reference to their influence on the welfare of the people. He has the most perfect purity and uprightness of intention, but his sympathy with the oppressed, and indignation at all injustice and tyranny, may sometimes lead him to undue harshness in condemning the conduct of the patricians.

In attempting to point out the errors and deficiencies of the work, we might say that there is sometimes a want of perspicuity and methodical arrangement, that it is not always easy to see the bearing of the author's facts and illustrations, and that he is sometimes more confident in his conclusions than his premises warrant. We think too, that the composition of the work is not quite equal to the value of the materials, and that the author has been more successful in the acquisition of knowledge, than in his manner of communicating it. But in a production of such rare excellence, we believe the reader, in proportion to his acquaintance with it, will admire the genius and learning of the author, and be the less inclined to dwell on any defects. It is evident that inquiries of this

nature, carried on with such freedom and boldness, and leading in so many instances to results, different from the common belief, will unavoidably be liable to some doubts and objections.

We are fully sensible that our efforts must fail of giving an adequate impression of the merit of this great work, which we think unlikely ever to be surpassed in its own department, and we can hardly hope that any historian will arise to finish the vast fabric of Roman history, according to the magnificent plan of Niebuhr, and in a style to correspond with the foundation he has laid.

ART. V.—*Professor Hitchcock's Report on the Geology, &c. of Massachusetts.*

1. *Report on the Geology, Mineralogy, Botany, and Zoology of Massachusetts, made and published by order of the Government of that State. With a Descriptive List of the Specimens of Rocks and Minerals collected for the Government. Illustrated by numerous Wood Cuts, and an Atlas of Plates.* By EDWARD HITCHCOCK, A. M., Professor of Chemistry and Natural History in Amherst College, &c. Second Edition, corrected and enlarged. Amherst, 1835. 8vo. pp. 702.

GEOLOGY has for its object the natural history of the earth. It is regarded by Professor Mohl as a department of Physical Astronomy. Its name is derived from the Greek γῆ, earth, and λόγος, a discourse; and is understood to signify the doctrine or science of the earth. This science investigates and describes the structure of our globe, the nature of its various components, and the laws which have effected, and still continue to produce, changes in its mass. It not only explains those things which are interesting to a philosopher, but also aims to be practically useful. Descending with the miner into the darkest subterranean recesses, it directs, by its light, his operations to their most successful results. The situations in which are found the valuable metallic ores, beds of coal, gypsum, rock salt, strata of limestone, marble, and a thousand other materials useful to man, are pointed out with a great degree of accuracy, and are all described as they occur in nature.

Soils are found to consist of the detritus of decomposed, and disintegrated rocks, mixed with variable proportions of vegetable and animal matter; and the nature of the mineral elements is known to have a great influence on their fertility, and their adaptation to the different kinds of plants, which are cultivated for the use of man. A knowledge of soils is indispensible to the geologist; and his science aids the agriculturalist in amending those which are sterile, from the presence of noxious matters, or from an undue proportion of certain mineral elements. The architect and engineer are indebted to this science for an account of the nature and situation of valuable materials used in their constructions, and for indications by which they may avoid those which have within them substances that will cause their rapid decay, or deface their beauty. Thus they are enabled to select building stones which will defy the ravages of time, and retain their original texture and color.

By the aid of geology we are directed to our great mineral resources, which constitute an important part of the solid basis of national prosperity in the useful arts. Materials required at all times, but more especially in time of war, when obstructed commerce cuts off our supplies from foreign lands, are unfolded and are ready for use the moment they shall be required. Mines of iron, copper, lead, sources from which we may obtain nitre, sulphur, and other indispensible materials for national defence, are thus pointed out, and give us a feeling of greater security and independence; for we hold to the maxim, that every country should have within itself the means of support and defence. There are memorable instances on record, of nations having been thrown on their internal resources, and having been rescued by science from destruction.

It is evident that a scientific geological examination, is the cheapest and best means of bringing to light the valuable minerals of a country. How vast an amount of property has been lost by absurd mining speculations, the abandoned pits in every part of our country can amply testify; and even now, we hear of new projects which are continually springing up, and which end, as might be anticipated by a geologist, in total failure. During the last summer, we witnessed many absurd researches for coal and metals, in places where, according to the laws of nature, they never are found. Pits were sunk at

great expense, into granite mountains, for coal; and the delusion was often kept up by the discovery of a black and brilliant mass or crystal of tourmaline, which, to those ignorant of mineralogy, appeared to be an indication of coal; although to one acquainted with that science, it was a most decisive proof that no trace of that valuable combustible would be found there.

We have seen a company actively engaged in boring for coal, at great expense, in strata standing in nearly a perpendicular position. Had they understood the first principles of geology, they would have seen at a glance, that such an operation was useless; for, had the strata belonged to the coal series, which they did not, the coal would have been found at their out-cropping edges, and on the surface of the earth, and not, as they had imagined, at a great depth.

Subscription books for stock in a coal mine, proposed to be opened in the midst of primitive rocks, have been presented in many of our large cities, and more than a thousand persons have put down their names for shares, and paid a certain sum in advance, to carry on the work. A geologist could have informed them at once, that such researches were idle and must fail.

The brilliant lustre of iron pyrites has led many a worthy farmer to abandon the cultivation of his farm, and to dig deep in the earth for supposed mines of gold and silver; and companies have been formed with similar expectations, and their capital wasted in unprofitable labor, when the question respecting the value of the mineral, might have been settled in a few minutes, by a mineralogist or chemist.

Did our limits permit, we could cite thousands of similar facts, which have presented themselves to our observation, in our Mineralogical and Geological excursions, but we forbear; and should our reader feel sceptical on this subject, we advise him to set out on a similar journey, armed and equipped in character, and to converse with the people he may meet with in his travels, respecting the supposed mineral wealth of their districts. He will be sure, even if he does not collect a supply of brilliant minerals, to amass a fund of amusing and instructive anecdotes about the mineral divining rod, and mines of gold, and silver, besides hearing of an abundance of Kidd's money buried in the earth.

We have alluded, briefly and generally, to some of the prac-

tical uses of Geology; but it is evident that there are other and higher claims, possessed by this science. It opens to us the great book of nature, where we may read the eternal truths of creation, those "sermons in stones," which were written by the finger of the ALMIGHTY, and which bear indisputable proofs of his wisdom, goodness, power and omnipresence.

Whoever enters on this study with proper feelings, and pursues it with intelligence and success, can never look back, but is continually urged onward by the discovery of new and wonderful truths, which fill his mind with the most sublime emotions. The world has its history written on its strata; a history so interesting, that the most splendid fictions of the human imagination sink into insignificance when compared with it; in the same measure as all human productions must, when compared with the eternal works of the Creator. The enthusiastic zeal of every true Geologist, testifies that his pursuits are of the highest interest, and is a sure promise to the beginner, who sees but dimly into the system of the world, that knowledge will, in itself, be a sufficient reward. When we study inorganic matter in its natural state, we contemplate the materials whence all organized beings derive their corporeal substance. Plants and animals draw the elements of which they are composed, directly or indirectly from the mineral kingdom. Hence it will appear that a philosophical study of organized beings should begin with the consideration of the primitive mineral elements, and trace their several states of existence in an ascending order.

Although Geology is confessedly in its infancy, we may observe, as the celebrated Gay Lussac has remarked of Chemistry, that the science is so rich in facts that not a single individual in the world can be found, who is possessed of one tenth part of what is known. We shall therefore look in vain for a perfect Geologist. The immortal Cuvier knew but little of Mineralogy and Chemistry, while by his knowledge of comparative anatomy, applied to Geology, he unveiled the history of the world before the creation of man. It is not then to be expected, that any one Geologist will attain to perfection in every department, and there is room enough for division of labor.

A knowledge of Natural Philosophy, Mineralogy, Chemistry, Botany, and Zoology, is essential to the complete Geologist;

besides which, he should possess the power of remembering details of science, and of generalizing facts. If any man attempt to master all these branches of science, life would be too short for its accomplishment. Either a superficial knowledge of the whole may be obtained, or he may endeavor to become as nearly perfect as possible in some departments, and take a more partial glance at the others, and he may then call in the aid of those who have mastered particular branches, to assist him when he is undecided. Division of labor is then called for, and this will be the natural result of enlarging the domain of science. Inorganic matter presents itself in three different states; solid, liquid, and gaseous. The first has received the principal share of the Geologist's attention, while the two latter have chiefly been considered by him on account of their influence on the former. They all properly belong to Geology, and should be described in a complete system. The solid matter of the globe has been variously divided by Geologists, according to their individual views of the subject. Some have sought to find out natural divisions, others have formed a more artificial arrangement. The division into stratified and unstratified rocks, seems to satisfy, in some degree, those who seek for a natural method. Others have paid less regard to this system, and have endeavored to classify rocks according to their relative age, as proved by their relative position, and the fossils they contain. The first class of rocks, acknowledged by all Geologists, is the primary or primitive formation, in which no organic remains are ever found; such as granite, gneiss, sienite, &c. The next series of rocks, called the transition formation, is still a subject of discussion; some considering it a distinct formation, others maintaining that it cannot be divided from the secondary series. The fossil trilobite is considered as its distinguishing mark. The secondary rocks lie above those called transition, and contain numerous fossil shells and plants. The tertiary comes still higher in the arrangement, and is characterized by containing many shells analogous to existing genera and species, lignites, and numerous fossil bones of fishes, reptiles, and quadrupeds.

The diluvial formation consists of water-worn stones, sand and clay confusedly mixed together, and bearing evident marks of having been subject to the action of powerful currents of water.

The alluvium is a formation continually produced by the ac-

tion of water on hills and mountains, the detritus being washed down into the plains and valleys, and deposited at the sides and mouths of rivers. Volcanic rocks are thrown out in the form of streams of lava, scoriæ and volcanic sand, and cover a comparatively limited area of country. It will be understood by our reader that we have enumerated the rock formations in an ascending order, beginning with the lowest that have ever been discovered.

Most of the stratified rocks appear to have been deposited from water, and to have subsequently become indurated; while the unstratified rocks generally bear indisputable marks of igneous fusion, and have mostly been protruded from below through the overlying strata, effecting remarkable changes in the rocks through which they were injected. Those Geologists who deny the existence of the transition formation, account for the difference between those rocks and the secondary, by supposing them to have been powerfully heated by the protrusion of the primary rocks in an incandescent state against and through them, which gave the strata a more crystalline aspect and greater induration. In case this class should be dispensed with, the formation will be designated as the older secondary series, which, for the sake of the numerical nomenclature, is upon the whole desirable. Some Geologists study rock formations in an ascending order, beginning with the lowest known, and describing the different strata as they lie one above the other. This is also the most simple and easy method of teaching the science, for the upper rocks are chiefly composed of the fragments and fine particles of those beneath them. The lowest rocks are destitute of fossil remains of organized beings, and they are therefore less complicated, and more easily studied. The organic relics continually increase in number as we ascend, and become more and more complex in their structure; so that the student is gradually advanced in the study according to the order of creation, until he comes to the recent epoch when man appeared upon earth. Others have thought the descending order a more natural method, and beginning with the alluvial soil, penetrate downwards, until they reach the lowest known rocks.

This is the order pursued by the author of the Report before us; and although we do not think it the most easy and natural method, we are still willing to concede to him his point of view, and are ready to admire the marvels of nature which he is able from thence to descry. It may be advantageous to

take our observations from different points, as more confidence can be placed in their results, if they should be found to coincide.

An eminent French Geologist has observed, that if there were any country where a general system of geology could be constructed, it was America, where the great extent and prominent features of her mountain ranges are best calculated to display the structure of the globe.

To Massachusetts belongs the honor of having made the first complete geological survey of a whole state, under the authority of government; the surveys of this nature in Europe having been made by individual exertion, and seldom or partially accomplished by the aid of government. It is highly creditable to our state that such a survey should be called for by the voice of the people, as it proves that a greater degree of liberality, intelligence and science is diffused among the people than can be found in any a similar class in any state of Europe. We are rejoiced to perceive that many other states of our confederacy are following the example of Massachusetts. Tennessee has been, in part, carefully examined by Dr. Gerard Troost; Maryland is undergoing a thorough exploration by Messrs. Ducatel and Alexander; Virginia, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, New-York, Connecticut and Maine, are taking measures to effect a similar object. The Carolinas have been only partially explored, and in reference wholly to their gold mines. The government of the United States has employed a Geologist to survey the unexplored public lands, and a report has been published respecting the Geology of the Arkansas, which, we regret to say, does not give much satisfactory information respecting the districts which it proposes to describe.

Should each and every state in the Union be examined by competent Geologists, the greatest advantages will necessarily accrue to science, the arts and commerce. Those mineral riches that are wanting in one state will be discovered in another, and a mutual and beneficial dependence will render their union still more indissoluble.

The Geological survey of Massachusetts was undertaken by Professor Hitchcock, under the direction of the state government, as authorized by an act of the Legislature, passed the 5th June, 1830, and on the 2d of February, 1831 a resolve was voted to authorize the surveyor to add to his work a list

of the Mineralogical, Botanical and Zoological productions of the commonwealth. In 1833 the first edition of the work was published, with an appropriate geological map, wood cuts, plates, catalogues of specimens, and lists of native plants, and animals. Copies of this work were presented to the members of the legislature, and to all the scientific and literary institutions of the state. The first edition being soon exhausted, a second and much improved one was published in 1835, which was disposed of in a similar manner by government. This edition is, in many respects, superior to the first, as many additions were made to it, and extensive and corrected catalogues were substituted for the old and imperfect ones in the former edition. The collections of rocks and minerals made to illustrate the Geology of the state were fifteen hundred and fifty specimens for the government, and nine hundred for each of the three colleges of the state. The government collection has been deposited, by state authority, in the cabinet of the Boston Society of Natural History, where they have been arranged, and can always be examined by the members of the government, and are open to public view every Wednesday.

The Report is divided into four parts viz.: Economical Geology, Topographical Geology, Scientific Geology, Catalogues of Botanical and Zoological productions, and lists of specimens. Under the head of Economical Geology, Professor Hitchcock describes the rocks, soils and minerals that may be applied to useful purposes, and thus become sources of pecuniary profit. First, as relates to Agriculture; such as alluvium, forming the rich and fertile soil in low lands; diluvium consisting of rounded pebbles, sand and clay confusedly mixed together, by powerful currents of water in olden time, probably by the last great flood described in the scriptures. This formation, although highly interesting to the scientific geologist, is not considered a good soil by agriculturists, but is capable of being ameliorated by loam and manures. The fine white siliceous sand of Cape Cod belongs to this formation, and is useful in the manufacture of glass. The tertiary formation presents an abundance of potter's clay, arranged in regular layers, one above another, alternating with layers of sand. This formation is difficult to distinguish from the preceding, and is chiefly marked by its regular stratification, and by its fossil shells. It does not however resemble the formations of a similar name in Europe, on account of the absence of beds of calcareous marl, and abun-

dance of shells which there occur. Professor Hitchcock does not consider this a good soil, although it is said to be congenial to rye and some other hardy plants.

New red sandstone is a rock occurring abundantly in the valley of the Connecticut, and on account of its ready disintegration, forms a soil which is said to be very good for the growth of rye, grass, fruit and forest trees.

Argillaceous slate and graywacke, when decomposed, form a good soil of a dark color, capable however of improvement. Bog iron ore, in low lands, produces a soil of deep red color, but its action on vegetation is unknown. Steatite, serpentine, scapolite rock, limestone, porphyry, quartz rock, chlorite, talcose, mica and hornblende slates, from the small quantity in which they occur, or the difficulty with which they yield to the usual causes of decomposition, are not supposed to contribute much to the formation of soil. Granite, sienite and gneiss, are said to produce good soils, although in Europe, the contrary opinion generally prevails. Greenstone, when decomposed, forms a warm and fertile soil.

The rocks and minerals which, from their nature and quantity are considered valuable, are granite, sienite, gneiss, greenstone, hornblende slate, porphyry of several kinds, quartz rock, mica and talcose slates, limestone, marble, serpentine, soapstone, graywacke, novaculite, red sandstone, porcelain clay, potter's clay, marl, peat and the Worcester coal (graphite.)

The ores of metals, are those of iron, lead, copper, zinc, manganese, and a little silver in lead ores. These constitute the valuable minerals of the state; and we refer the reader to the Report where he may learn the localities.

Professor Hitchcock closes his article upon economical geology, by relating some instances of idle and absurd researches for gold, silver and buried money, which illustrate the importance of a scientific geological survey of the country.

When we express our opinion of this part of the Report, we do no more than agree with the author in observing, that it calls for more ample details, which, however, it will require a longer time to collect, and which we hope will be hereafter added to the work. If this part of the Report should be thus enlarged, and contain a full description of all the localities where quarries and mines may be wrought, the methods to be pursued in working each particular mine or quarry, with plans of mines, furnaces, forges, processes for amending soils, manu-

facturing alum, copperas, blue vitriol, saltpetre, sea-salt, Epsom salts, sulphate of soda, &c., it would become the *vade mecum* of practical workmen, and would greatly contribute to improve the arts and sciences.

Under the head of Topographical Geology, Professor Hitchcock describes some of the most charmingly picturesque scenery of the state, and aided by the skilful pencil of his lady, he has given us some very beautiful drawings in illustration of the subject. "Since," as he observes, "the contour of a country owes its peculiarities, in a great measure, to the character of the rocks found beneath the soil," it will be evident that such pictorial delineations are not misplaced in the geological description of the state.

"The extended plain is considered alluvial or tertiary. The precipitous ridge or mountain, if dark colored, will indicate trap rocks; if light colored, granite; if the summit be rounded, and the aspect red or gray, it may be supposed to be made up of sandstone. The more extended and less precipitous mountain ranges, stretching away over many a league, correspond more nearly to the outlines of primary rocks.

"Massachusetts is peculiarly mountainous. But mountain scenery is not particularly interesting, if the slopes are gentle and the outlines of the hills are much rounded. It needs the sharp towering peak, the overhanging cliffs, and the roaring torrent beneath, to arrest the attention and excite strong emotions. Such objects are numerous in this state, especially in the western part. Here, we find some scenery that is truly Alpine." — pp. 83, 94.

Professor Hitchcock thus expresses his emotions on looking down from the summit of Saddle Mountain, an eminence rising 2,800 feet above the valley at Adams, and 3,600 above the level of the sea.

"I know of no place where the mind is so forcibly impressed by the idea of vastness, and even of immensity, as when the eye ranges abroad from this eminence. Towards the south, you have a view, more or less interrupted by spurs from the Taconic and Hoosic ranges of mountains, of that fertile valley which crosses the whole of Berkshire county. On the right and left you look down upon, or rather overlook the Taconic and Hoosic mountains, which from the valley beneath, seem of such towering height and grandeur. Beyond these mountains, on every side, you see the summits of peak beyond peak, till they are blended with the distant sky. The objects in the immediate vicinity of the mountain, do not forcibly arrest the attention; though from

the northern point of the summit, I should suppose the valley of Williamstown must be delightfully exhibited. Still, the vast depth of the valley around you, as you stand upon Greylock, contributes, no doubt, to swell the feeling of immensity and sublimity produced by looking abroad among such a sea of mountains." —p. 85.

The view which the author of the report enjoyed from the summit of Mount Tom, is so similar to one seen from the Rigi, that we lay it before the reader, as a miniature of a more magnificent spectacle, seen among the Swiss Alps.

"I obtained from this mountain, one summer morning, a striking view, while yet the whole valley of the Connecticut was enveloped in fog, and Tom, with a few other elevated peaks, connected with the greenstone range alone, rose above the vapor. The sun shining brightly, and the wind gently blowing, gave to this fog a strong resemblance to an agitated ocean. To the north and south, it seemed illimitable; but on the east and west, the high mountain ranges, that form the boundaries of the valley of the Connecticut, constituted its shores. I could not but feel transported back to that remote period, when this great valley was enveloped in like manner, by water, and Holyoke and Tom formed only low and picturesque islands upon its surface." —p. 91.

We agree, entirely, with the following remarks, of the Professor.

"What a pity it is, that so many of the most interesting mountains and hills in Massachusetts have got attached to them such uncouth and vulgar names! How must the poet's lines

> ——————— 'scramble up and down,
> On disproportioned legs, like Kangaroo,'

if such words as Saddle Mountain, Rattle Snake Hill, Bear Town Mountain, Mount Tom, Mount Toby, Sugar Loaf, Blue Mountain and Deerfield Mountain, be introduced. Holyoke, Taconic, Hoosic and Wachusett, are more tolerable; though most of them have an Indian origin. It would have been fortunate, if our forefathers had not attempted, in general, to supersede the aboriginal designations. For what mountain can ever become an object of much regard and attachment, if its beauties and sublimities cannot be introduced into a nation's poetry, without producing the most ridiculous associations!" —p. 93.

Fortunately, there are some summits in the state yet unnamed. It is to be hoped that men of taste, will see to it, that no further additions be made to the catalogue *of uncouth and barbarous* names.

The atlas of plates illustrating the Report, contains one general map, on which the rocks are represented by colors; one of the valley of the Connecticut; one indicating the general directions of strata; four sections of the rock formations, crossing the state in different directions; a tabular view of the rocks and minerals; nine views of scenery, together with four plates, representing organic remains of plants and animals found in the rocks; most of which drawings are due to the pencil of Mrs. Hitchcock. The colored map represents, with as much accuracy of detail as its size would permit, the great deposits of rocks and soils found in the state. The map of the valley of the Connecticut is uncolored, and displays with great fidelity its peculiarities. The map showing the directions of strata, is an outline sufficiently accurate to give a general idea of the subject. The sections are valuable additions to our knowledge of the relative positions of the rocks.

The tabular and systematic view of the rocks and minerals is so arranged as to show the different great formations and their imbedded minerals, with reference to the systems of Werner, Macculloch, Conybeare, De La Bêche, Brongniart and Lyell, and the natural division into stratified and unstratified rocks is adopted, while the series of rocks may be read off in either the ascending or descending order. This table is one of great value, as it removes all difficulties arising from any peculiar views which the author may entertain, and the student is at liberty to chose which ever he pleases of the general systems in the study of the rocks.

Mrs. Hitchcock's drawing of picturesque geological scenery, are equally acceptable to the geologist and the admirer of nature. The drawings of fossil remains present to the reader a view of the strange and wonderful organized beings that formerly inhabited the soil where we now live, and demonstrate to him the state of this part of the globe, at the time when such animals and plants flourished. The atlas presents to the eye the principal interesting points in the geology of the state, and is certainly a most valuable and useful accompaniment to the Report. We regret that neither time nor our limits will allow us to enter into an analysis of this portion of the work, and we refer the reader at once to its pictorial delineations.

Under the head of Scientific Geology, Professor Hitchcock

describes the different groups of rocks which occur in the state, and endeavors to explain the theory of their formation and the analogies which they present to their supposed equivalents in Europe. He explains the manner in which he wishes the term rock to be understood, and uses this word in its most extended sense, as implying not only solid masses but also detritus, loose stones, sand, gravel, clay and soils.

The rocks are divided into stratified and unstratified; and are described in the descending order, beginning with the superficial soil or alluvium.

Stratified rocks, are those which are disposed in layers, having parallel and continuous seams. The upper part of the earth's crust consists chiefly of unconsolidated layers of sand, clay and gravel; and the lower down we examine the strata, the more dense and solid they become.

Alluvium is divided into several different kinds, such as that deposited by rivers, that washed up by the sea, and that of salt marshes.

Under this class are described several curious sub-marine forests situated in the waters near Cape Cod and Martha's Vineyard. It is suggested that others may be discovered along the south-eastern coast of the state, and perhaps along the whole Atlantic coast. As this subject has but recently attracted the attention of geologists, we hope that such persons as may enjoy the opportunity, will endeavor to bring to light more examples of submerged forest trees, and note particularly their depth below the tide waters.

Coasters and the officers of the Revenue Cutters, can render geology an important service by such observations, provided they will note down at the time, the facts they may observe, and send them to some public journal or newspaper. Examples of submerged forests are known in Europe, as they occur chiefly on the shores of England, and when a sufficient number of facts are collected, a general theory may be formed to account for them. At present, they cannot be satisfactorily accounted for.

Peat originates from accumulated and partially decayed plants, which collect in the bottoms of shallow lakes, and in the course of time fill the space formerly occupied by the water, rising to the surface; numerous sphagneous plants, mosses and ferns grow in it, and add their matter to swell the deposit. By this process a peat bog is ultimately formed, and

proves valuable to the inhabitants of a country, as the wood is cut away and becomes scarce. It is capable of supplying, in a great measure, the want of coal in many districts, and is highly valuable for domestic use, and for fuel in manufactories. It is, therefore, a matter of congratulation, that this substance is found to exist in great profusion, in every part of our state. The causes which produce this substance are thought to be continually diminishing, but as many of the present peat bogs are yet too soft and wet to be advantageously explored, there will be a supply of this fuel for many ages, brought to an available condition by the gradual draining of swamps and ponds. Marl occurs in the bottom of ponds, and is generally found beneath the peat. The latter locality is not mentioned in the Report.

This substance consists of fine clay and carbonate of lime; and that found under peat is saturated with vegetable juices, so as to render it a very valuable manure for soils, particularly for those of a sandy nature, or those impregnated with sulphate of iron. We beg leave to call the attention of agriculturalists to this substance, since we have seen it render fertile many a barren tract of country. It is the carbonate of lime in the marl, that has the property of decomposing the sulphate of iron, removing a noxious ingredient, and replacing it by sulphate of lime or gypsum, a salutary stimulant to vegetation.

Professor Hitchcock observes, that marl is found in the bottoms of ponds in Berkshire county, and that it is continually deposited there by the water.

There are several other kinds of alluvium described in the Report, such as that of disintegration produced by decomposition of the rocks, and that of degradation or such as is produced by the washing down of the sides of hills and mountains.

The formation of bog iron ore is accounted for by the decomposition of iron pyrites, which forms sulphate of iron, and this substance decomposing again by the influence of the carbonic acid of the air, carbonate of iron is deposited in the lowlands where the sulphate had flowed in solution. Probably the action of the carbonate of lime and that of the alkalies of felspar may aid in the process, as does that of light and vegetable matter, providing a continual deposit in the meadows and ponds in the vicinity.

The action of the ice on bowlders is considered; and the encroachments of the sea in the formation of harbors explained;

as is also the gain of the land upon the sea in some places. In this part of the Report we perceive that the Professor did not find the sands of Cape Cod altogether barren. The excavation of valleys forms an interesting article, in which the Connecticut plays a conspicuous part; but the author does not think that river ever excavated its own bed, but that powerful causes, such as the elevation of strata and the mighty rush of diluvial waters with floods of ice, contributed to excavate the channel through which the river now winds its gentle course.

Diluvium. This deposit, the origin of which is assigned to the rush of waters which took place in the last great deluge, has fixed for a long time, the serious attention of the author of the Report; and his observations are of the deepest interest. He has devoted a few pages of his work to the history of this very remarkable deposit, and has published, in another work, a more full exposition of his views. Under the term Diluvium, Professor Hitchcock includes the layers of gravel, bowlders, sand and loam, which are spread over almost every part of the surface of the earth, and which has been confusedly mingled together by the action of powerful currents of water subsequent to the deposition of regular strata. He does not suppose that the last transient deluge could have produced and brought to its present situation all the diluvium which is spread over this continent.

"It has," he observes, "obviously been the result of different agencies and of different epochs; the result of causes sometimes operating feebly and slowly, and at other times violently and powerfully.

"But the conclusion to which he has been irresistibly forced, by an examination of this stratum in Massachusetts is, that *all the diluvium, which had been previously accumulated by various agencies, has been modified by a powerful deluge, sweeping from the north and north-west, over every part of the state; not excepting its highest mountains.*" —p. 148.

This position is ably maintained by examples in the topography of this deposit and the history of erratic bowlders.

It is an indisputable fact, noticed in various quarters of the globe, that large masses of rock have been transported to a considerable distance south of their original localities; thus the bowlders found around the city of St. Petersburg in Russia can be proved to have been derived from the mountains of Norway and Finland. In England, Germany, France, Canada, Nova Scotia and various parts of the United States, similar

observations have been made by many geologists. Professor Hitchcock declares, that he was always able to trace the erratic bowlders of this state to a more northern locality whence they originated. He was led to notice this fact especially, as he began his survey of the southern part of the state and travelled through it, in consecutive parallels, in the same direction, and remarked that when he saw erratic stones, he always found the locality where they occurred, by proceeding northward; and the bowlders and blocks of stone became larger as he advanced towards their original locality. This fact is so well settled in geology, as to direct the traveller to the spot where the rock or mineral occurs, with a great degree of certainty of finding it in the direction from which according to theory it should be found.

There are some difficulties to be surmounted in conceiving how such enormous masses could have been transported to the distance through which they have evidently travelled. Various theories and hypotheses have been proposed; some, supposing the power that moved the rocks, to have been water in a liquid state, and others that it was ice forced onward by a terrible rush of water from the north arctic regions. Professor Hitchcock favors the latter hypothesis.

The second argument, brought forward by this gentleman to prove the direction of a powerful deluge, is, that there are grooves, scratches and furrows in the rocks, which appear to have been produced by friction of rocks, pebbles and water, which all coincide to prove that the current came from the north or north-west. Numerous localities are cited, to which the reader may refer. To prove that such a current prevailed on the most elevated of our mountains, he remarks, that the diluvial scratches may be seen on Wachusett, a mountain elevated three thousand feet above the sea. Professor Hitch cock concludes with this remark.

"It would be easy to multiply examples of this kind of diluvial action. But the cases that have been described, occurring as they do in every part of the state, and frequently upon its highest mountains, seem sufficient to lead every reasonable man to the conclusion that these grooves and furrows were produced by the large bowlders, which now strew the surface, and exhibit in their rounded forms and smooth surfaces, the marks of powerful abrasion. And since we uniformly find these bowlders to the south and south-east of their parent rock, how can we doubt that a mighty current of

water has sometime or other swept over the surface from the north and north-west? It seems to me, that in regard to Massachusetts, the evidence of such a deluge is complete; and it is difficult to see how it could be more conclusive." — p. 170.

The facts that have been discovered tend to disprove the conjecture thrown out by Mons. L. Elie de Beaumont, in his Researches on some of the Revolutions of the surface of the Globe, that the last deluge might have been produced by the elevation of the Andes; for the diluvial wave evidently appears to have come from the north, which we cannot conceive to have been effected by such an event. We are aware that M. Beaumont only suggested this, as a possible explanation of the event, without attaching any importance to the conjecture. In the present state of our knowledge, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to assign a sufficient or probable cause of this grand cataclysm. May it not be that the sudden elevation of a chain of mountains would effect a change in the position of the earth's axis of rotation, and thus cause a tumultuous wave from the polar regions to rush over the land? Do not the remains of animals of warm climates found frozen in the ice and sand of Siberia and Kamscatka, with their flesh preserved, seem to indicate a sudden transition of temperature in those regions, such as might thus have been effected? More extensive researches may yet lead to such a conclusion, and we do not think it will be necessary to advance any hypothesis for any other purpose than to excite investigation.

Professor Hitchcock remarks, that he has no doubt that the mounds of the Western States, supposed by antiquarians to have been the work of man, are in reality diluvial or tertiary deposits, and not the work of mortals, but of God.

The organic remains found in diluvium are few and uninteresting, mostly belonging to recent species of shell-fish.

Tertiary formations are described in the Report under two divisions.

The most recent tertiary, and the plastic clay formations;—

"These are distinguished from each other by their mineralogical characters, their organic remains, and the different position of their strata." — p. 178.

The most recent tertiary is found to constitute extensive beds in the valley of the Connecticut; and a few patches are described as occurring at Cambridge and Charlestown. This

formation is said to exist in horizontal strata, and is, in this state, remarkably free from organic remains. It consists of alternating layers of white sand and clay, and its upper surface bears marks of disturbance from diluvial action; while the beds of clay themselves, appear to have been disturbed, in some places, during their deposition, as is proved by contortions which the strata exhibit. In this deposit are found extensive beds of brown oxide of iron; hæmatite and nodular, argillaceous, iron ore.

Organic remains rarely occur, but Professor Hitchcock thinks he has found ovulites and scyphæ. The fossil, figured as the ovulite, is similar to species found in the clay at Bangor, Maine. Those found at the latter place are more cylindrical, and resemble in form the belemite; but they have, in other respects, a close resemblance to the fossil figured by Professor Hitchcock.

The plaster clay formation is described as occurring at Gay Head, Martha's Vineyard and at Nantucket. This formation is characterized by its variegated clays, layers of sand, gravel, iron ore and lignite; and contains numerous and very remarkable organic remains, such as impressions of leaves of plants, Carpolites, shark's teeth of gigantic size, indicating that they must have belonged to an animal at least thirty-six feet in length. Teeth of crocodiles and bones of enormous Saurian reptiles, probably those of the Plesiosaurus.

In the green sand at Gay Head, he found also remains of Crustaceous animals, such as crabs, which are much broken, shewing that they were deposited before the green sand had become stationary. Zoophytes were found in this same deposit, as were also several species of shells, such as the venus tellina and a turbo.

The author of the Report refers this tertiary formation to its equivalent, the plastic clay of Europe, and remarks that,

> "The variegated clays, the interstratified lignites with amber, and the intermixture of marine animals with terrestrial vegetable remains, must settle the question." — pp. 201, 202.

The plastic clay formation is also found in Duxbury, containing many fossil shells similar to those found at Gay Head.

The new red sandstone formation occurs, forming extensive beds in the valley of the Connecticut river, stretching from New Haven, Connecticut, to the north line of Massachusetts

in Northfield. This formation is usually the depository of gypsum and rock salt, and in Europe, overlie the coal measures. It does not appear from Professor Hitchcock's examination to contain any considerable quantities of these valuable minerals in this state. He found it to contain many curious fossil relics, among others, impressions of fossil fish belonging to the genus *Paleothrissum*, exactly like those which are found in the state of Mansfield and Hesse in Germany; and the skeleton of a vertebral animal, several feet long, which was dug up at East Windsor, Connecticut, eighteen feet below the surface.

Ores of copper in this formation in Connecticut are found at Granby, and near the junctions of this rock with the greenstone trap rocks. Ores of lead, zinc, and iron, are found in a similar situation.

Among the fossil vegetables found in this formation are *Calamites*, *Lycopodites*, *Fucoides*, and the fossil trunk of a tree. *Zoophytes*, of a remarkable character, were also discovered in the shale or fine micaceous sandstone forming the banks of Westfield river. Among them are enormous *Gorgoniæ* or sea fans, are of a magnitude surpassing the most gigantic species of the tropical seas. One of these remarkable fossils he has traced for more than eighteen feet in length and probably ten feet in width! *Radiaria* of several species are found in the fœtid limestone at West Springfield.

All the facts that have been discovered by the author of the Report, in the valley of the Connecticut, tend to prove, that the sandstone of that valley once formed the bottom of at tropical sea, in which flourished the various animals now found imbedded in the rocks; while those portions of the soil above the level of the water, produced those remarkable plants, which are now found petrified.

"It is certainly an interesting thought, that this delightful valley, which now forms so charming a residence for man, once constituted, for an immense period, the bottom of a tropical ocean, where gigantic Gorgoniæ, certainly twenty, and perhaps forty feet high, formed coral groves, and Fucoideæ more numerous, flourished.

"The astonishing change brought about in the course of ages, exalts our conceptions of the wisdom and extent of the plans of the Deity; and leads us to anticipate future changes, whenever those plans may require."—p. 246.

Since the publication of the Report, Professor Hitchcock has made some remarkable discoveries in the new red sandstone formation of the Connecticut valley, which we think it proper to notice in this place. We allude to his account of the *ornithichnites* or *foot marks of birds*, which he has discovered in this rock, concerning which he has published an able and very interesting memoir in the American Journal of Science, Vol. xxix, No 2.

His attention was first called to this subject by Dr. James Deane of Greenfield, who sent him some casts of impressions on red, micaceous sandstone, brought from the south part of Montague, for flagging stones. The original impressions were presented by Dr. Deane to Amherst college, where they may be seen.

Professor Hitchcock afterwards saw some impressions of a similar kind in Deerfield, and learning that the stone came from Gill, he proceeded thither, and discovered a number of very large and distinct impressions in a quarry, near the *Horse Race* of Connecticut river. Several fine examples of similar kind were also found at South Hadley near Mount Holyoke.

The species of ornithichnites are divided into two orders 1st. *Pachydactyli* or thick toed birds. 2d. *Leptodactyli* or slender-toed birds.

The *O. giganteus*, is a bird track which measures sixteen or seventeen inches in length; while the distance of the steps from each other is from four to six feet! Several rows of tracks were found, side by side, rendering it probable, according to the Professor, that the birds were gregarious.

The foot marks called *O. ingens* are still more remarkable on account of their great size and the impressions of a hairy appendage upon the heel. He remarks,

"I have been led to suspect that the bird possessed a sort of knobbed heel, covered with wiry feathers, which sunk into the mud when the track was deep. Yet I do not feel very confident as to the nature of this appendage. The impression of the bristles extends backwards from the heel, at least eight or nine inches; so that the whole length of the track is not less than *two feet!* The length ef the step appears to have been about six feet; although I have had few opportunities to ascertain this fact.

"Indeed I hesitate not to say, that the impression made on the

mud appears almost as deep, indicating a pressure almost as great as if an elephant had passed over it. I could not persuade myself, until the evidence became perfectly irresistible, that I was examining merely the track of a bird." — p. 15.

From the number of toes indicated by these tracks, he thinks the birds must have been a species of grallæ. The tracks are much larger than those of any ostrich, and are different in respect to the number and divisions of the toes. The skeleton of an ostrich in the museum of the Boston Society of Natural History has a foot, the greatest length of which is eleven and a quarter inches, while its legs are three feet seven inches long, and were perhaps four feet in length when the animal was clothed with flesh. Its toes are two in number, and very different from the drawings in the paper which we are noticing. The length of the animal from the extremity of the body to the head is six feet; and it could have raised its head upwards of nine feet from the ground. How greatly must the birds whose footsteps are described by Professor Hitchcock, have surpassed in size the African ostrich, when its feet were nearly two feet in length, and its stride upward of six feet. Professor Hitchcock does not doubt that these giant shore birds were twice as large as the largest of the ostrich tribe, and that they were the inhabitants of a hot climate, which existed at the period, when these enormous birds stalked along the shores of a tropical sea, which is supposed to have washed the valley of the Connecticut in olden times.

In corroboration of his views he cites the occurrence of corals, enormous Gorgoniæ, and other organic relics, which must have grown in a tropical sea, but which are now found in the solid rocks forming the embankments of the Connecticut river.

Professor Hitchcock has made plaster casts of all the most interesting of the bird tracks, and will send a suite of them to the Museum of the Boston Society of Natural History. He also offers to exchange similar casts for fossils from other parts of the country. We beg leave to refer the reader to the original memoir in the American Journal of Science.

The graywacke formation is described in the Report as including several kinds of rock, varying from a fine argillaceous slate to the coarsest conglomerate and brecci. It is usually considered as belonging to the transition series, a class which

Professor Hitchcock does not adopt. This rock formation, which covers a great area of country, extending from Rhode Island to Boston, is one of the most interesting class, since it is the depository of anthracite coal, and contains many curious fossils belonging to that formation. The coal mines of Rhode Island are included in it, and the accompanying shales and wacke are filled with impressions of fossil plants, such as must have grown on the spot where they are found, and yet in a tropical climate. Since the Report was published, we have had the satisfaction of identifying a similar coal field within the limits of our state, where several narrow beds of anthracite of good quality have been found, indicating the probability of finding others of sufficient magnitude to be advantageously explored. Several species of Pecopteris and Neuopteris were found, and the trunk of a Cactus, besides numerous petrifactions, apparently belonging to the genus Calamite or Equisetum. The conglomerate rocks, such as may be seen at Roxbury, and extending from thence to Rhode Island, are composed of a very firm argillaceous cement, which is sometimes changed into a sort of compact felspar, and pebbles of various size, are agglutinated by this substance. These pebbles bear evidence of having been rounded by attrition, doubtless by the action of the sea, while the paste in which they are imbedded, was probably derived from their friction against each other, and the mud and sand of the shore of the former ocean. The most remarkable appearances are to be seen in these rock-pebbles, broken asunder as if cut with a sharp instrument, and their divided portions occupying different sides of a fissure. Dykes of greenstone trap have also been injected into and through it, effecting some curious changes in the rock when the dyke was of sufficient magnitude.

Every appearance observed in this rock goes to prove that it has been elevated by subterraneous causes from the sea, while the elevating rock was in an incandescent state, and acted powerfully upon the superincumbent rock. Those portions of the conglomerate which were powerfully heated, would of course lose the organic remains that might have been imbedded in them, and the paste would assume the compact appearance which it now presents.

By the agency of heat and of the elevating power, we are enabled to account for the fracture of the pebbles in their centres, and for every other phenomenon this rock exhibits in

our vicinity. No one who examines the relative position of the greenstone trap and of this rock, can for a moment doubt that the former rock was the efficient agent in the disturbance of the strata. Among the changes, which the minerals included in this rock have undergone, may be noticed the conversion of anthracite into graphite in some places, as in Rhode Island; and perhaps we may be justified in the opinion, that the high temperature and pressure of the rocks when elevated, determined the formation of anthracite instead of bituminous coal.

The next series of rocks described in the Report is the clay slate, respecting which Professor Hitchcock is in doubt whether or not it can be referred to the graywacke group. It is certain that it belongs to the lowest of the transition series, as it passes by imperceptible shades into micaceous slate. It is this rock at Lancaster, which includes those remarkable crystallizations of andalusite that have been called chiastolite or macle, and which are certain to arrest the eye of the curious traveller who passes through that village, on account of their fantastic shapes, and the striking contrast which they exhibit to the dark rock forming their matrix.

The limestone rocks which occur in various parts of the state, but chiefly in Berkshire county, are described, and one deposit of encrinal limestone, existing at Bernardston, with fossils which were not noticed in the first edition of the Report. This limestone is said to contain imbedded ores of iron.

The limestones of Berkshire furnish several handsome marbles, which will doubtless become more valuable in commerce, when means of transporting them by rail roads shall be supplied.

Bolton, Boxboro' and Littleton have beds of limestone included in gneiss, which are worked for lime. At these localities occur many rare and beautiful minerals, which are eagerly sought for by mineralogists.

Scapolite rocks occur in abundance in the vicinity of the limestone beds. This rock is not, however, of any use in the arts.

Quartz rock exists in various parts of the state, and in some places is used in the manufacture of glass.

Mica slate, essentially composed of Quartz and mica, exists frequently in connexion with the gneiss rocks. It contains a variety of crystallized minerals, and occupies several large tracts in the state.

Talcose slate is found in the midst of the mica slate of the Hoosic mountain range, and in various parts of the state. Its most important included minerals are ores of iron, of which the micaceous specular ore of Hawley is an example. Where this formation appears in Vermont, small quantities of gold have been found in quartz, associated with iron ore.

Hornblende slate and gneiss terminate the series of stratified rocks. The latter rock is used for buildings and for flagging stones, for which purposes it is well adapted. Its localities are so numerous that it will be unnecessary to quote them, since it is the most abundant rock in the state. It differs from granite only in its stratified disposition, and is closely connected with that rock.

Professor Hitchcock enters at length upon the discussion of the theory of its formation, which he thinks to have been affected by the heat of nether rocks which were elevated in contact with it. We refer the reader to the work for the details.

Unstratified rocks are regarded as having generally been produced by subterranean causes, and erupted to the surface by igneous agency. Greenstone is one of the most remarkable of this class, and generally bears with it internal evidence of its Plutonic origin. We refer our readers to Mount Holyoke and numerous localities in the vicinity of Boston for examples. Various simple minerals are found in this rock, some of which are probably the products of fire, while others were produced by subsequent infiltration. In a variety of amygdaloidal greenstone at Deerfield, Professor Hitchcock found a new mineral allied to Heulandite which he has named Lincolnite in honor of his patron the ex-governor.

Porphyry occurs in numerous parts of the state, and is especially abundant at Malden, Medford and Lynn.

Sienite, a rock consisting of mingled crystals of felspar, quartz and hornblende, is the rock now generally used in Boston and its vicinity for building stone, and its beauty and durability have caused it to be sought for architectural purposes in the cities of the middle and southern states; so that the Quincy quarry has become extremely valuable to commerce. Sienite is regarded by Professor Hitchcock as merely a modification of granite, into which it frequently passes by regular gradations, while it also appears to unite with greenstone in a similar manner. Like granite it is evidently a rock of

sudden crystallization from igneous fluidity, as is proved, not only by its structure and composition, but by its action on other rocks. It forms a belt surrounding the environs of Boston, and extending from Quincy to Cape Ann, and is in contact with a great variety of overlying and subordinate rocks. Professor Hitchcock is of opinion that sienite has resulted from the fusion of stratified rocks.

Granite, as we have remarked, is the lowest rock to which man has ever penetrated, while it also peers out from the summits of the most lofty mountains, and appears to form the solid basis of the earth. It consists of quartz, felspar and mica in aggregate crystals, the relative proportions and arrangement of which is extremely variable, and the varieties thus produced are known by different distinctive appellations such as porphyritic granite, graphic granite, &c.

This rock exists in abundance in the state, in scattered bowlders, erratic blocks, and forms a continuous mass from Andover to Rhode Island. It also exists in Worcester county, forming numerous veins in gneiss and other rocks. It occurs also in mountain masses at Fitchburg, Westford and Lowell. The veins of granite, which intersect the superincumbent rocks, irrefragably prove the former rock to have been injected through the latter from below. Professer Hitchcock has given a number of wood cuts in his report, to illustrate this subject, shewing its intrusion into stratified rocks, such as mica and hornblende slates, gneiss and limestone, from which it may be fairly inferred that the granite was thrown up from below, effecting disruption of the superincumbent strata. Facts which have been collected in Europe, go to prove the same result, and the extreme antiquity of the origin and elevation of granite, seems to be now very doubtful, for it has been satisfactorily proved to have been elevated in numerous places, since the deposition of the secondary rocks. Granite is the rich repository of various valuable and brilliant minerals; ores of lead, copper and iron are of frequent occurrence, and Professor Hitchcock has found a crystal of oxyd of tin in this rock in Massachusetts, an ore that abounds in this rock in England.

Professor Hitchcock infers the igneous origin of Granite,

"1*st. From the inclined position of the stratified rocks.* 2*d. From the manner in which it is intruded among the stratified rocks.* 3*d. From the mechanical effects which it appears to have exerted upon the stratified rocks in its immediate vicinity.* 4*th.*

From its chemical effects upon the surrounding strata. 5th. From its crystalline structure, and the numerous crystallizations of other substances that have taken place in it."

The Report concludes with the application of the theory of central heat, and Elie De Beaumont's theory of the elevation of mountains, in which the Professor endeavors to refer some of our mountain chains to the systems of the French Geologist, and in which he appears to have made some progress, although it will be necessary to make further researches before this arrangement can be depended upon.

The fourth and last divisions of the Report contains extensive and valuable catalogues of animals and plants which have been found in the state, at the end of which, is the following general summary.

	No. of genera.	No. of species.
I. Mammalia,	26	45
II. Birds,	70	157
III. Reptiles,	7	34
IV. Fishes,	57	108
V. Shells,	76	169
VI. Crustacea,	26	38
VII. Spiders,	21	125
VIII. Insects,	501	2350
IX. Radiata,	18	27
Total of animals,	802	3153
X. Plants, *(flowering,)*	454	1246
" *(flowerless,)*	140	491
Total of Plants,	594	1737

The catalogues have been chiefly furnished by gentlemen cultivating the several departments of Natural History, and no doubt the number of species of animals and plants found in the state will be still much augmented by additional discoveries which are continually in progress. We have been compelled by the vast number of facts contained in the Report, and by our limits in this notice, to pass over, in a cursory manner, many interesting subjects, which are discussed in it, and which we must invite the reader to study in detail at the source whence we have already so largely drawn. We feel confident that many an otherwise weary journey may be made delightful, if the traveller would take the Report on the Geology of the

state with him, and observe the curious phenomena which it describes, and we are sure he would return to his home a wiser and better man for this exercise of his faculties.

We cannot close this imperfect notice of Professor Hitchcock's great work, without referring the reader to some very interesting memoirs, which this author has published in the Biblical Repository for 1835, on "the Connexion between Geology and Natural Religion," and on "the Connexion between Geology and the Mosaic History of the Creation." These articles, in a literary and scientific point of view, are to be classed among the happiest efforts of the author, and cannot fail to be read with delight by every man of intelligence.

ART. VI.—*History of Concord.*

1. *A History of the Town of Concord, from its earliest Settlement, to* 1832*; and of the adjoining Towns, Bedford, Acton, Lincoln and Carlisle; containing various Notices of County and State History, not before published.* By LEMUEL SHATTUCK, Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston. Russell, Odiorne & Co. 1835. 8vo. pp. 400.
2. *An Historical Discourse, delivered before the Citizens of Concord,* 12*th September,* 1835*, on the Anniversary of the Incorporation of the Town.* By RALPH WALDO EMERSON. Published by request. Concord. 1835. 8vo. pp. 52.

THE author of this long-expected History has done well, in the outset, to commend his work to the respect of the public, by proving, in his Preface, that he appreciates the value of accurate annals of a town. The qualification may seem quite indispensable to one who undertakes to record them, whether for the benefit of the district described, in particular, or of the world at large. It may seem quite easy also of attainment; so much so as to make the lack of it considerably more remarkable than the possession. Yet, how rarely do we meet with it. How few are the works of this class which may be depended on even for their accuracy; and we are speaking now of their value in that regard alone. We say nothing of the virtue of completeness in detail, or of comprehensiveness in design. We pass over the matter of judgment and tact in

the plan of arranging, and the matter of taste and energy in the style of expressing, and enforcing, what is to be told. All these may be of great consideration in local histories, as they must be in every composition. Accuracy, however, is the *sine-qua-non*. A history, not accurate, is, in other words, no history. The portions of it which are correct, are correct only by accident. It will not be used, therefore, as all local chronicles are mostly designed to be used, for the elements of history at large. These do not deserve to be classed with histories, which are good so far as they go; the praise sometimes bestowed upon crude medleys of this sort. If believed, they deceive. If distrusted, they will still, almost always, stand in the way of their betters. Few town histories will ever be written a second time. The pains are too great, and the praise is too little. A bad book of this description, or a poor one, lodges, like a stumbling-block in the path of coming generations.

Such works, we remarked, cannot be made use of as the elements of history at large. On the other hand, it is a rare recommendation of one, like this before us, that it may be so used. The author appreciated the importance of his labor in this respect. He knew, with the laborious George Dyer, that to *his* toil and perseverance, the chronologist, the biographer, the poet even, as well as the general historian, may stand eminently indebted; and that "works the most splendid in form, and which are constructed for the admiration of posterity," may rise out of documents and researches, apparently the most repulsive or trifling. "Who can calculate," asks honest George, "on the consequence of *a single date*, sometimes to an individual, sometimes to a family, and sometimes even to the public." This is enthusiasm, but it is the enthusiasm of common sense. We want such a spirit in our town histories. We must have such men to write them. We must have men that are capable, in the first place, of discerning between truth and falsehood, probability and improbability, matters of more or less interest, and matters of no interest at all; and who, in the second place, knowing what is desirable, and seeing what is necessary to accomplish it, are never to be dismayed by a dull prospect, or discouraged by a failure, or disappointed by a small return. There is, and should be, no such thing as a dull prospect, or a failure, or a small return, to such men. There is no such thing as dismay

or disappointment. Half a page of some old illegible and unintelligible manuscript, wherein the moths have had their will undisturbed perhaps for a century, found in the attic or the cellar, may reward him generously for months of plodding toil and aching eyes. It supplies him, perchance, with a christian name, the surname appertaining to which, was no better to him before, than Franklin's half of a pair of shears; or, with "a single date," which completes some nice little congeries of genealogy, wrought out of the rubbish of buried records, like a statue restored from the ruins of Pompeii. It is a discovery to him. He smiles at the sight, and rushes from his dusty laboratory into the open air of the wide world, and cries out "*eureka.*" And so, point by point, he brings out his "minute facts," as Mr. Shattuck calls them. Some may be missing; or may amount, even in his own estimation, to little or nothing; but others, enough to counter-balance these short-comings, reveal themselves before him by surprise. As he gropes after one thing, he stumbles upon another. Where but a single precious particle of golden truth or glittering tradition was looked for, he finds clusters of gems. He climbs the steep precipice of the mountain wall, like the Indian of Potosi, and under the roots of the dryest shrub to which he clings, he may find such treasures as only a conscientious, indefatigable, enthusiastic spirit, can appreciate with a genuine relish. Such things, he knows, have been, and may be again. He walks over rich ground. He digs in a dust, which is dearer than "all the ore of rich Peru." As an elegant writer has expressed it,—himself no ordinary specimen of the character he describes,—"the enchanted delver sighs and strikes on, in the glimmering mine of hope."

We will not undertake to say, that there are no inaccuracies in the ample and elaborate volume of Mr. Shattuck, the perusal of which has suggested these remarks. It would be no very difficult thing, on the contrary, to point out a few statements of considerable general interest, evidently understood by the writer, and meant to be received by his readers, for representations of established facts, which can be pretty plausibly shewn to be either incorrect, or doubtful. Some of these cases we may have occasion to indicate.* Most, if not all of them, have

* But, lest we should not, we may as well say here, that we refer chiefly to the chapter on the *Battle of Concord.* The author has looked up an amazing amount of interesting matter upon this subject, and the statements are

probably been noticed by the author himself, with others, perhaps, which are likely to escape any revision less diligent and anxious than his own. We allude to these the more freely, inasmuch as there can be no more doubt of his having the opportunity, than of his having the inclination, hereafter, of making good some little deficiencies in evidence or in explanation, and of abating or qualifying a few hasty assertions, which he has allowed himself to make in his eager pursuit of the subject.

But let us do the author justice. Nothing but inveterate industry and unshrinking perseverance, nothing but the professional enthusiasm by which they are sustained, could have enabled our annalist to undertake, or to undergo, the years and years of dismal drudgery of which his book bears evidence upon every page. No other literary labor, we apprehend, can convey so vivid a notion of a "Slough of Despond."

The laborious and faithful local historian, rarely has justice done him. The result of his researches may or may not be applauded, and admired. He may build himself, as the reviewer of Surtee's Durham History rightly expresses it, "a more durable monument in perishable paper than could be constructed of marble or brass."* This may be a monument known and seen only by the coming generations of dwellers on the narrow soil of the subject described; or, he may gain himself a reputation as wide even as the borders of his native land, and as lasting as its language. And yet, justice will not be done him. The result only will be known, or cared for; and perhaps not a tithe of that. Little allowance is made for the various degrees of difficulty with which the several results in literature are produced, and little discrimination shown in the allotment of the various degrees and kinds of honor, which are due to the toil and skill of those who produce them. A good local history is more or less popular very much as is a judicious arithmetic, or an elegant oration. No matter where

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generally made with great caution. We should like, however, to have qualified several of them. For example, on page 112, he says "*three* British soldiers were killed" in the skirmish at the bridge. Dr. Ripley states, in his "History of the Fight," that there were *two* killed. He states also that the Rev. Mr. Emerson witnessed the whole affair from his window, and now, Mr. Emerson's account of it is published in the Appendix to the Oration, and that also says *two*. We hope for another opportunity of resuming the subject of the "*Battle*" by itself.

* Quarterly Review of 1829.

the materials came from, or what they cost. No matter whether the work was necessarily, the tedious, loney, laborious, exhausting and aching labor of a life-time; or whether it was the adroit appropriation of such labor of other men, stealthily varnished over, and seasonably brought to the public notice by surprise; or, even a few pages of sensible declamation, thrown out, under the spur of some occasional engagement. It is all the same, substantially, with the reputation. It can not be expected to be otherwise. The pains-takers,—the undertakers of tasks, that, although indispensable to be done by somebody, yet nobody but themselves would ever undertake or could accomplish if they would — these are the very men who best understand, and are the least disposed to complain of the limited character of the applause or admiration which they meet with. This very want of the stimulus of immediate and considerable approbation, which the frothiest speech at a noisy caucus shall secure; the dusty drudgery encountered, the health wasted, the delights of society given up, with the consciousness that the sacrifice is all for the benefit of the reputation of other men; these things entitle them to the admiration of their country and their race. We do not now refer to the worthless, and perhaps worse than worthless, prodigies of senseless labor, which some men live and die to produce. We refer to the practical workmen, the collectors of the raw materials out of which all history is made; the pioneers in the wilderness of details and reports; the levellers of the land, and the diggers of the ditches, for the canals and the railroads, of which other men and after generations enjoy the benefit. It matters but little, at all events, so that the work be done. It is fortunate for the world that they are willing to do it. They may complain, and may have reason to do so. They may cry out "piteously," now and then, as D'Israeli says of some of the poorer poets in their obscurity, making themselves known only by their noise. They may avail themselves of a breathing moment, to rail at the world, or the compilers. They may even consider those worthy people, the booksellers, as poor old Drayton hesitates not to call them in most intelligible terms, "a company of base knaves, whom I scorn and kick at."* Still, however, it matters not much, so they will work on; and that is just what they always do, — they work on.

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* Speaking of his *Polyolbion.*

Perhaps this may be considered something of a digression. It intimates, rather, an application of our remarks to the case before us, which, on reflection, cannot be sustained. The History of Concord is the fruit of laborious research; the most so, in its class, which American literature has produced. It has cost a vast deal of the kind of drudgery we have been speaking of, and it will be found hereafter infinitely serviceable to works of a lighter character, and of more general circulation. But here the analogy ceases. A history of the town of Concord, were it tolerably, nay, badly executed, could not well be an *obscure* one. It must be either famous or infamous. The writer of a bad history of this town would be, especially if it were the first and only one, a malefactor of no mean distinction. A great part of the revolutionary reputation of his ancestors, and of his countrymen, would have been in his power, and that reputation he would have tarnished. The annals of all our ancient towns and cities are of inestimable value, and will be faithfully preserved; but those of Concord, — old Concord, in connexion with very few others, are the pound of flesh nearest the heart of the Republic. He that should do justice to them, had reason to expect, and he had a right, as a man deserving well of his country, to enjoy, the gratitude of those he should serve. Not, indeed, for the course of "a thousand years," like Father Leland, but for centuries, he was "so to open the window that the light should be seen so long stopped up, and the old glory of your *Britain* to reflourish throughout the world."

The history of Concord has been, with the exception of a few years, the history of the country at large. It comprises the period of our colonial, provincial, revolutionary and national existence. If shorter than that of its seniors in the old world, it is invested with a fresher interest, and has the advantage of being exclusively modern. We have lived in the last centuries and the best. There is no fable in our annals; they comprise no middle ages, no generations of boors. Our existence began in a period comparatively enlightened We rose betimes, and not before, and our work has been done in the open air and the broad day-light. All civilized nations have seen and known us. Our history has been connected with theirs, and the history of Christendom, during the period of that connexion, has been the most eventful, the most revolutionary, the most extraordinary in almost every particular, which the

world has experienced. If there is no fable, in our annals, they are full enough of *fact*. In all this fact, not every one indeed of our sectional subdivisions, or municipal corporations, could have a share in the same sense with the whole country. Very few could have a share of much importance. Concord, however, like Plymouth and like Boston, *had* such a share; a fact which we shall take it for granted is generally too well known to our readers to require a recapitulation on our part, of the details which go to establish it. Concord has been not only a *town*, an American, New-England, Massachusetts town; a specimen of a class of large, closely-connected, and most powerfully-operative communities, but the first of all the inland class, as we have mentioned, and but five years subsequent to Boston, and fifteen to Plymouth. It had moreover the fortune to become early, and to continue to the last, national and central ground; memorable now, and classical in all future time. Old Concord, stands in the foremost rank of historical subjects. Its locality, the character of its first population, and various accidental circumstances have all conspired to make it so. "Fortunate and favored it has been," Mr. Emerson well remarks, "in having received" and in having disseminated, he might have added, "so large an infusion of the spirit of both those periods," the Planting and the Revolutionary; and of every other remarkable period, also, in the whole eventful course of its existence. In the stages of this history will be found, as we explore it, characteristic indications of them all. This is the work Mr. Shattuck has accomplished. He has given us a whole cabinet of the almost-speaking remains of all the ages, which constitute the town's and the country's life-time. Scarcely a specimen in the series, scarcely a limb of the system, is wanting. The entire skeleton of American character, from first to last, and from greatest to least, may be set up, for the illustration of every past and for the instruction of every future generation.

We have said there is no fable in American annals. This is, or should be, one of our great literary advantages over other nations, which have a history reaching back so far into the distance or the darkness of the past, that their beginning cannot be seen. Such is the case with most nations of the civilized world, of ancient or *modern* times; and perhaps with the most considerable and important, it is most so. The history of such nations, in fact, cannot be, and never has been written. The

farther we go back for it with any degree of success, the more and more meagre it becomes; the more that truthfulness, which is the essence of the interest of history, and the whole of its value, diminishes until it disappears. The rest is all a bog, a land of "gorgons and chimeras dire," tradition possibly, probably conjecture, but not history. One man may be more ingenious than another in concealing his want of any ground to stand upon; or he may calculate better than another what must have been the beginning, and the progress, from what is known to have been the "*Decline* and *Fall;*" still, it is only calculation; and calculation and observation, like history and a story, are quite different affairs.

The history of our country, however, may be written. There is no reason why it should not be, and there is every reason why it should. It is not only true that we are young, and have lived in modern times,—in the period of truth, as distinguished from the period of tradition; true, that most of that period has been comparatively enlightened, at large; true, that we have been almost from the first an active, stirring, inquisitive, communicative people, connecting ourselves constantly with, and forcing ourselves on the acquaintance and attention of all cotemporaneous nations. It is no new nor vain thing, it is nothing which at this day requires proof at every repetition, to add, that we have been an intelligent as well as an energetic people. Education, systematic universal education, as well as ancestry, and necessity, have made us so. We have been, and are, a reading and writing people. As Mr. Emerson says of Concord, alluding to its ministers and its schools, "if the community, or any part of it, stints its expense in small matters, *it spends freely on great duties;*" and it has counted the promotion of education,—that same "*learning*", which the General Court of 1647 feared would be "buried in the graves of our *forefathers*,"—it has counted promotion of this education, in its truly liberal and practical sense, as among the very foremost of those great duties. It was natural that among the minor consequences of this system, should be an appreciation of the worth of all those facts of which history is, or should be made, and of the necessity and duty of their ample and accurate preservation. And such has been the case. Our peculiar political as well as ecclesiastical organization, has most essentially facilitated the labor, and increased the value, the harmony, the order, and the amount. Almost every locality of any official organized existence, as well as the towns

and churches, has had its history or the materials of it preserved. The whole soil might be covered with a patchwork of the several histories of these subdivisions. Our general history, if there were no general materials, could be very tolerably made, by the putting together of its local minutiæ, like the putting together of the pieces of a child's wooden map. But, fortunately, we are not left to such a necessity. The same education, the same intelligence, the same writing, reading, talking, thinking, and persevering habits, which have induced the towns, especially of the north, almost uniformly, to keep up a tolerable standing account of themselves, in the shape of records,—the same character, and the same circumstances have induced the people as such, to do the same in reference to the country at large, they have done in regard to the churches, the cities, or the towns. We have general materials on the same principle that we have local. To a certain extent, therefore, we are independent of the localities, as to the materiel of national or sectional annals. To a far greater extent, however, and particularly so far as the philosophy of history is concerned, we are dependent upon them in the most vital sense. But this consideration, too obvious to be enlarged on, brings us to our old train of comment once more. It reminds us again of the value of town histories and especially of the value of accuracy in them. It justifies us, we hope, for having said so much on that subject and for reverting to it here. This were less allowable, perhaps, if the great body of our town history did not yet remain to be wrought over and written out, as Mr. Shattuck has done *this*. It is among the chief of his merits that he has not only done a good thing, but that he has set a good example, and given almost a model.

Neither the abundance of our means of history, nor the clearness of its origin, has ever been illustrated more to our satisfaction than by the volume and the discourse before us. This is the more remarkable, and the more creditable to the authors, from the unfortunate loss of a volume of town records of Concord, containing its proceedings for about sixty years after the settlement, and also of all the records of the church, prior to 1738, which was more than a century after its organization; misfortunes of which no very satisfactory account appears to be in the power of the historian to furnish. The success, however, of his efforts to supply the deficiency as well as might be, under circumstances disheartening, in

the outset is a new encouragement, for all baffled antiquarians. It is a strong corroboration also of the correctness of our remarks on the vast advantages this country has in its wealth of historical materials. There is, says Mr. Shattuck, to begin with, "in the clerk's office, an old volume, containing an imperfect record of several grants of land, and a few unconnected proceedings of the town; with an incomplete list of marriages, births, and deaths, prior to 1636." For a spirit like his this was a good deal. It was not exactly the game itself he was pursuing, but it put him on the right trail; and an Indian is not keener on a hunt, than an antiquarian in his researches. His unwearied perseverance deserves reward; and it rarely fails to secure it. "This renders the early history," adds our author in his Preface, "less perfect than it would have been, &c. *though from other sources much information has been obtained.*" Here it is:

"The early records and documents in the offices of the secretaries of the commonwealth, and of the county, and *the private papers of individuals, and various other scattered fragments of traditionary, manuscript and printed history,* have with great labor been consulted." &c.

This, we say, is pursuing history to some purpose. There was no escape for it; if a fact was wanting in one place it was sure to be found in another.

For example; the list of the first settlers is lost, but Winthrop says "the grant was made to Mr. Buckley, and ——— merchant, and about twelve other families, to begin a town." It is remarkable how this hint has been followed up. Mr. Shattuck has furnished not only a minute account of this excellent man himself, his character, and condition even to the precise amount of the fortune which he brought with him from the old country to the new; but he has picked out, from the rubbish of ancient ages, all his lineal ancestors, for *ten generations*, back to Robert Buckley, Esq. one of the English barons, who, in King John's reign, as he says, was lord manor of Buckley in the County Palatine of Chester. This information, like a good deal more in the book, of like kind, is from English sources. Then we have the "merchant," above alluded to, looked up; and subsequent circumstances show him to have been none other than the famous Major Samuel Willard, of martial memory, and commander of

the forces in Ninigret's and Philip's war; one of the most distinguished of the early settlers of New England, and progenitor, it would seem, of all the numerous families of his name, including some individuals of a good deal of reputation, which the country has since produced. The names of the other "twelve" are in the same manner "inferred" from circumstances which leave little room for mistake. So are those of their successors, generally, through the medium of various petitions to the colonial authorities, and other official documents, independent of the records of the town. Twelve of their names appear in 1645, on an application for the reduction of their rates, owing to the migration of a considerable part of their population to a new settlement (since Fairfield,) in Connecticut, under the guidance of the Rev. Mr. *John Jones*.

This was another of the worthies, whose memory is a part of the early fame of Concord. He was a preacher of reputation in England, and came out in 1635, with the Rev. Messrs. Shepherd and Wilson, afterwards of Cambridge and Boston. He, too, was the ancestor of a great family, including, among six sons, one (Eliphalet) who became ultimately the first minister of Huntington, L. I., where he died about one hundred years old.

One of the twelve petitioners referred to last is *William Wood*. This person, who came to Concord in 1638, appears to have been the celebrated author of "New England's Prospect," the first who mentions the original name of Concord, *Musketaquid*. Mr. Wood is believed to have visited the ground as early as 1633, and to have been active, on his retnrn home, in promoting the settlement, which took place two years after, and was chiefly supplied with families directly from England.

With Wood came his nephew, *Hon. Thomas Flint*, who brought with him, according to a genealogy, property of four thousand pounds sterling, afterwards married a daughter of President Oakes of Harvard University, and was father, as Mr. Shattuck supposes, of the three Flints of Salem. He is the same "hardy" personage whom wonder-working Johnson refers to by name, when he pays him, in his "short metre," the compliment of having left, at Christ's command, his "lands, and native habitation,"

"His folke to aid, in desert straid, for gospel's exaltation."

He was probably something of a soldier, for the poet adds,

"Flint, hardy thou, will not allow the undermining fox,
With subtill skill, Christ's vines to spoil; *Thy sword shall give them knocks.*"

Among the first settlers also were three *Adamses*, sons of Henry, of Quincy, who came from Devonshire; *Barrett*, an Englishman, ancestor of multitudes of the same name, including the Colonel James who superintended the important Concord stores at the time of the "Fight;" *Buttrick*, who came out in 1635, considered the ancestor of all of the name in New England, if not in America, the gallant Major killed on the 19th of April, among the rest; *Dolor*, one of the chief progenitors of the numerous family of *Davis;* a *Dudley*, who deserves nearly equal praise, having had, among other children, a son, Samuel, who had twenty children of his own, and lived to the age of one hundred and nine; *John Hoar*, brother of one President of Harvard, of that name, and *Oakes*, the father of another; the worthy Mr. *Whiting*, easily traced back to John, the mayor of Boston, in England; that, "excelling grammarian," *Minot*, as his tomb-stone still bears witness, — being also a captain, physician, justice of the peace, and representative, not to mention his preaching in Stow, for twelve shillings and six pence a day, one half cash, and one half Indian corn,"* one of the most useful men of his time, and the father of the Hon. James, a leading character of the next generation; also Freeman *Farwell*, and Quarter-master *Hartwell*, each considered the progenitor of all among us of the same name; *Judson*, to whom the same distinction is ascribed; and finally the *Wheelers*, probably from Wales, as many as six of whom were here as early as 1637, and several with families.† This name still continues to be borne by more persons in the town than any other. The births of six, called John, appear on the clerk's record between 1650 and 1670. One of the first comers was *George*, and it appears that children of the eighth generation are now living on the spot which he settled. Mr. Shattuck has filled a page or two of his Appendix with their genealogy.

We have referred to these details for various reasons, but

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* See Appendix to the History, p. 379. † Appendix.

particularly with the view, of illustrating a previous remark on the wonderful extent to which matters of this description, and all the materiel of local and general histories, may be sought out, and set forth, by persons of the competent qualifications. There is no end to the "single dates" here. They would do George Dyer's heart good.

The circumstances of the first settlement, generally, have been in like manner restored; and especially those of the remarkable march of the earliest band into the wilderness, in search of their destination. That was a "toyle" of "*some dayes;*" and Johnson has preserved a most affecting and graphic sketch of it, which is too well known to be quoted here. Suffice it that thus "this poore people," as he says, "populate this howling desert, marching manfully on, the Lord assisting, through the greatest difficulties, and greater labors, than ever any with such weak means have done;"—hard work for "many an honest gentleman," among the number, Buckley and Willard included. This was a march of *twenty miles.*

We cannot forbear introducing here the beautiful picture Mr. Emerson draws of their situation during the first winter. It places us at once in the very midst of his company: —

"They proceeded to build under the shelter of the hill that extends for a mile along the north side of the Boston road, their first dwellings. The labors of a new plantation were paid by its excitements. I seem to see them, with their pious pastor, addressing themselves to the work of clearing the land. Natives of another hemisphere, they beheld, with curiosity, all the pleasing features of the American forest. The landscape before them was fair, if it was strange and rude. The little flower which at this season stars our woods and road sides with its profuse blooms, might attract even eyes as stern as theirs with its humble beauty. The useful pine lifted its cones into the frosty air. The maple which is already making the forest gay with its orange hues, reddened over those houseless men. The majestic summits of Wachusett and Monadnoc towering in the horizon, invited the steps of adventure westward.

"As the season grew later, they felt its inconveniences. 'Many were forced to go barefoot and bareleg, and some in time of frost and snow, yet were they more healthy than now they are.'* The land was low but healthy; and if, in common with all the settlements, they found the air of America very cold, they

*Johnson.

might say with Higginson, after his description of the other elements, that, "New England may boast of the element of fire, more than all the rest; for all Europe is not able to afford to make so great fires as New England. A poor servant, that is to possess but fifty acres, may afford to give more wood for fire as good as the world yields, than many noblemen in England."* Many were their wants, but more their privileges. The light struggled in through windows of oiled paper,† but they read the word of God by it. They were fain to make use of their knees for a table, but their limbs were their own. Hard labor and spare diet they had, and off wooden trenchers, but they had peace and freedom, and the wailing of the tempest in the woods sounded kindlier in their ear, than the smooth voice of the prelates, at home, in England. 'There is no people,' said their pastor to his little flock of exiles, 'but will strive to excel in something. What can we excel in, if not in holiness?'" — pp. 9 — 11.

These passages and facts are perhaps sufficient to indicate the hardy and substantial, and still more the moral and religious character of the early inhabitants of Concord. They were indeed among the very best of the population of the old country; and few things suggested by the perusal of this history and discourse can be more interesting or more gratifying than to watch, in the progress of affairs, and in the gradual development of the character of the town, under critical circumstances, the surviving influence of those original elements of its composition. The character of Concord as a town, from first to last, is by no means the least of its distinctions; though many individuals, its ministers, especially, have been among its blessings. What a leader was the noble Buckley for such an enterprise as the settling of Musketequid! not to mention Mr. Jones, who was eight years his colleague. His successor, at his death in 1659, was his son Edward, whose ministry continued over fifty years, most of it at Concord; a man whose reputation for piety was such as to have given rise to the tradition, that, in Philip's war, when it is rather remarkable that Concord nearly escaped the ravages of the enemy, a consultation occurred among some of their chiefs on the neighboring highlands in Stow, on the question whether the precedence should be given to Sudbury or Concord, as the object of attack, and is said to have been decided for

* New England's Plantation. † E. W's Letter in Mourt, 1621.

the former by the argument, that the Great Spirit loved the Concord people, and would defend them on account of Mr. Buckley, residing there ; — he was a "*great pray.*"

His colleague and successor was Mr. Estabrook, for over forty-four years ; a man so noted for his holiness, dignity and learning, as to have acquired, in the latter part of his life, the name of the *apostle.* The News Letter is full of his praises, on the occasion of his death ; and the opinion was expressed at one time, that he "ought to come to *Boston,* where he could do more good." Mr. Whiting, who was next pastor for twenty-six years, is called by our historian a man of wealth, learning, influence and talent. The term of Mr. Bliss, who followed him, was the same. He also was among the distinguished clergy of his time. His last sermon was preached at the special request of the famous Whitfield, on his second visit to Concord, and made such an impression upon him as to cause the remark, that "if he had studied his whole life, he could not have produced such a sermon." His reputation, evidently, as even his epitaph still shows, was very high :

> "His soul was of ye angelic frame,
> The same ingredients, and ye mould ye same,
> Whom the Creator makes a minister of Fame."

The Rev. William Emerson followed, and though he lived but eleven years after, part of the time in the army, of the Revolution, on his return from which to his people he died, there is abundant evidence of the great influence he acquired, and of the regret felt at his loss. Only nine years since a monument was erected to his memory. He was a descendant of Mr. Buckley. His successor was the present venerable incumbent, Mr. Ripley, still active in the exercise of his duties in the *fifty-seventh* year, we believe, of his ministry, and at the advanced age of eighty-five. Such has been the ministry of the first church in Concord, the *thirteenth* established in the colony, which has now attained the age of two centuries, wanting but three months. For forty years of Mr. Ripley's term, it is worthy of notice, that no individual has paid a ministerial tax to any other society than his. In 1825, a second church was formed in the town, previous to which, with the exception of a few years of Mr. Bliss's term, *the whole town was united in one for the space of one hundred*

and ninety years. This fact alone is sufficiently indicative of the influence of its ministers. We cannot here go into the history of the Concord Indians, interesting as it is, but it is proper to remark, in the present connexion, that Concord was on their account, honored in due time with the presence of John Elliot, "that apostle, not a whit behind the chiefest apostles."

The influence of such individuals as these, must have been very considerable. It does not detract at all, however, from the credit due to the community at large. Just the reverse. It is one of the surest indications of both the good sense and the staunch principle of that community, that it selected such leaders, and that it suffered them to remain so long, and to move so efficiently. The same inference in its favor could be easily made from its attention to education, including a generous subscription, of several years' continuance, for the benefit of Harvard College. During a portion of the years 1775 and 1776, when the buildings at Cambridge were occupied as barracks by the army, Concord was selected as the seat of that Institution, and the accommodation which it there received seems to have corresponded with the most sanguine hopes of President Langdon and his learned Professors. The recitations during that period, were at the court-house and the meeting-house.

The proceedings of Concord, during the Indian troubles, in Philip's war, in the French war, but most of all in the Revolution, confirm, in the most satisfactory manner, the preceding remarks on its character. Mr. Shattuck quotes on his title-page the just eulogy of one of our most distinguished citizens, that "nobler records exist nowhere; — nowhere can there be found higher proofs of a spirit that was ready to hazard all, to pledge all, to sacrifice all, in the cause of their country, than in the *New England towns;*" and we do no injustice to other places when we say of *this*, that the records of its patriotism, in the times that truly "tried men's souls," — in *all* those times, — will bear comparison with those of any community, be it large or be it small, which can be found, on the face of the earth. Were there no other reason for it, the history of such a place should be spared, with all the long roll of its services, and of its sacrifices, as a monument to every coming age, of the power of disinterested devotedness to principle, and of unwavering fidelity to men; of collectedness and self-control; of all the elements, in a word, of the

power of self-government which either stir or sleep in the character of every community, and in the bosom of every man born *free*, and fully determined to remain so. That history is worth writing, and worth reading.

We have no space left for the valuable estimate which we find here furnished, of the number of men supplied by Concord, for actual service in the war. Some notion may be formed of it, when we say, that it raised one hundred minute-men, and seventy-four soldiers, to serve at Cambridge, in the first year; that the next season, it raised one hundred and forty-five, to serve at Dorchester heights, in March; that in June, when the Assembly, in the same spirit, resolved to raise five thousand militia for six months, for the continental service, it furnished sixty-seven more, and paid them besides, at an expense of over six hundred pounds; and that it went on in this way to the end of the war. It was continually supplying these men also with shoes, stockings, shirts, coats, blankets, and beef.* From October, 1780, to the following July, for example, it provided 42,779 pounds of beef for the army.† It supplied moreover, at sundry periods, the families at home of those engaged in the service abroad. The taxes, of course, were enormous. Mr. Shattuck gives a table of those of the years 1780, and 1781, which we regard as one of the chief curiosities of American history. The assessments in the former year were, in silver, no less than eleven thousand, one hundred and four dollars, and sixty cents; and in the latter, ten thousand two hundred and ninety-five dollars, and thirty-nine cents. Let us recollect that the population of the town was but about thirteen hundred during all this period; that these annual expenses, stood in relation to those of the two last years of the history of Concord (1834 and 1835), as we infer from an allusion of Mr. Emerson's,‡ about as ten and eleven to four and five, the population being, in 1830, a little over two thousand; that this town, in common with the rest of the country, was of course feeling most sensibly all the economical effects of the war, and especially in its effects upon business, and the general means of earning the money they lavished so freely; that, in addition to taxes, large sums were raised in "*classes*," to hire soldiers, as well as by *individuals*, who were drafted into actual service, to procure substitutes.§ Let

* Discourse, p. 38. † History, p. 126. ‡ P. 40. § History, p. 127.

us bear all this in mind, and we can do justice, in some small degree, to the spirit which induced them still to maintain their charge of the institutions of education and of religion, and of all the permanent interests of the town, as an independent community, amid the alarms of war. We can do justice also to the punctuality, the alacrity, the eagerness with which these sacrifices were made; and the manner is not less admirable than the amount. It never once hesitated or debated when called upon. It spent, as Mr. Emerson finely expresses it, — it spent "*affectionately*" in the public service. "Since," the records read in one place, "General Washington, at Cambridge, is not able to give but two dollars and forty-eight cents the cord, for wood, for the army, *it is voted that this town encourage the inhabitants to supply the army, by paying two dollars per cord, over and above the General's price, to such as shall carry wood thither.*" They carried two hundred and ten cords. — The same course was taken in regard to hay. And to crown all, Concord contributed to the relief of the besieged poor of Boston, in money, seventy pounds, besides two hundred and twenty-five bushels of grain, and a quantity of both meat and wood; and when these same sufferers were quartered by the Provincial Congress on the neighboring country, the town received no less than eighty-two of the number to its own firesides! What more can we add to all this for the glory of Concord? Was it necessary that the Buckleys, and the Willards, the Woods, the Elliotts, the Whitfields, the Emersons, the Langdons, should have honored its soil with their footsteps? That Winthrop and Dudley should have trod the old common where the meeting-house of 1712 still stands? Or that convention after convention, and congress after congress, should have selected it for the place of their Councils of Liberty, when Hancock and all his brave companions were added to its "jewels?" Or that here, in fine, without entering into controversy upon minutiæ, was partially, as President Dwight describes it, the scene of the *first military action of the Revolution*? Concord, as every body admits, was the object of the British expedition of 1775. We think it proved, while we perceive slight inaccuracies in Mr. Shattuck's chapter on this subject, that here was the first regular resistance to British troops by Americans. Here also, as far as can be now learned, the first British life was taken in that memorable defence. A head-stone and a footstone, on the green banks of the "grassy

river" still mark the place. The town, we believe, is about erecting a monument on the spot, a debt long due, alike to the character of the living, and to the memory of the dead.

So much for the fame of Concord. Much more might be added, had we time to follow its annals down, especially to the period of the formation and adoption of the state and national constitutions, and of the insurrection of Shays, and other troubles of that time. After all, we have left what may be called the *private* character, of the place, mostly undisturbed. It would be of the highest interest to trace its history, and the history of its connexion with the *public*, — which we have barely alluded to. It would shew, as Mr. Emerson reminds us, that even "more sacred influences have mingled here with the stream of human life;" that the merit even of those who fill a space in the world's history, of which Concord has seen its share, "sheds a perfume less sweet than do the sacrifices of private virtue." It would exhibit a community "almost exclusively agricultural," — distinguished always by simplicity, love of justice and contentment, as well as by its harmony, sound sense and religious character.

"Here are no ridiculous laws, no eves-dropping legislators, no hanging of witches, no ghosts, no whipping of quakers, no unnatural crimes. The tone of the records rises with the dignity of the event. These soiled and musty books are luminous and electric within. The old town clerks did not spell very correctly, but they contrive to make pretty intelligible the will of a free and just community. Frugal our fathers were, — very frugal, — though, for the most part, they deal generously by their minister, and provide well for the schools and the poor. If, at any time, in common with most of our towns, they have carried this economy to the verge of a vice, it is to be remembered that a town is, in many respects, a financial corporation. They economize, that they may sacrifice. They stint and higgle on the price of a pew, that they may send 200 soldiers to General Washington, to keep Great Britain at bay. For splendor, there must somewhere be rigid economy. That the head of the house may go brave, the members must be plainly clad, and the town must save that the State may spend." — pp. 41, 42.

This, after all, is the picture of Concord which most pleases us. Long may it continue to be as true as it is beautiful. The "poor farmers" who came up *that day* to defend their native soil, ignorant (says the orator) it was a deed of fame they

were doing, — never dreaming their children would contend who had done the most, — long may their "simplest instincts" descend to their posterity, with their soil, and with their fame! "The little society of men who now, for a few years, fish in this river, plough the fields it washes, mow the grass, and reap the corn," — these, when shortly they shall hurry from its banks, as did their forefathers, — long may they leave behind them a race emulating the glory of those who have gone before, and worthy of the gratitude of those who shall succeed them! Her sons, — they who have "settled the region around us, and far from us," — whose wagons rattle down (as he says again) the remote western hills, — who plough the earth, and traverse the sea, and engage in trade and all the professions in every part of this country, and in many foreign parts, — long may they look back to her sacred plains with reverence, and cherish in their breasts the disposition to imitate the example of the past!

Art. VII. — *A Discourse on Natural Theology.*

1. *A Discourse on Natural Theology, showing the Nature of the Evidence and the Advantages of the Study.* By Lord Brougham, F.R.S. Philadelphia. Carey Lea & Blanchard. 1835. 12mo. pp. 190.
2. *Lectures on the Atheistical Controversy; delivered in the Months of February and March, at Sion Chapel, Bradford, Yorkshire. Forming a First Part of a Course of Lectures on Infidelity.* By the Rev. J. Godwin; with additions by W. S. Andrews. Boston. Hilliard, Gray & Co. 1835. 12mo. pp. 350.

The moral constitution of the universe presents a problem that has perplexed the philosophers of all ages. When the mind of any one at all disposed to reflection, begins to expand itself and rise above merely physical and sensible things, it looks out from its new elevation with an anxious curiosity for the relations and prospects of existence. Though the child has been taught the existence of God, and the youth has felt the force of moral relations with the promptness of instinct, yet the man would fain contemplate the same subjects from a new point of

view, and teach himself the great truths he had been taught by others, or which had spontaneously sprung up in his mind as essential to his being. He examines the grounds of his belief, not merely as matter of curious speculation, but as the basis of his strongest hopes and fears. He ventures to ask himself if this is an orphan universe, and whether, when the body is struck by time, the mind is exhaled and dispersed like the odor of a flower that is crushed. The mere assumption of a doubt for the purpose of the inquiry, is painful to him, for it presents to his mind illimitable space, dark, desolate and blank; void of the benignity, the almightiness and the perfect intelligence of the Supreme, and his own existence as a transient flame, and his moral constitution and sense of obligation and duty merely as machinery vainly to regulate his actions to which there are to be no corresponding consequences. He must imagine his being as withered, its beauty departed, and the universe a vain spectacle shorn of its glory. The very dreariness of such a view frightens thousands at once from its contemplation, and is of itself a sufficient argument forever to establish their faith in a God, their own immortality, and a moral retribution; while others though not satisfied, are yet predisposed to believe. All men above the stupidity of the beasts, — excepting a few who studiously brutify their own minds, to the loss of the perception of all that is not physical and grossly material, out of a poor conceit of their own wisdom, — cling to their moral and immortal affinity to the Deity.

The teacher of Natural Theology then has, for the most part, a willing audience, desirous to give their assent to his doctrines; but his task is not therefore easy. The inquiry leads far away from experience and accustomed speculation into the regions of abstract conceptions and metaphysical subtilties, difficult to be seized by the understanding, and apt to elude the power of language.

Lord Brougham gives the following reasons for writing his treatise.

"The composition of this Discourse was undertaken in consequence of an observation which I had often made, that scientific men were apt to regard the study of Natural Religion as little connected with philosophical pursuits. Many of the persons to whom I allude, were men of religious habits of thinking; others were free from any disposition towards skepticism, rather because they had not much discussed the subject, than because they had

formed fixed opinions upon it after inquiry. But the bulk of them relied little upon Natural Theology, which they seemed to regard as a speculation built rather on fancy than on argument; or, at any rate, as a kind of knowledge quite different from either physical or moral science. It therefore appeared to me desirable to define, more precisely than had yet been done, the place and the claims of Natural Theology among the various branches of human knowledge."—pp. 5, 6.

He accordingly undertakes to show that Natural Theology is a science resting on inductive reasoning, on which a number of other sciences and a greater part of what we call *knowledge* depends. The work, therefore, does not profess to be a mere exposition of the doctrines of Natural Theology, and the evidence by which they are established, but is, rather a learned commentary upon both, somewhat after the model of Sir James Mackintosh's "Progress of Ethical Science." It is a logical criticism; a species of philosophizing upon philosophy. It may rightly be called the metaphysics of Natural Theology. It is an arduous department of speculation, of precarious success; for although the sciences of logic and metaphysics are, when pursued in the usual method, highly interesting and instructive, a writer runs great hazard of being tedious, who undertakes to go through a series of connected arguments, classifying them, according to their species, and weighing and measuring their force. It requires great felicity of style, and address in the conduct of the inquiry, as well as great sagacity and learning, to secure and reward the reader's attention. It seems to be an unpromising task to instruct the reader how demonstrative or satisfactory a given course of reasoning may be, for he has already felt its full force, if he understands it; and if the argument is not intelligible to him or does not lead him to the intended conclusion, he will profit little by the information that this is inductive reasoning, this being precisely what his teacher has already told him at school. We do not mean to say that very elegant and pleasing essays of this kind, replete with instruction, may not be written, and a more opportune occasion could not be chosen in respect to Natural Theology, than just on the publication of the Bridgewater Treatises; we mean merely that, to be successful, such essays must be written with consummate skill, from abundant stores of learning, and must abound in striking reflections.

A review of such a speculative commentary is liable to be

less interesting and less instructive than the commentary itself. To lighten the labor then of following Lord Brougham in his difficult attempt, and, with the hope of being more useful to general readers, we purpose to give, in connexion with our remarks upon his book, an outline of what we understand to be the main links of the argument for Natural Theology, which is the foundation of ethical science; and this involves moral obligation arising out of the constitution of man, his relation to the Creator, to men and to the system of things. This we are the more disposed to, since a speculative air has been given to this science by the very learned and curious inquiries which have been introduced into the discussion, since the publication of the work of Denham, in which, as Lord Brougham justly remarks, all Dr. Paley's grounds of argument are pre-occupied, so that the latter, without any expense of thinking, had only to put the materials, ready furnished to his hands, into a new form, or rather into a new and more popular style; for the form and plan of the works of both are substantially the same. A no less learned and scientific air has been given to these speculations in the Bridgewater Treatises, which are highly meritorious works, that may be read with great profit by every body, being full of instruction not only in Natural Theology but also in other sciences, from which illustrations of design in creation are particularly drawn. But still the general reader needs first to connect the leading steps in the reasoning, by having them brought near together, or else he may go through with the whole of these beautiful speculations and still doubt what is the precise force of the reasoning, and he may even be bewildered in the infinitude of the subject as thus treated, and think as Lord Brougham suggests, "that the whole argument is more fanciful than logical."

The first step in Natural Theology is to adopt a theory of the existence of the world. We have a choice of two different theories, 1. That matter is from eternity, and that all the species of animals and vegetables have been evolved from its essential properties, and have been coeval and eternal with it. 2. That matter itself, and all its forms, animal, vegetable, and mineral, have been created, that is, that there is a God.

We see, then, that whichever hypothesis is adopted, we must suppose something to have existed without a cause and without beginning. This is intelligible, the meaning is plain; but the proposition is an exception to all our other knowledge

and belief. Though we cannot comprehend how it can be so, we are necessarily reduced to the admission. Neither the theist, the atheist, or, which is the same, the pantheist, undertakes to solve the enigma of the universe. Each must in the outset confess and believe in a mystery. He must admit something unfathomable and incomprehensible to the human mind; that is, the existence of some thing or some being without beginning. This is the common predicament of the professors of all systems of philosophy and religion, or irreligion. The proposition is common to them all, that the origin of things can be traced back only into the obscurity of a fathomless, incomprehensible past.

This familiar fundamental position in the theory of the origin of things renders reasonings and modes of expression, that are applicable on other subjects, totally inapplicable to this. We say, for instance, in all speculations, in regard to all other subjects whatsoever, that every thing that is, must have a cause; but in discussing the origin of things, we cannot say so, for whether we assume that matter was eternal, or that all living forms are only the present links in a chain that had no first links, or that all was formed by an intelligent cause without a beginning, that is by the omnipotent and eternal Deity, still we assume equally, in either case, either that matter was not caused, or the chain of beings was originally not caused, or that the Deity was not caused. If, therefore, in regard to this science, we use the common maxim, that whatever is, is determined to be what it is by a cause, we utter an inapplicable proposition.

We have not named among the hypotheses from which a choice may be made, that of the eternal existence of mere inorganic matter, or primordial atoms, because it explains nothing and accounts for nothing. A forming, creative power is still wanted to account for the origin of the species of animals and plants. It is true, the Epicureans and Stoics undertook from this postulate only of primordial atoms of various forms and properties, to explain the origin of the vegetable and animal species, and taught that the earth, before it had become sterile by age, and while it was yet in the genial period of its freshness and vigor, after the first specimens of the vegetable species had germinated from her fruitful bosom, became literally the mother of the animal races, giving birth to all sorts of forms, some perfect, others mixed and monstrous, the perfect only

being capable of nourishment, and surviving to continue their respective races, through the series of their descendants, when their common parent, should lose her prolific powers by senility and decay. This is all sung in beautiful verse by Lucretius, and is indeed a fit subject for poetry only, for we have no knowledge or ground of conjecture that a new species can originate in the powers and properties of matter. Except for the purposes of poetry, the hypothesis of the eternity of mere matter is sterile and useless.

We are, accordingly, reduced to a choice of one of the two hypotheses already mentioned, namely, that the series of the present races of animals and vegetables had no beginning, or that there is a Creator; and these are we believe the only two hypotheses seriously proposed.

What then is there to recommend the theory of an eternal series of living things? Whether we choose this, or the theory of an intelligent Creator, we assent equally to what is mysterious and incomprehensible. The existence from eternity of an intelligent creative power is *in itself* as probable as, or no more improbable than, that of an infinite anterior series of any one species of animals. Suppose a species of insects to be the only known living things, we might as probably at least, suppose them to have been formed by an intelligent power at the beginning, as to suppose the series to have been without beginning. Why then should those who affect to be philosophers; rational, sceptical, and circumspect of belief, and fearful of being too credulous; choose the harder faith, and believe that not one merely, but myriads, of species, have existed without a beginning. Why should they choose to believe millions of times more than is necessary. These, of all men, can certainly have no right to reproach others with credulity. They gratuitously adopt into their creed millions of mysteries, instead of a single one, which they themselves cannot say is more objectionable *in itself* than any one of the millions, which they profess to believe in, — we say *in itself*, for if we look at the constitution of the world; and examine the structure of animals and plants, we shall find abundant positive evidence of an intelligent First Cause, as we shall soon notice. But, independently of that evidence, the hypothesis of such a cause, is, it seems to us, incomparably more philosophical.

A decisive objection to the arduous faith of the atheist, if made out, is to be met with as early as Lucretius, who asserted

the recent origin of the human race, which he inferred from the rude state of the arts, and the short period embraced by historical memorials and traditions. We do not mention this theory in connexion with our present argument; but it is plain that if we can go beyond the origin of the human race, or any species of living or vegetating thing, the theory of the infinite anterior series falls to the ground. Now it is remarkable, as mentioned by Mr. Godwin, that the modern discoveries in geology seem to disclose a period when the earth was inhabited by other species of animals than at present. Though this should not be confirmed by subsequent discoveries, and though, on the contrary, traces of men and the present races of animals and plants should be discovered in all the anterior periods of which any memorials remain upon or beneath the surface of our globe, still it would afford not the slightest objection to the argument in favor of the existence of a God. But if, on the contrary, we can go back, by means of the memorials of the past state of the globe, to the period when either men, or any of the present races of living things, did not inhabit it, the admission of a creative power, becomes absolutely necessary. As far as geological discoveries have gone, they seem to carry us back to such a period.

But whatever may be the results of geological research, the faith of the theist is supported by another, and seemingly a conclusive argument; not a demonstration, but as strong an argument as can be given that is not such. We allude to the great and unanswerable argument drawn from the evidences of design in the constitution of the world and its inhabitants. It is an argument at least, as old as the poetry of David, who says the heavens show forth the glory of God. And Cicero De Natura Deorum, in a passage quoted by Lord Brougham, says, that "the stable and perpetual courses of the heavenly bodies, with their admirable and wonderful regularity, manifest in themselves a divine energy and intelligence, in so much that the man, who does not see in them the power of the Divinity, must be truly stupid and insensible." The mind of a man must have become warped into a strange obliquity and perversity little short of derangement, who can doubt that the feet were *intended* to walk with, the eye to see with, the ear to hear with, the wings of birds to fly with, the fins of fishes to swim with, and so on throughout the whole of the animal structure and economy; and if any one does not doubt this, he believes in the existence of an intelligent creative power

This evidence is not drawn from the depths of science and addressed merely to the initiated, it is level to the common understanding; it is full, clear and palpable, and so striking, forcible and apparently conclusive, that it seems to be in vain to reason with a man who professes not to be satisfied with it. We conclude that his scepticism is either nothing more than affectation, or the effect of a perverted and disordered understanding; and in either case it is in vain to proceed further with him. And here the argument in favor of the first fundamental doctrine of Natural Theology might be dropped; we were almost ready to say that it is better that it should be, for the attempt to illustrate and fortify this unanswerable argument, very often weakens its force. The belief in a Creator is, as we have suggested, the simplest hypothesis which we can adopt; it is in itself less improbable than the only other one that can be offered with the slightest plausibility; it is confirmed by geological science thus far; and, finally, it is the only one which accounts satisfactorily for the phenomenon of the world; for any hypothesis which excludes design, or which does not include it, does not satisfy the mind; it does not answer the purpose for which any hypothesis is made in the case.

Such are the leading arguments on the first great doctrine of natural religion, namely, the existence of a Creator. The other branch of this science, namely, the attributes of the Deity, and moral obligation and retribution, we shall notice subsequently.

We are to bear in mind that Lord Brougham's plan does not lead him merely to state the argument drawn from the evidences of design, but to show to what species of reasoning it belongs, and to what weight it is entitled. He remarks that writers have confined themselves too much to instances drawn from physical phenomena, to the neglect of the intellectual. Dr. Chalmers, however, urges this latter argument very strenuously, though he considers it less satisfactory than that drawn from physiological phenomena. Lord Brougham takes up the argument from the intellectual phenomena, having premised that he considers mind to be distinct from and independent of matter. This is a higher species of speculation it is true, but we cannot but think that Dr. Chalmers is correct in considering this field of illustration less clear and satisfactory than that of sensible objects, since we must know the end proposed in order to appreciate the means.

If, for example, it be granted that men are to be nourished by solid substances, we see very plainly the necessity, or at least, the convenience and adaptation of an apparatus for mastication. But when we come to the mind, the end that may be supposed to be had in view, in the constitution of man, is not so obvious. The subject is wrapped in more obscurity, and therefore the form of the instances drawn thence are less striking and convincing. But still, the mind of man, and the instincts of brutes, certainly afford a wide field for strengthening the evidence of design. This part of the investigation is better conducted by considering man as an inhabitant of this world merely, for the reason that we know the condition and relations of men here better than in a future existence, and can therefore, reason from them more clearly. Indeed, in the present stage of the argument, we cannot reason from a future existence, which is still to be proved. Denham very judiciously dwells much upon the instincts of brutes, the apparent design and various adaptation of which are easily intelligible and beautifully illustrative of the subject. We find, for instance, men, animals, and plants in particular positions and relations; if we then go into an examination of their faculties and instincts we shall be struck at every step with the admirable adaptation of each species to its modes of life. The whole science of natural history may be translated into that of Natural Theology by merely laying a greater stress upon the design or final cause at each step.

Lord Brougham attempts this mode of illustration by the moral and intellectual phenomena, instancing the reasoning faculty, curiosity, memory, habit, and its effects, and the affections; and remarks in a note that "not the least allusion is made, in Dr. Paley's work, to the argument here stated, although it is the foundation of the whole of Natural Theology. Not only does this author leave entirely untouched the argument *a priori*, as it is called, but also the inductive arguments derived from phenomena of mind, but he does not even advert to the argument upon which the inference of design must of necessity rest; that design which is the whole subject of his book. Nothing can more evince his distaste for, or incapacity for, metaphysical researches. He assumes the very question which alone sceptics dispute. In combating him they would assert that he begged the whole question, for certainly they do not deny, at least in modern times, the fact of *adaptation*."

"Not the least allusion is made in Dr. Paley's work to the *argument* here stated," says Lord Brougham. His expression implies that the argument from this source is different; and so it is, if the peculiar essence or substance of the mind is the ground of deduction; but in respect to the evidence of design, the argument is the same whether mental or physical phenomena be referred to. Take the example of the patella or knee-pan given by the author, and that of memory, also given by him, each adduced to prove *plan, design, intention.* The argument is precisely the same in either case, and the existence of an intelligent creating cause is as distinctly proved by one instance as by the other; and the best is the one that is most plain and undeniable. If the object or use of a joint, or tendon, or muscle, or tooth, is more obvious, definite and unquestionable than that of the memory, the imagination, or reasoning faculty, then either of the former is the more appropriate and better instance. We do not intend, however, by any means, to say that these illustrations should be neglected. The reasons for drawing illustrations from the instincts of animals, and the moral and intellectual faculties of man, as well as from the mechanical structure of animals, and mere physical phenomena, are not that they are more convincing, but that they may be more interesting, and that they belong to a more elevated strain of thinking, and that they may be more striking to some minds. A machinist, for instance, may be more struck with an illustration drawn from the action of a joint, or the structure of the hollow bones of birds, adapted to lightness combined with strength; while a reader of intellectual pursuits and reflective habits, might see a more palpable evidence of design in the association of ideas. In this view, the author's suggestion is important, though he does not seem to us to apply it with remarkable skill.

He treats the argument of the existence of God *a priori*, as it is called, with much ability. This argument undertakes to prove, and, in short, to demonstrate the existence of the Deity, independently of the evidence drawn from the existence of the world. It has generally been given up, but Lord Brougham points out its defects with great clearness.

Here ends his review of the evidence of the existence of an intelligent creative power. The character and attributes of this power are the subjects of Natural Theology, and the investigation of the evidence of these, would properly come next

under review, but the author does not make this a distinct subject; he only treats of it incidentally, in subsequent parts of his work. The usual course of argument on this subject, as is well known, is the same as on the existence of God, namely, the illustrations to be found in the actual course of things in this world. We have not noted any reason given by him for omitting so material a part of his subject; it seems to be a striking deficiency in his work. The great difficulty of treating this branch of the inquiry would, we should suppose, have given it the greater attractions to him. The attribute of power is proved, of course, by the same argument as the existence of God. But that he is all-knowing, just and beneficent, needs other illustration. The great difficulty of this argument arises from the existence of evil, and the infliction and the suffering of wrongs; we surmount these by the hypothesis, that all partial ill is universal good, and that the wrongs of the present life are compensated in another. The idea that an omnipotent being is malignant, is too horrid and appalling to be admitted, but upon the strongest evidence. The evidences that the Creator is not so, are sufficiently manifest in the world. The proofs of benevolence entirely preponderate. This includes justice, for we cannot conceive of a benevolent being as approving of, or purposely doing injustice. Hence a very strong argument, — much stronger than those instanced by Lord Brougham, — is drawn in favor of future compensation for the evils and wrongs of this life. The argument is deduced from the attributes of the Deity supposed already to be proved. It is ably stated by Bishop Butler.

The constitution of the world demonstrates its governor not to be a malignant being; but to our imperfect view, it does not so clearly demonstrate his goodness. We see so many evidences of benevolence, that we suppose what seem exceptions, were we to judge from our own imperfect knowledge, are in fact not so. The Epicureans alleged the existence of evil against the doctrine of an intelligent Creator; considering it a proof of imperfection. There are two arguments on this subject, which are more satisfactory grounds of belief, than our own experience and observation of good and evil, happiness and misery, in this world.

In the first place, we cannot easily conceive an almighty Being as otherwise than good. There is some seeming incongruity and inconsistency in such a conception.

Secondly, we cannot suppose such a being to do wrong. Even allowing him, like the gods of the Epicureans, to be indifferent to the concerns of men, we cannot suppose him to be unjust, for this would be to suppose him malignant, since his injustice could not otherwise be accounted for. Now it would seem to be unjust in the Creator to give his creatures, universally, a deep and all predominant admiration of the beauty and surpassing excellence of benevolence, if it were a vain delusion and mockery, and he himself were without the quality. In short, we cannot believe in a God, without also believing in his goodness.

After establishing the existence and attributes of the Creator, the obvious succession of topics in this science brings us next to the constitution of man, in which we seek for a knowledge of his relation to the Creator, and the foundation of duty, — the *foundation*, not the superstructure, for this belongs to the science of ethics, or deontology, — and here we are at liberty to reason, in part, from the character and attributes of the Creator, as already established, for if we have proved that He is all powerful and just and benevolent, our theory of the constitution, relations, and destiny of man, must be consistent with that character. And the connexion is close, and the consequence necessary, since if it be proved that man must be the creature of the deity, it follows of course that human destiny is subject to his control. The inquiries then are ; first, what such a being as the deity is proved to be, will do ? Second, what is man, as we experience him in ourselves, and observe him in others? Lord Brougham dwells upon the latter inquiry too distinctly, and does not connect it intimately enough with the former. He sets out with the proposition that the soul or mind is not material. This he considers to be a fundamental proposition. In this Platonic doctrine he departs from the course of reasoning adopted by Locke, Paley, and most of the champions in this science, and he lays so much stress upon this particular dogma, and so interweaves it with the texture of his treatise, that the work itself must stand or fall as it supports or fails in supporting this proposition. For he distinctly assumes the gratuitous position, that if the soul be not immaterial, the whole science of Natural Theology, as it bears upon the destiny of man, falls to the ground. Have his predecessors in this investigation, then, committed an egregious error on this point? The question is not whether the arguments on the subject go

to the conclusion that man is mere matter, or a compound or combination of matter and some other substance that we call spirit, mind, or soul, but whether the latter doctrine is a fundamental and necessary one in this science. For a man may well believe the soul to be an immaterial substance, and yet not consider the doctrine as essential to the establishment of such a science as Natural Theology.

Whether we affirm or deny that man is mere matter, or a composition of this and something else, it is assumed that we know something of matter. Suppose then that we have got over Bishop Berkeley's doubts and objections, as to the proof of the existence of any such thing as matter, and admit that its existence is established beyond doubt, and that there really is, as there seems to be, an external world. What knowledge have we of the matter of which this exterior world consists? We can only answer from the intelligence given by our senses. Had we but one sense, instead of five, six, or seven, (for if we consider the feeling of heat and cold, and the power of perceiving resistance, two of them, the number will be seven,) we should get but little information of this external world; had we many more than we have, our knowledge would be much enlarged. The doctrine of the Platonists, of Lord Brougham, and indeed of the far greater part of men, philosophers and others, is that we may, by means of such senses as we have, obtain such a knowledge of the properties and capabilities of matter as to authorize us in the conclusion that it cannot think, — that something else must be superinduced to constitute feeling, perceiving, reasoning man.

What an obscure and subtile inquiry is here proposed? We know little of the nature and essential properties of matter; we witness its phenomena, or rather a few of its phenomena; what proportion we know not; we witness other phenomena of the human mind, of which we have a more full knowledge, since our experience and observation extend to all its properties, powers, and capacities; we then say that these latter are so diverse from and incompatible with the former, that God himself cannot endow matter with the sentient principle. This we say without knowing whether there is but one or are millions of species of matter going to the composition of the globe and its animals and plants; or whether the phenomena of a tenth or a thousandth of these species strike the senses. What constitutes life? How are inferior animals endowed

with a capacity for sensation, memory, the passions, &c.? What line of distinction does Lord Brougham propose to draw between men and other animals, when he maintains that this dogma, as to the substantial composition of man, is at the foundation of Natural Theology, and so consequently of ethics? He does not point out the distinction. He does not even allude to it. He has a great example for this oversight. One of the arguments of Plato on the distinct nature and independent existence of the soul is, that there is a difference between the living man and the dead body, something being wanting in the latter which was present in the former. This something he says is the immortal soul. This illustration is evidently as applicable to any other animal as man. So Lord Brougham, to prove the immateriality of the soul, and show that the phenomena of mind are not the result of any composition of material ingredients, says :—

"We know of no case in which the combination of certain elements produces something different, not only from each simple ingredient, but also different from the whole compound."

Now this argument is as applicable to the instincts of animals as to the mind of man. The oversight of this objection is quite unaccountable, for it is so obvious that his argument from the affections, memory, habit, dreams, &c., apply to brutes as well as men, that it seems all but impossible that the objection should not have occurred to him, that he was proving, with respect to brutes, what he was attempting to prove with respect to mankind. It is certain that very few readers will follow him through this part of his speculations, without perceiving the application of his instances to many species of the brute creation. If the argument upon this topic establishes any thing, it establishes so much as to be fatal to it. It is rare to find a more ill-conducted and objectionable piece of reasoning.

Lord Brougham mentions a familiar fact, which shows of how little importance is any theory on this subject of the materiality or immateriality of the mind, in regard to Natural Theology. He says the matter of which the body consists is constantly changing during life, and that it is not probable that a particle of that of the infant remains in that of the man at an advanced age; yet there is no question of their personal identity. He adduces this fact to show that identity depends

on something else than matter. But it certainly does not prove it to depend on any thing immaterial. We should say that a tree was the same plant from the time of its putting forth a leaflet, to the age of two or three centuries, however many entire changes may have taken place in its particles. This proves that in living things, whether animal or vegetable, our notion of identity does not depend upon that of the constituent particles.

If the body may be entirely changed in its constituent particles during life, without destroying personal identity, why should a similar change afterwards destroy it? What necessarily hinders that the whole substance, whether material or immaterial, of an immortal being, should be changed again and again during its never ending existence, and still the personal identity be preserved? It is not contradictory to our notions of identity in the instances just given, for the plant is wholly material, and yet is wholly changed as to its constituent particles, while it still remains the same plant; and so in the case of man, the body is taken into the account in our estimate of his identity in this life, and yet he remains the same; we never doubt his identity, though as an animal he may have wholly changed. What ground have we for confounding identity of substance with identity of personality? We know nothing of the possibilities within the control of Omnipotence for continuing personal identity through a series of changes, gradual or sudden, of form, and of substance whether material or immaterial. The whole subject is entirely mysterious. It is a fair subject of speculation and of variety of opinions; but to erect these opinions, whether on one side or the other, and that gratuitously and unnecessarily, into fundamental doctrines, throws a cloud over science and savors of exploded modes of philosophising. Some men suppose they see in matter, properties and incidents inconsistent with its constituting the essence of an immortal being, but if others think a material essence may be immortal, we do not perceive what necessarily forbids. Each opinion is an hypothesis beyond the reach of decisive proof or disproof. It is supposed that the doctrine of materialism tends to that of the utter extinction of being at death. Indeed this is one of the arguments of Lucretius. Admitting this tendency, it does not authorize us to dogmatise on the opposite doctrine of spirituality. However obvious and necessary such a tendency may be, this, at least, would be no reason for assigning

to the doctrine of spiritualism, the position given it by Lord Brougham, and making it fundamental; if the doctrines of moral obligation and future retribution can be established, as we think they can, without the aid of any inference from the doctrine of spiritualism. We cannot reason from what we know nothing of, namely, a spiritual essence, in favor of a future existence. We must first prove a future existence on other grounds. We then say, as a consequence of this doctrine, that man, to survive the present life, must be of an indestructible substance. This is an inference from the essential fundamental doctrines of Natural Theology. To transpose these doctrines and make that of spiritualism the basis and essential condition of the system, is to reverse the order of the argument. It seems to us, therefore, that the most distinguished predecessors of Lord Brougham in this inquiry, were logically and philosophically correct in passing over the hypothesis of materialism or spiritualism, as not being essential to this science.

There is, as we have intimated, no necessity for resorting to any positive or negative theory as to the composition of the intellectual part of man, to establish the doctrine of a future existence. The existence of an intelligent First Cause, and the attributes of justice and benevolence, being proved, but a single fact more is necessary, and that a very obvious and an indisputable one, to force upon a fair and reasonable mind the belief in a future state of being, in which the moral inequalities of the present shall be compensated and its imperfections remedied. This fact is the moral constitution of man. Every man that has any understanding, makes the distinction of right and wrong, and has a sense of moral obligation. Men do not always agree to what is right and what is wrong in particular cases, though they usually agree even here; but every man makes the distinction of right and wrong, and we do not know that any other animal does make this distinction in an ethical sense. It is one of the deepest, and strongest innate principles in the mental constitution of man. No rational human being, whether civilized or savage, is without it. It follows from the attributes of the Creator already mentioned, and from the analogy of the whole system of the world, as far as it comes under our observation and within our knowledge, that the destiny of men is to be in accordance with this principle of their nature. In other instances among men and inferior animals, the capabilities, wants, instincts, and endowments of each race, are accommodated to

its condition and destiny. If man's condition and existence are not accommodated to, and made to harmonize with, his sense of right and wrong, it is an exception to a rule which holds throughout creation in all other instances, as far as our knowledge goes. Now, if existence terminates with this life, then his condition and fortunes are not in accordance to this strong and most noble constitutional principle. A future state of compensations is absolutely requisite to make the harmony and correspondence in this respect, which are manifest in the world in other respects. Leaving, then, all speculations respecting the intellectual substance, or the composition of the soul, we may rest on this basis, in confidence that the universal sense of right and wrong was not given to man to mock his hopes ; and is not an exception to the rule of harmonies and correspondencies prevailing in the whole system of nature besides. A like argument is drawn from the capacity of man for unlimited progression and improvement.

We have thus stated concisely what appear to us to be the leading grounds of belief in the fundamental doctrines of natural religion. We do not touch upon the numerous ramifications and illustrations into which the argument has been pursued, and by which it is fortified.

It is observable that this argument does not necessarily go to the immortality of man, but only to a future state of existence. We do not see that nature merely, independently of revelation, can carry us beyond this result, by decisive reasons, though cogent arguments may be adduced from the same source in favor of our immortality. But we apprehend that it is doing an injury to the cause of Natural Theology and morality, to press the conclusions on this question, drawn from our observations of nature and the constitution of man, beyond their obvious force and application.

Even on the admission of atheists, of what no man in his senses can deny, that there is an evident adaptation correspondence, proportion and harmony pervading nature, though they deny the evidence of design, a practical foundation of ethics may be drawn from the moral constitution of man and his capacity for unlimited improvement, since if his prospects and destiny ought, upon this theory, to correspond to his moral distinctions, and, therefore, when he is acting in conformity to these distinctions, he is acting upon a natural principle, and for his own well being ; and, when he is acting in contradiction to

them, he is trying in vain to stem the current of nature, and will suffer in his conflict with the order of things established by fate. This is a sufficient ground for a system of ethics upon the mere principles of prudence and selfishness.

The argument from design, supposes a knowledge of the object to be attained, and, therefore, in one respect comes under the head of reasoning from final causes, a species of philosophising which Lord Bacon considered as not belonging to inductive science. Now, if Lord Bacon had laid down any axiom of philosophising which should make it a vain, fanciful speculation, to suppose the foot *intended* for walking, the lungs for breathing, and the ear for hearing; for these are the sort of final causes involved in the argument for natural religion; even so weighty an authority as that of the great teacher of the principles of inductive science, would have not the least influence in supporting such a proposition, in the opinion of any man of common sense. Lord Brougham, however, vindicates him from the discredit of intending to lay down so absurd an axiom; and shows that he had reference to the abuses and perversions of this mood of reasoning, by fancying final causes, of which we have no knowledge or evidence.

Lord Brougham makes some just remarks on the division of inductive reasoning into the analytical and synthetical methods, which he considers to mean substantially composition and resolution, or the putting together, and taking apart; and he agrees with Dugald Stewart that the division is wholly inapplicable, except to chemical experiments or analogous modes of investigation, and useless, and indeed unintelligible, in relation to moral and metaphysical researches. He then introduces the subject of "the advantages of the study of natural religion," which general division, he subdivides into the pleasures of science generally, the pleasures of the study of Natural Theology in particular, and the connexion between natural and revealed religion. The first of these topics, the pleasures of science generally, the delight of discovering new truths, the pleasing surprise of reducing the most remote and apparently disconnected phenomena to the same law; the gratifying consciousness of the power of the human intellect, and of our own participation in its triumphs; he illustrates with ability, though with less animation and eloquence than the subject admits and invites. He remarks that in the pursuit of any other science we *may* contemplate merely the pleasure of the pursuit itself,

without proposing any practical application to our own happiness or misery in any other respect; whereas, in the study of Natural Theology, we are constantly unfolding truths in which our destiny is involved. This, he adds, "makes it beyond all doubt, the most interesting of all the sciences, and sheds on the other branches of philosophy an interest beyond that which otherwise belongs to them. See only in what contemplations the wisest of men end their most sublime inquiries? Mark where it is that a Newton finally reposes, after piercing the thickest veil that envelopes nature; grasping and arresting, in their course, the most subtile of her elements and the swiftest, — traversing the regions of boundless space, — exploring works beyond the solar way, — giving out the law which binds the universe in eternal order! He rests, as by an inevitable necessity, upon the contemplation of the great First Cause, and holds it his highest glory to have made the evidence of his existence, and the dispensations of his power and wisdom, better understood by man."

It has been frequently remarked, and is quite obvious, that a single instance of design in creation is a demonstration of the existence of a God,

"But," Lord Brougham asks, "is it enough to the gratification of the contemplative mind? The great multiplication of proofs undeniably strengthens our position; nor can we ever affirm respecting the theories of a science, not of necessary, but of contingent truth, that the evidence is sufficiently cogent without variety and repetition. But independently altogether of this consideration, the gratification is renewed by each instance of design, which we are led to contemplate."

The concluding section, on the connexion of natural and revealed religion, presents the doctrine that the former is absolutely essential to the latter, in a strong light. The argument is indeed conclusive. The doctrine has been admitted by the most learned and philosophical christians, and questioned mostly by the weak, bigoted and arrogant, who were more inclined to dogmatize and give law, than to convince. Lord Brougham remarks that revelation presupposes the existence of God, and that his attributes must also be presupposed, namely, his power over the laws of nature, and his benevolence, in order to lay a foundation for the application of the evidence on which the christian religion very materially rests. For, if we suppose various beings in the universe, some good and some malignant,

each having, independently of the others, power over the laws of nature, the objection made by the Pharisees to the evidence of miracles, that they were wrought through the power of Beelzebub, would be unanswerable. But, if it be first established by other evidence, that there is but one being who has power over the laws of nature, it follows that the power of suspending those laws can be delegated only by him, and accordingly, that an exercise of such a power is a proof of commission from him.

We have already noticed what we consider a fundamental defect in the work, in the rank and position given to the doctrine of spiritualism. Another instance of very hasty assumption of a theory, though less intimately blended with the texture of the argument, is that on the subject of dreams, which the author suggests may be only the accompaniments of falling asleep and waking up. That dreams may be the phenomena of only partial or imperfect sleep, is a common theory, but that they only occur at the time of going to sleep or of waking up, is, we believe, a new theory. But whether it be new or old, it is, we think, inconsistent with phenomena within the observation of every one. Dogs in their sleep certainly show signs of an eager pursuit of the chase in imagination, without immediately waking, and at other times than directly after falling asleep. Somnambulists and persons who talk in their sleep, certainly do not come within the theory.

We have thus given an outline of this work. It certainly shows much ability and considerable reading on the subject. But it is not such a work as the public expected from Lord Brougham, upon such a science. The style is pedestrian, involved and laborious throughout. The author, instead of moving forward with bouyant spirit and ease, seems all the way to be trundling an unwieldy burthen. The work is full of abstraction and toil from beginning to end. The author is a guide in an obscure subterranean region, with a torch in his hand, showing object after object in detail, instead of groups and landscapes in full daylight. There is not a little parade of learning and science in the work, particularly the notes, and too much in the phlegmatic exaggerated style of a catalogue of curious and remarkable things. We would not be understood to exact of an author a vivacity, and brilliancy, luminousness and interest, that shall enchain the attention of the idlest reader, on a subject of so logical and scientific a character,

and so learnedly treated, but the reader has a right, we think, to ask to be conducted more among those "pleasures of science," above spoken of, where he might occasionally feel a spontaneous delight and admiration, without being so often admonished in a frigid manner, to wonder at this and wonder at that. This want of a clear and luminous display of the received evidence of natural religion, as far as its doctrines come under remark, is not compensated by the suggestion of new views, one of the most striking characteristics of the work, being the want of original thinking. The work certainly cannot be said materially to have enriched the science which it treats.

The work of the Rev. Mr. Godwin, on the same subject, the title of which is prefixed to this article, is in striking contrast with the one we have been examining. It appears from the preface, that in the neighborhood of Bradford, in Yorkshire, in England, where the Rev. Mr. Godwin is an officiating clergyman and an instructer in a seminary, sceptical and atheistical doctrines have become prevalent to a considerable extent, and are openly defended and promulgated with much zeal. With the laudable design of checking the progress of such pernicious opinions, Mr. Godwin undertook a course of public lectures, on the atheistic controversy, which were delivered in his chapel, during the months of February and March, 1834, and published in England, in the October following. The course consists of six lectures.

"The interest felt in the town and neighborhood, was far greater than the lecturer had anticipated. The place was crowded to excess; the congregation increasing as the course proceeded, and though the pressure and heat were great, a silent and unremitting attention was given to the whole of the lectures, which occupied, on an average, each, about two hours and a quarter in delivery. Those who had embraced the tenets of infidelity, were general and regular in their attendance, and their behavior was marked with propriety. Indeed," adds Mr. Godwin, "it is but just to say, that in all the communications the author has had with the leaders of the sceptical party, he has been treated with the utmost respect and courtesy."

These persons promised an answer, and Mr. Godwin supplied them with the sheets of his publication as they came from the press, that they might more early make the intended reply. Whether this has been published, we have not learned.

Mr. Andrews has added, in a short appendix, a train of reasoning on the subject, in aid of the author's. He remarks of the work in his preface, as, we think, very justly.

"The character of it, in every respct, is such as the Christian, the philosopher, the scholar, and the man of taste, would desire. It presents the most powerful, logical and convincing train of reasoning, clothed in the most lucid, harmonious and engaging style. As a mere piece of composition, it is beautiful; as a chain of reasoning, it is overpowering and irresistible. The temper manifested in it too, is highly creditable to the author and grateful to the reader. The most perfect candor, calmness and amiability, prevails throughout it."

A popular work upon this subject, and on this plan, was really needed; and it could hardly have fallen into better hands. Mr. Godwin commands a bold, free and masterly style, that reminds the reader of Dr. Chalmers, though Mr. Godwin is superior in chasteness, taste and elegance. He is fluent, rapid and fervent. His illustrations are well chosen, and what is a great recommendation of the work, they are not digressions, — they are not so labored, followed out and dwelt upon, that the the reader forgets the main argument in the study of astronomy, anatomy and natural history. The lecturer is constantly going forward, always with spirit, and often with brilliancy and eloquence.

In a course of lectures, delivered to such an audience, and under such circumstances, it might be expected that the lecturer would occasionally deviate from the most rigid train of ratiocination, into strong appeals intended for excitement as well as conviction. But on the whole, Mr. Godwin has very well withstood the temptations to address himself to the fears or prejudices of his auditors; in general, he fairly deals with their understandings. He sometimes adopts an argument that would be better omitted, as for instance, that infinite space must be a property of something, and can be such only of the divinity; and he sometimes lays too great stress upon a questionable, or at least, a feeble argument, as for instance, the general belief of mankind in a Creator, as evidence of an original revelation of himself. But on the whole, the argument is treated, not only in a very interesting manner, but with ability and logical precision.

ART. VIII. — *The Social Condition of Woman.*

1. *Memoirs of Celebrated Women of all Countries.* By MADAME JUNOT. 2 vols.
2. *Noble Deeds of Woman.* 2 vols. 12mo. 1836.
3. *The History of the Condition of Women, in various Ages and Nations.* By MRS. D. L. CHILD. 2 vols. 12mo. 1835.
4. *Legouvé, Le Mérite des Femmes.*

INVENTIVE writing is full of common-place respecting Woman, drawn from the feelings or the imagination, sometimes depicting her character as a brilliant constellation of all the virtues, sometimes as a virulent concentration of all the vices and weaknesses incident to human nature. For instance, we take up Otway's Orphan, and we read in one place verses like these:

> "Who can describe
> Women's hypocrisies? Their subtle wiles,
> Betraying smiles, feign'd tears, inconstancies?
> Their painted outsides, and corrupted minds?
> The sum of all their follies and their falsehoods?"

And again, at another page, these:

> "Your sex
> Was never in the right: you 're always false
> Or silly. Even your dreams are not more
> Fantastical than your appetites. You think
> Of nothing twice. Opinion you have none:
> To-day you are nice, to-morrow not so fine;
> Now smile, then frown; now sorrowful, then glad;
> Now pleased, now not; and all you know not why.
> Virtue you affect."

Is this harsh? Turn the leaves, and you come to the other side of the question, in that beautiful passage of the same Otway's Venice Preserved:

> "O woman, lovely woman! nature made you
> To temper man; we had been brutes without you.
> Angels are painted fair, to look like you;
> There's in you all that we believe of heaven;
> Amazing brightness, purity and truth,
> Eternal joy and everlasting love."

It would be curious, if in our way, to run over what the

novelists and dramatists have had to say upon this point. In the latter, especially, there is a perfect arsenal of the small artillery of stale reproaches on feminine weakness and falsehood. In reference to all such matter, whether set fixedly in books, or floating on the surface of society, we hold this axiom in reverent belief; there is no man of good morals, who does not admire and esteem the female character. Whoever disparages the female sex, is, of necessity, a bad son, and a thousand to one he is, in his custom of life, a bad member of society.

Reflecting upon the diverse forms under which Woman appears in the great classic writers of our language, we think it demonstrates that each one's individual temper and experience, much more than philosophical observation of general fact, have produced his particular representation of her social destiny.

Open, for instance, the poems of Pope and Swift, which abound with such coarse, bitter, humiliating satire of the female sex. Are all women, then, without discrimination, utterly destitute of delicacy and purity of sentiment, as those writers would have it? Or was there not some seated distemper in the moral constitution of their minds, which jaundiced all their views of woman? The truth in this matter is familiar to every scholar. They were each the objects of the devoted, but unmerited and unrequited affections of some of the best hearts that ever beat in human bosoms. What men deeply injure, that they deeply hate. Festering in misanthropical celibacy, the mind of each transferred to the canvas its own dark tints of spiteful malignity, in place of the reflected image they professed to copy. If we analyse the life and character of Milton and Byron, we shall there in like manner find a key to all the peculiarities in their conception of the social condition of woman. There is one poet and one prose writer, however, each pre-eminent for his intuitive perception of character, and his marvellous knowledge of human nature, who have written a vast deal concerning the female sex, full of instruction, good sense, good feeling and truth. We mean Shakspeare and Scott. They loved fondly, but wisely, and there was not, therefore, in their domestic history, any great disturbing fact to distort their judgment of the fair sex; and they have recorded woman as she is; rich in the virtues and graces appropriate to her career on earth; if with less of the sustained vigor of active resolution, and less of the analytical comprehensiveness

of intellect than man, yet with more intensity of purpose, and more instinctive quickness and force of thought in a given emergency; when good, in principle better than he, when bad, worse; in a word, neither greater nor less than man, but different, as her natural vocation is different, and both so far equal, that each is superior to the other in their respective departments of thought and action.

In taking up this topic, of the social condition of Woman in modern christendom, we avow, in advance, that we are not preparing to present a mere panegyric on the female sex. What we propose to ourselves, on this occasion, is neither a reasoned analysis of the general spirit of the gentler sex, nor a diatribe upon her defects; nor a declamation upon her excellences; but a just deduction and estimate, so far as we are able to give it, of what christian civilization has done for the condition and character of Woman. After speaking of the leading facts of her history, we may best pronounce upon her true rank in the scale of society, and of moral and intellectual beings.

Without covering so much ground as would be needful, were we to attempt elucidating at large the condition of Woman in societies unconnected with our own, it will suffice, if, as preliminary to considering her place in the economy of modern christendom, we briefly explain what she is in countries highly civilized but not christian, in a purely barbarous state of society generally, and what she was in those communities, which chiefly contributed to form the spirit of christendom, namely in Palestine, in Greece, in Rome, and among the ancient Germans.

Of modern countries highly civilized, but not christian, we shall take but two examples, China and Hindostan, both as composing so large a portion of the human race, and as having really attained a high degree of general culture.

In considering the purely savage or hunter stage of human society, notwithstanding there be in different countries great diversities in the condition of the female sex, yet in every case we discover certain marked traits, which clearly indicate the deleterious effect of barbarism of manners upon the social position of Woman. One is, the similarity of savage life, in the nearest of all the social relations, to the condition of brute animals. In the hunter state, the supply of the first necessity of life, food, is precarious; and this uncertainty of the means of sub-

sistence counteracts the natural tendency of mankind to a permanent connubial union between the sexes; a tendency which developes itself more and more in proportion as society grows more fixed and stable in its forms. Hence, in many such communities, children are distinguished with reference to their mother alone whose name they bear, and not their father's. In some of those tribes of North America, which admitted of hereditary sovereignty, royalty of blood was tested by derivation from the mother alone, in reverse of the usage of all civilized nations. Such institutions or usages necessarily imply the degradation of the female sex. Another of the distinctive peculiarities of the savage life is the common fact, that women are held as property. In some barbarous communities, the wife is purchased, in others she is forcibly seized by her future husband and master. And universally we may say, at all times, in every climate, under whatever circumstances of local situation, savage man regards and treats the feebler sex as born to menial service. Woman is the humble slave of his pleasure, the handmaid of his daily wants, his laborious drudge of the field, the household and the journey, consigned to toil and subservience, whilst he, the proud lord of creation, aspires exclusively to the stirring chances of the chase, or the yet nobler game of war. Nor does this description apply to a class only of savage society. Such is the general condition of women in barbarous communities, however exalted the station of their rude connexions, how much soever they happen to be cherished by their untutored lords. Out of innumerable illustrations of this, which might be given, we select one, for its peculiar fulness, pertinency, and homely force and truth. Samuel Hearne is well known as one of the adventurous explorers of the arctic coast of North America. He was returning on his way back to Prince of Wales' Fort, unsuccessful from his second expedition, when he met Matonabbee, whom he describes as "a powerful and intelligent chief," and who undertook to explain the cause of his failure, ascribing it to the want of female attendants. "In an expedition of this kind," said Matonabbee, "when all the men are so heavily laden that they can neither hunt nor travel to any considerable distance, in case they meet with success in hunting, who is to carry the produce of their labor? — Women were made for labor; one of them can carry or haul as much as two men can do. They also pitch our tents, make and mend our clothing, rake our fires at night;

and in fact there is no such thing as travelling any considerable distance or for any length of time in this country without them; and yet, though they do every thing, they are maintained at a trifling expense; for, as they always act the cook, the very licking of their fingers in scarce times, is sufficient for their subsistence." Under the auspices of Matonabbee, and with seven of his wives to accompany him, Hearne set out on his third expedition; and in his plain unvarnished description of the incredible hardships he underwent, and of the excessive toil imposed upon the females of the expedition, we have a vivid representation of the servile and wretched condition of the female sex in the very highest rank of their nation; for such was Matonabbee, as expressly stated by Hearne, and as incidentally apparent throughout his narrative of the journey. And if, in some savage societies, the condition of woman was better, in others it was worse than represented in the pages of Hearne's Journey.

While the people of Hindostan, it is true, have made such advances in certain of the forms and fixed improvements of civilization, that they cannot be deemed a barbarous people, still the practice of infanticide, and the disregard of chastity, are facts upon the face of things, attesting a barbaric degradation in the social position of woman. Yet there it is, that the widow proves how irreparable is her grief, by devoting herself on the funeral pile as a burnt-offering to hallow the memory of her deceased lord. But how did he earn such unequalled ardor of love? We may read in the Abbé Dubois an extract from one of the sacred books of the Hindus, which expressly enjoins upon her not merely that she is to obey her husband as a master, but that she is to revere him as a god. "When in the presence of her husband," are the words, "a woman must keep her eyes upon her master, and be ready to receive his commands. When he speaks, she must be quiet, and listen to nothing besides. When he calls, she must leave every thing else, and attend upon him alone. A woman has no other god on earth than her husband. The most excellent of all good works she can perform, is to gratify him with the strictest obedience. This should be her only devotion. Though he be aged, infirm, dissipated, drunkard, or a debauchee, she must still regard him as her god." Such is the text. And these precepts, it is notorious, are practically observed in the domestic intercourse of the Hindus.

Nor is the state of things any better in China, as is well

stated in, if we remember rightly, Morrison's authentic translation of the She-King. "In childhood slighted, in maidenhood sold, in mature womanhood, shackled by the laws which prescribe numerous and unpleasing duties, or rather tasks to their husband's relations, — in widowhood controlled by their own sons, in all ages and states considered as immeasurably inferior to men, denied even moral agency in the power of doing either good or evil; — woman is considered by the laws of the country as the bond and appointed slave of man and nature, made such by the same law that gives to the sun its light and to the leopard its spots; and they find their fate but slightly modified by the opinions and practices of their husbands and fathers." No addition of ours to this comprehensive description of the social condition of Woman in cultivated and lettered China could augment its graphic force.

The Christian religion issued out of Judea; and our opinions, especially in Protestant countries, where the Bible is so universally read, expounded, and reverenced, are greatly influenced by the Old Testament, that is, the inspired history, laws, poetry, prophecies, and moral disquisitions of the Jews, which are incorporated into our literature and bias all our trains of thought. Society, as represented in the Bible, had already emerged from the barbarism of the hunter state, and presents itself in the three successive stages of the pastoral, the agricultural, and the commercial and manufacturing states, each being superior in civilization to its predecessor. Substantially the same system of legislation, however, regulated the whole period of time, from the age of the patriarchs, or at least from the exodus out of Egypt, down to the advent of our Savior. And it was not such as favored the condition of the female sex; for polygamy obtained, as in other oriental countries; and women were entirely dependent upon the men, who might repudiate them at will, and without cause. Such laws could not be otherwise than decisive of their general condition; and a careful study of particular facts will bring the mind to the same conclusion, which a consideration of those laws would lead us to draw. The persevering attachment of Jacob for Rachel shows that, in the patriarchal age, woman had acquired a value unknown to the hunter-life; but all the circumstances of their domestic history, so distinctly told by the sacred penman, show, at the same time, that their love was destitute of the delicacy and individuality, essential to the true respectability of woman. Again, it is observable that Sarah, Rebekah,

Zipporah, Ruth, Tamar, the wives and daughters of rich men and princes, appear before us continually in the performance of menial services, or humbly uniting in the pleasures of their lords, not, as with us, the cherished objects of respectful affection, and equal observance. And the remarkable incidents, which well nigh occasioned the annihilation of the tribe of Benjamin, as related in the book of Judges, when the man of Gibeah, instead of contending to the death, as we should have done in defence of the females of his family, offered them as a sacrifice to purchase the safety of his guest, are characteristic of the cotemporary estimation of Woman. To be sure, her condition improved along with the introduction of arts and manufactures into the country; and what it was in the Augustan age of Judea, we see plainly in Solomon's description of a good wife: "She maketh herself coverings of tapestry; her clothing is silk and purple. She maketh fine linen and selleth it, and delivereth girdles unto the merchant. She openeth her mouth with wisdom, and in her tongue is the law of kindness. She looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness." Such, therefore, was the model of a perfect woman at the highest point of civilization among the Jews, — a laborious artizan, a discreet housewife, and withal, one amiable and judicious in her deportment and conversation. At the same time, even at this period, there is no social equality, no intellectual refinement, in the comparative condition of the female sex; it is that of an Asiatic laboring under the disabilities of polygamy, just as in the Syria of our own day.

Pass to the Greeks, to a European population, though in and upon the confines of Asia. We know little of the heroic age of Greece; but that little exhibits a manifest social superiority of Woman over what she was in Judea, because polygamy, with all its train of attendant ills, disappears. It is said in the Iliad, of bad men, that they deserve not to enjoy the rights of a citizen, nor the happiness of domestic life; and as to be out of the pale of citizenship was to be an outlaw, we may judge, by the coupling of it with domesticity in the poet's mind, how much Woman had begun to be prized. And we think the fact, that in primitive Greece so many women were deified, and the female deities, as Rhea, Juno, Proserpina, Venus, Minerva, held in at least equal veneration with the male ones, testifies that some imperfect glimpses of the true destiny

of Woman was dawning out upon the age. To this hour, Andromache and Penelope are beautiful examples of conjugal truth and virtue. On the other hand, so many women, who attained a bad eminence by their vices, Medea, Phædra, Helen, Clytemnestea, do yet attest the growing personal consequence of the sex, in this the cradle of the intellect and civilization of Europe.

Two republics, contrasted in all their institutions, stood at the head of the Greeks. In Sparta, every thing was forced, artificial, unnatural; in Athens, the finely organized Hellenic mind, enamored of taste, beauty, and refinement, had free scope in the following of its native bent. Lycurgus impressed on the women of Sparta a character of hardness and exclusive devotion to the military success of the republic, at the expense of every feminine quality. To wrestle in the Palæstra promiscuously with men, and half naked; not to know or conceive that which is the most indispensable, and yet the first and lowest of the virtues of a wife; to rejoice over the death of a son in the wars; to practice the crime of infanticide as a matter of course, if a child seemed to be of feeble structure: such was the education, such the character, such the habits, of the women of Lacedæmon. Not so in civilized Attica. There a singular state of things ensued, from the keen sense which the cultivated Athenians felt of the value of intellectual female society, acting upon their peculiar domestic institutions. Usage, more despotic and more tyrannical than law, exacted of matrons and other ingenuous women, a life of extreme seclusion. To live in society, to cultivate the exquisite social arts which give intellectual interest to the female sex, was to overstep those conventional boundaries of virtue, which admitted of no return. Hence, although in Attica and other parts of Greece of congenial manners, highly accomplished women existed, and held a pre-eminently brilliant position in society, celebrated by poetic and mimetic art, courted by philosophers, and enriched by princes. — Sappho, the poetess, Leæna, famed for her constancy to the slayers of the Pisistratidæ, — Aspasia, at once a Ninon de l'Enclos to Socrates, and a Maintenon to Pericles, — Lais, the glory and the shame of Corinth, — Phryne, who offered to rebuild Thebes at her own charge, and who could boast of a golden image erected to her honor in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, — yet all these were public wantons, who usurped among the spiritual and beauty-loving Greeks, that

estimation, which is the rightful due of purity and virtue alone, and which degraded irreparably, while it seemed the most to honor, the nicely constituted character of Woman.

Proceed now to Italy, and raise the veil from the domestic sanctuary of the Romans. There is nothing more striking, all through the history of the kings and of the early republic, than the new aspect under which Woman presents herself, so different from any thing in Greece. The Roman matron possessed the patriotism of the Spartan without her cruelty and coarseness, and the purity of the Athenian without her extreme seclusion; she fell short of the modern European, in that intellectual refinement and high accomplishment, which combined with virtue, belong exclusively to Christendom. Her occupations for a long period, were such as to imply inferiority of condition. Thus, when the Sabines made peace with the Romans at the conclusion of the war occasioned by the forcible abduction of the Sabine maidens, it was stipulated that no labor should be exacted of the latter except spinning.* Hence an old writer, who enumerates the qualities of a good wife, to probity, beauty, fidelity, and chastity, adds, *skill in spinning*. Nay, the Emperor Augustus seldom wore any apparel but of the manufacture of his wife, daughter, and the ladies of his household.†

What originally gave consequence to the female sex in Rome was the necessity of seeking them, under which the infant people of Romulus labored. Thereafter, we perceive, in the important part played by individual women, what was the general consequence of the sex. Hersilia, with her fellow-matrons, reconciled the Sabines to the city of her forced adoption; the crime of Tarquin gave birth to the republic; the death of Virginia destroyed the tyranny of the Decemvirs; Veturia rescued Rome from the wrath of Coriolanus; when Brennus held the city at ransom, the Roman ladies stripped themselves of their gold and jewels for the service of the republic, as they did in the equally desperate crisis of the battle of Cannæ. And where such a spirit earned to women such an estimation, it is not strange that it became lawful to praise them in the tribune, to pronounce eulogies to their memory, and to draw them in chariots to the public games, nor that we see in Rome, at this time, instead of the corruption of the Paphian Venus, temples to Female Fortune, and the sacred fire

* Plutarch's Romulus. † Sueton, August. 73.

of the republic consigned in custody to the virgin priestess of the spotless Vesta.

In the decay of the republic, and the still deeper abasement of the empire, as the female sex still continues an important element of society, this consequence follows. Frequent examples of eminent female excellence occur, contrasted with cases of equally eminent infamy. If Cornelia could inspire the Gracchi, and Julia sustain the fortune of Pompey, and another Cornelia nobly share them for better and for worse, and Atia form the genius of Octavius, and Portia approve herself worthy to be the wife of Brutus, yet in the same age Metella could dishonor the household of Sylla, and Catiline and Clodius range at will among the best in blood and highest in rank of the patrician wives of Rome. So, in the next generation, we have a Julia Augusta, and a Messalina steeped in the very lees of vice, by the side of an Agrippina at the pinnacle of dignity and faith. And when the profligacy of imperial Rome had sunk to a depth of abomination, which no modern tongue can express, nor any modern mind well conceive, there were two Arrias, a Paulina, and an Eponina, who recalled the ancient glory of the best matrons of the republic. But there needed a new dispensation of religion for the moral reform of society in the days of the empire; nor that only, since the whole frame of society was corrupt; and nothing less than a dispensation of blood and fire could suffice to work its physical renovation. Long before the overthrow of the empire, indeed, Christianity had begun to make its benign influences felt in the condition and character of Woman; but as its operation covered a later period, and chiefly in that was active upon the present civilization of modern Europe, before entering upon it, we subjoin a few words on the social standing of the female sex among the invading Germans. For, while our religion is derived from Judea, and our intellectual tastes from the Greeks and Romans, the basis of our manners descends to us from the Saxons, Franks, and other tribes of the German race, who overturned the Roman empire, and established themselves upon its ruins.

Our most authentic knowledge of this great primitive state of modern Europe is derived from the works of Cæsar and Tacitus. The picture which these authors present to us, displays in part the usual features of savage life, in part others of a better aspect and higher promise. Among the ancient Ger-

mans, as in other like conditions of society, all agricultural as well as household labor was devolved upon their women, and the infirm or less respected male members of the community. In Gaul, the husband possessed the power of life and death over his wife. But in Britain, and especially Germany, it seems to have been otherwise; or at least, if such were the legal power of the husband, yet custom had established more of practical equality between the sexes, than obtained in Palestine, in Greece, or even in Rome. The Germans, above all other barbarians, held in special regard the singleness of the connubial relation, and the purity of the female character. They married by the interchange of gifts in cattle and arms; for the wife, says Tacitus, that she may not imagine herself beyond the thought of virtue or the vicissitudes of war, is admonished by the very auspices of incipient matrimony, that she comes to be the associate of her husband's toils and dangers, the same to suffer and the same to dare, whether in peace or in battle. But there is a still clearer manifestation, in another place, of our own modern spirit of chivalrous admiration of the sex, animating the rude hearts of these wild hunters of the north. The Germans fought their battles with their wives and families near at hand. These, continues Tacitus, are the sacredest witnesses of martial prowess, these its loudest applauders. Each one carries his wounds to his mother, to his wife; nor do these shrink from numbering or exacting them; and they administer food and exhortation to the combatants. It is had in remembrance, that their line of battle, when already bent and broken, has been restored by their women, with constancy of prayers and bared bosoms, and warnings of coming captivity, which they dread far more intolerably on account of their female connexions. Wherefore, the more effectually to ensure the execution of treaties, noble virgins are demanded as hostages to bind the public faith. For they think there is something holy and fore-seeing in the mind of woman; for which reason they neither despise her counsels nor neglect her answers. Under Vespasian, we have seen Veleda, as formerly Aurinia and others, held by them in deep reverence, not with adulation, nor as goddesses, and yet withal as persons endued with special authority and wisdom. Is not all this finely conceived; and an omen of what Woman is to be, when these uncultivated barbarians shall have been exalted, by religious and intellectual teaching, into civilized Christians?

In considering this point, of the particular influence of Christianity upon the condition of Woman, there is a material distinction important to be noted. Certain effects are often described, as evidently flowing from the tenets and general spirit of our religion, although not directly and specifically aimed at by express inculcation of the gospel. For instance, submission to existing political institutions is commanded, notwithstanding the corruptions of the empire would seem to have been such as to justify, nay, to require revolution for their reform. And yet nothing is clearer than that the general tendency of the doctrines of the New Testament is to further republican equality. It is a religion for the universal human race. It associates sovereign and subject, in the same service of religion upon earth; it ushers them into equal responsibility in heaven for good done or evil prevented, or the reverse, in the passages of this sublunary life of probation. It is emphatically a levelling religion, and of the right kind; for it levels upward; elevating all men to the same high standard of sanctity, faith, and spiritual promise on earth as in heaven. Just so it is, that wherever Christianity is taught, it inevitably dignifies and exalts the female character. Throughout the New Testament she is contemplated as a spiritual and immortal being, the equal partaker with man of all the offices of religion here, and of all its divine aspirations hereafter. We listen to prayer and exhortation within the same holy walls of God's temples; we kneel in supplication to the same consecrated altar; children are admitted into the visible church of Christ at the same baptismal font; we mutually plight our faith under the solemn sanction and observances of a common religion; and when the dearest bonds of blood or affection are sundered by death, there is left us the one admirable solace of sorrow, that the sainted spirit of the wife, sister, daughter, we may have lost, has winged its flight upward to rest forever in the bosom of the Christian's God.

We familiarly know how different in this relation are the opinions and feelings of that religion, which, in its single adoration of one overruling God, as in its respect for Moses and for Jesus Christ, approaches nearer Christianity than the old Pagan system of polytheism. There is much controversy, as to whether Mahomet did or did not teach that women have no souls. We have not examined the Koran with reference to the question; but an author, whose learning, judgment and good

faith are worthy of all confidence, Father Feijoo in his elaborate Defence of Women, says he carefully perused it in the sole view to ascertain the point; and the Koran is in fact silent on the subject. And the intellectual, or rather spiritual, degradation of Woman, in the countries of the Mahometan law, is deduced from this silence more than from any positive text; and has a deeper foundation than text or doctrine, in the practice of polygamy, and the prevalence of purchased connexion, the standing curse of society in the luxurious climate of the Levant. Nay, the propagation of the sanguinary fanaticism of Mahomet and his disciples, in regions once occupied by Christianity, may be partly ascribed to the important difference between the two religions, and the superior correspondence of Islamism to the settled moral and social debasement of Asia in respect of Woman. A curious and interesting illustration of this occurs in the case of Spain, when the occasional intermarriages of Christian with Mahometan, and the intermixture of the Arabs and Goths by reason of the conquests made by each in the territory of the other, and the frequent residence or visits of Christians at the Moorish courts of Zaragoza, Cordova, Seville, or Granada, and of Moors in the Christian cities of Leon and Castile, visibly modified the manners of each nation, communicating to the Goths something of the Asiatic averseness to female independence, and to the Spanish Mahometan something of the chivalry and courtesy of the modern inhabitants of Christian Europe.

What we have thus reasoned of the influence of Christianity applies to all its forms, and to the institution itself as we are the witnesses of its operations in modern times and in the Protestant countries of Europe or America. But, in the early ages, when Christianity first impressed itself upon European society, other religious causes, besides the essential doctrine of the Christian faith, aided it in the noble work of elevating the social condition of Woman.

Whoever is personally acquainted with the usages of society in the countries of the Roman Catholic and Greek faith, which compose the larger part of both Europe and America, cannot fail to be struck with the reverence there paid to females of sainted memory, martyrs of old who have been canonized for their devotedness to Christianity, or the Virgin Mary and other females consecrated in the New Testament. The Virgin is,

perhaps, in all those countries, a more constant object of address for interest or protection, than even our Saviour himself; so much so that this very fact is, among Protestants, a common article of reproach against Greek and Roman Catholic Christians. In countries dependent upon the See of Rome, while the veneration of the Virgin Mother is not less intense than it is in Greece or in Russia, the veneration of other sainted females is more universal. Their images and their pictures every where meet the eye; their festivals are of continual recurrence; churches and shrines are dedicated to their memory; their names are perpetually upon the lip in every hour of business or pleasure; children receive their names, and learn to regard them through life as their special intercessors, in all seasons of doubt or peril, for the mercy and favor of heaven. This may be very exceptionable as matter of religious doctrine; at least it is very abhorrent to the usages of devout Protestants. Its influence, however, in the middle ages, eminently contributed to exalt the character of the female sex. It habituated, and still habituates, all persons, of whatever condition, to the contemplation of feminine excellence of a spiritual, moral, or intellectual kind, in contradistinction to the less refined and ennobled estimation of woman in countries out of the pale of Christendom.

Furthermore, the individuals thus regarded with a veneration so peculiar as even to offend the principles of Christians professing the reformed faith, belonged to the vast body of women of the early ages, who by their constancy, their zeal, their sufferings, their self-sacrifice, their martyrdom, were living examples of the wonderful influence of the tenets of Christianity in purifying the heart and elevating the character of woman. In the impressible and enthusiastic constitution of the female mind, there is a remarkable aptitude for the peculiar doctrines of Christianity. We see the readiness of women in receiving, and their instrumentality in propagating, the gospel, in the inspired narratives of the Evangelists; we see it in the teachings and reasonings of the epistles; we see it in the writings of the early fathers of the church; we see it in the innumerable cases of surpassing magnanimity and fortitude which honor the female name, through all the persecutions of the Pagan emperors; we see it in Saint Helena, opening the heart of Constantine, and thus making Christianity the religion of the

empire; we see it in the conversion of Clovis and his Franks through the pious eloquence of Clotilda. How, indeed, could it be otherwise? What woman of sense or sensibility, but would cling to a faith which lifted her from the humiliation of long centuries into her appropriate sphere of moral dignity and spiritual value and influence, and thus redeemed her as it were from the divine malediction, which fell in Paradise on our erring mother Eve? No wonder that Christianity commended itself to the female mind; no wonder that Woman was last at the cross and foremost at the grave; no wonder that persecution did but prove her truth, and thus filled the Roman and Greek world with so many examples of female excellence honored and revered in the traditions of the church.

One thing in addition. We cordially concur with all other Protestants, and with many if not the major part of Catholics, in the condemnation of monastic institutions; because we know they are unfitted to the advanced stage of our civilization. The times when they were calculated to be useful, have ceased to exist. But he, who is unaware of the important uses they had in the furtherance of intelligence, religion, and moral purity in the middle ages, must be untaught in the lessons of history. In the first place, they were the sole repositories of knowledge and religion in those barbarous times, standing like oases in the midst of the desert, green spots of earth environed with desolation and corruption. In the second place, they were sources of moral influence particularly beneficial to the dignity of the female sex; for the inculcation of moral purity among the monastic orders, and the professed and apparent if not real exercise of it, had an astonishing effect upon the imagination and actions of the wild conquerors of Europe. Finally, they were the asylum and refuge of the oppressed, the destitute, the mourner, the thousands left unfriended and unhappy by the violence of the age, or unwilling to dare its dangers. Doubtless, crime and sin made their way into the convents, as into every thing human; but we are slow to believe that corruption ever came to pervade, and permanently qualify, those abodes of the vowed servants of Christ. We do injustice to religion in itself, in supposing there is no truth or reality in the profession of moral rectitude. In fact, a large part of the reproachful matter current on this point comes from the pen of M. de Potter, a systematic and inveterate foe of the very in-

stitution of Christianity. And his great object in collecting it avowedly was, to serve the cause of irreligion. At any rate, believing or admitting whatever we will of the alleged corruptions of the monastic institution, its beneficial influence on the character and condition of Woman, at the period when European society settled into its present forms, is a demonstrable fact in the history of Christendom.

Christianity, therefore, proved infinitely efficacious in elevating the character and condition of Woman. It began to work out this effect, even amid all the corruption of the declining period of the Roman empire. And its beneficial operation was yet more discernible in the sequel, when it come to coöperate with some remarkable peculiarities in the secular institutions founded by the new masters of Europe. For the barbarians, destructively as they pursued their career of conquest, yet brought along with them the germ of many things, which constitute, with good reason, the boast and pride of modern times. What they did towards the cultivation of Woman, would suffice to recompense humanity for much of the desolation and misery, which, in the long interval between their fierce eruptions from the North, and the renovation of civilized life, they inflicted on the European world.

How it was that the Feudal System acquired possession of Europe, belongs not to the present subject. Suppose it, however, to exist in full vigor ; and let us see wherein it affected the condition of Woman.

In comparing the political institutions of ancient and modern Europe with other great subdivisions of the human family, we observe that, in one, an empire is split into fragment-states, or smaller states are united in a single empire, by the transmission of sovereignty through the female sex, in a manner quite peculiar to Christendom. In the republics of Greece and Rome, no such fact occurs. Nor, even in the time of the Cæsars and their successors, do we find any instance of sovereignty and territorial power annexed to females, and transferred from one family to another by marriage. Among the Mahometans, also, territorial sovereignty belongs only to man. True it is, that revenues of particular cities, islands, or provinces are specially appropriated to particular female connexions of the Sultan ; but these are held, not in personal sovereignty, transmissible through the form of marriage in succession, but as a temporary appendage merely ; just as, under the Persian em-

pire, one city furnished the head-dress of the queens, another their slippers, and a third their girdle ;* and as the queen-consort in England anciently had queen-gold reserved to her out of the rent of royal domains, for specified objects of apparel and maintenance.† But the conquerors of Europe introduced laws of inheritance, which had the effect either of making a woman a feudal sovereign in her own right, or, at least, the medium of conveying the feudal rights of her deceased father to the person of her husband. Take the feudal law, for instance, as practised in England. For some time after the conquest, dignity and power were annexed to the tenure of lands in the usual condition of feudal service rendered by the holders as liegemen of the king, or vassals of some intermediate chief. He, who held lands of the king, was a baron of parliament, the immediate lord of tenants holding in like manner of him, and the qualified sovereign of the territory constituting his fief or fiefs. Some of these fiefs, or estates with dignity attached, were male fiefs, that is, limited to male heirs of the baron or knight in possession ; but others, and those not the least valuable, descended to his heirs generally, females included in default of male heirs. If a baron died, leaving several daughters, either the king selected some one of them, or her husband, to be invested with the feudal dignity ; or it remained in abeyance, or suspent, until by the extinction of other branches, there was but a single male heir entitled by blood. If there was but one daughter, she became at once a baroness in her own right, and her husband was the possessor and administrator of her feudal power during his lifetime, when it descended to her male heirs, with her nobility and rank, so that her hand conferred or transmitted, not wealth only, but territorial sovereignty and political distinction.

In some instances, to be sure, these institutions operated hardly upon the affections of a woman, by restricting her freedom of choice in the bestowment of her hand. An heiress was the ward of her feudal superior ; and his interest, as the political chief, was to be consulted in the disposition of her person, because involving that of her estates and vassals. The ancient records of the exchequer, says Edmund Burke,

* Cicero. Orat. in Verrem, L. III, c 33.
† Blackstone's Commentary, Vol. I, p. 221.

afford many instances, where some women purchased by heavy fines the privilege of a single life, some the free choice of a husband, others the liberty of rejecting some one particularly disagreeable. And there are not wanting examples, where a woman, having offered a considerable fine to escape marriage with a certain person, the suitor on the other hand has outbid her, and has thus effected his object avowedly against her inclination. Notwithstanding the occurrence of such abuses, the general operation of the feudal law of succession was to augment the importance and respectability of women; for the lord depended very much upon the good will of his vassals; and the particular instances of misrule in question, show that woman had at least a will to be consulted and conciliated. And, if herself a great vassal, she exercised a direct personal power in public affairs, which of necessity made her to be feared and regarded. In England, for instance, abbesses attended parliament in person. Lay peeresses did not appear in person, but they nominated their proxies just like lay peers; and in the parliament of the 31 Edward III, it appears there were ten peeresses, who thus voted by proxy among the great barons. And previous to the passage of the Reform Bill, females, as proprietors of boroughs, could and did in various cases hold and exercise the right of returning members to the House of Commons.

Such was the principle. And to comprehend thoroughly its political operation, let us consider it in the cases of great states, rather than in the obscurer examples of subordinate feudal sovereignties. In France, a peculiar text called the Salic law, whose origin is lost in the darkness of the barbarous ages, excluded the female line from the throne; but in all the other great monarchies of Europe, and even in the feudal subdivisions of France itself, there was no distinction in this respect between the regal and any other dignity. Thus it happened, by the marriage of English princes with French heiresses, that Guienne, Anjou, and other provinces of France, became subject to England. Nay, the English long denied the force of the Salic law itself; in pursuance of which Henry V, like his predecessor, Edward III, invaded France, claiming the crown through a female, in preference to a male heir nearly related to the last monarch; and the kings of England, until near to our own day, continued to style themselves kings of France. Thus, in process of time, some of the large French fiefs be-

came vested in the crown. Thus Catalonia was united to Aragon, and Aragon to Castile. And thus the grandson of a duke of Austria came to be master of the Netherlands, Bohemia, Hungary, Germany, and Spain. To say nothing of women, who, like Boadicea of ancient Britain, ascended the throne themselves, and either remained unmarried, as Elizabeth Tudor, and Christina of Sweden, or if married, yet retained still the government of their hereditary dominions, as Mary Tudor, and Anne Stuart of England, Mary of Scotland, Isabel of Castile, and Maria Theresa of Hungary; at the present time, Spain and Portugal have youthful queens for their sovereigns, and Great Britain will, in all probability, devolve on a princess likewise, through marriage with whom the crowns of each of those countries may pass into a foreign house; just in the same way that a Bourbon originally acquired Spain, and a Guelph inherited Great Britain.

It requires no extended argument to show the efficacy of such laws in imparting personal respectability to Woman. In the first place, the world saw her actually possessed of power, and invested with all its external insignia, its pomp, and its imposing circumstances. In the second place, she became an object of desire and pursuit to the other sex, not merely because, as in other countries, she might confer wealth in the bestowment of her hand, but because rank, power, and sovereignty itself passed by her to her husband and to her descendants. Proceed we, therefore, to the social state of the Franks and Normans, so as to see what influence that had upon the condition of Woman.

One of the most eminent statesmen and profound scholars of our day, M. Guizot, ascribes much of the importance of Woman in the social relation of modern Christendom to the peculiar mode of life adopted by the northern invaders almost universally, in connexion with, or in consequence of the introduction of the Feudal System. Each baron or landholder established himself in some elevated or otherwise defensible spot, which he fortified, constructing there his feudal castle, where he lived in solitary independence. Who are the inmates of his castle? His wife, his children, his domestics, his military retainers, perhaps a small number of freemen who have no lands themselves, and attach themselves to his fortune. Around the foot of his castle is grouped a little settlement, chiefly composed of serfs, who cultivate his domain, and

look to the castle and its military occupants for protection in all emergencies of danger. Under such circumstances, the life of each individual of ingenuous condition, except when he was engaged in the chase, or in expeditions of war, was emphatically domestic. In Rome, as in Greece, the life of men was, on the other hand, civic. They dwelt in cities for the most part, repairing to the country only for temporary recreation. The private dwellings even of the wealthy were no wise calculated for what we know as domestic comfort and enjoyment. They had sumptuous dining halls, but none of the commodious apartments for retirement and repose, none of the bright saloons for conversation and domestic association, which belong to modern residences. The social intercourse of men was carried on at the baths, in the forum, and under the basilica, which decorated every considerable town or city. Those of the highest rank in society depended upon the good will and the votes of their fellow-townsmen for every thing which distinguished life, or made it useful and endurable. Hence the great Roman statesman would have his dwelling so constructed that all the citizens of Rome might overlook him in every act and movement of his whole existence. Whereas the baron of the middle ages, living isolated, independent of the world, even at feud with some of his neighbors, had few or no social resources except in the bosom of his own family, or in the midst of little circles of the same description, allied to him by affinity or friendship. It was for these narrow domestic societies of the baronial hall that so many lays of love and *fabliaux* of the wandering minstrels of that period were composed, giving birth to a delightful fireside literature, quite unknown to classical antiquity. In such habitudes of life, there was full scope for the development of that respectful regard for the female sex, which we have seen to exist in the forests of Germany and Scandinavia.

To the dignity and importance of the female sex, as produced by the combination of circumstances which we have described, namely, the influence of Christianity and the old German deference for women, developed in the peculiar social state of the feudal masters of Europe, there came finally to be added the institution of chivalry. This also had its root in the military usages of the ancient Germans; for the investiture of arms, the fondness for single combats, the painting of shields, and the presence of women at martial sports and exercises,

are as plainly recorded in Tacitus as in Froissart or Saint Palaye. At the present time the mind sees much that is exaggerated and extravagant in the maxims and practices of chivalry. Errant knights, roving over the country slaying monsters, combating giants and enchanters, delivering distressed damsels from the hands of cruel oppressors, and seeking adventures all over the world, are alien to existing manners and the fixed civilization of the day. So also are tournaments, jousts, and the deeds of steel-clad knights deciding battles by their single prowess. Amadis de Gaul would at this time be deemed a worse madman than Don Quixote de la Mancha; and Orlando quite as furious in his soberest moments, as when he split solid rocks in twain with his good sword, for the jealousy of the false traitor Medoro. Civilization has accomplished all this, by substituting the reign of law for that of violence, diffusing knowledge, and infusing in society such notions of right and wrong as do away with the vocation of individual redresses of injured innocence. And the invention of gunpowder, transferring the decision of battles to the organized action of masses, instead of the rash prowess of a few knights armed in proof, and riding down whole battalions of helpless archers or billmen, has operated a similar change in the art of war, making it a game of skill, that is, of intellect rather than of mere physical force. But, in those times, when each one did what seemed good in his own eyes, and when every person of ingenuous birth enjoyed the right of private war, there needed something to modify and check the universal lawlessness of men, and to protect the weak, and especially females from being the victims of perpetual outrage. The evils of the social state, sooner or later work out their own cure. What the world fell upon, as a remedy for the disordered condition of things which we have described, was the institution of chivalry, consisting in the voluntary association of men as knights pledged by promises, and solemn religious sanctions, to do that justice to each other and to society as a point of honor, which the law of the land did not exact, or had no means to enforce. To guard and protect the female sex, in that universal dissolution of society, was the pressing necessity; and it became of course the first point of honor, in the heart of a good knight. He was educated in the baronial hall of his feudal lord; he waited on its mistress as her page; he followed its master in battle as his faithful esquire; in the bower, he ac-

quired the sentiments and the language of courtesy, gallantry and truth; in the court-yard, he trained himself to the feats of arms; in the field, he emulated the prowess of his lord; and thus he grew up to be at once, a brave soldier and a true gentleman. He learned to vow himself to the cause of his lady-love; he wore her scarf in the tourney; he silently invoked her name as he dashed into the mêlée; and reflectively he respected the whole sex, through his admiration of her whom he followed as the lode-star of his life, and adored as second only to his God. We are not drawing a picture of imaginary scenes proper only to the page of a romance;—it is the reality so beautifully described by Burke; "that generous loyalty to rank and sex, that proud submission, that dignified obedience, that subordination of the heart, which kept alive, even in servitude itself, the spirit of an exalted freedom; that untaught grace of life, that sensibility of principle, that chastity of honor, which felt a stain like a wound, which inspired courage whilst it mitigated ferocity, which ennobled whatever it touched, and under which vice itself lost half its evil by losing all its grossness." It is the reality finely exemplified in the actions of Edward the Black Prince, showing by his whole life, that knighthood was no idle extravagance of the obscure adventurers of the middle ages and the apocryphal romance of Turpin. It is a state of things which actually existed, from the time of Charlemagne, or soon after, down to the time of the settlement of America; for at that late period, all the maxims and sports of chivalry continued in full force. France and Spain were ever the nations where it flourished in the greatest splendor. And in the history of the wars waged in Italy between the Spaniards and French, during the reign of Ferdinand and his grandson Charles, we read continually of jousts, single combats, extravagant gallantry, and all the incidents of the early days of chivalry. Gonzalo de Cordova, commander of the Spanish armies, a wise and shrewd man, as well as a brave one; Francis of France, himself; and Bayard, *Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*, a great noble and an eminent general officer, not less than a knight; these were at the very head of the order, mirrors of courtesy, gallantry and honor, and superlatively famous as such through all Europe.

Thus have we explained, as briefly as we might, the facts in the history of civilization, which moulded the condition of Woman, and gave to the social relations of the sexes the body

and general outline, which it wore at the time of the discovery of America. Since that period, the social position of the female sex, which it attained under the continued impulse of Christianity and chivalry, has been modified by two new facts, the progress of intellectual refinement and of the useful arts. Pre-supposing the original causes of Woman's elevation in Christendom to have had the effects ascribed, and then to have given a right impulsion to society, it is obvious that whatever developes mind, and augments its ascendancy in the world, must add to the respectability of Woman, who depends for her social relation upon the moral and intellectual influences she exerts over man. Accordingly, though chivalry has ceased to exist, yet the moral dignity and social equality of the female sex, continue to be distinctive of Christendom. If a woman belong to the industrious walks of life, she has a relative value, enhanced by civilization, in her aptitude for any trade requiring skill, rather than physical strength, for its performance. If placed by fortune in a more elevated condition of society, then she is prompted and encouraged to the acquisition and the display of intellectual qualities, either in the intercourse of society, the duties of family, or the cultivation of science and literature. To appreciate this fact, we have only to compare the intellectual cultivation of celebrated women in our age, with any of the distinguished examples of it recorded in other times and other societies. No case can be found more favorable to the other side of the question, than that of the Romans. Preëminent in classical history is Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi, born of that Cornelian and Æmelian family, which seemed to have a charter of hereditary genius. There was a like succession of distinguished females in the Lælian family, three generations of which are commemorated by Cicero. Another Roman lady, Cœrellia, is famed as having gained the respect and society of Cicero by her talents and knowledge. What monument of either of them remains, to attest their intellectual elevation? — Wherein consisted their intellectual cultivation? — It is evident they were courted and admired, first for their good sense, and then for the grace and elegance of their conversation; but they were not to be compared to any of the great female names of modern letters, as, for instance, the Edgeworths, the Somervilles, the Martineaus, the [illegible] anses, of our own living vernacular literature. In fact no Roman authoress, deserving the name, is handed down to

posterity. The younger Pliny dwells applaudingly on the character of his second wife, Calpurnia; and his affectionate account of her conveys, we suppose, the best possible idea of the cultivation of an intellectual Roman wife. "From attachment to me," he says, "she has acquired a love of study. My books she carries with her, reads, learns by heart. What solicitude she testifies when I am about to plead in a cause, what joy when I have done. She has messengers disposed to tell her what assent, what applause I receive; and what is the event of the trial. She sings my verses to her lyre with no other art but love, the best of masters. Wherefore I entertain a confident hope, that our mutual attachment will be perpetual and will grow stronger and stronger with time. For it is not my youth or my person, which fail with age, but my fame, which she loves,"* Interesting as this picture of connubial felicity is, they are moral not intellectual qualities which Pliny praises, and that of being an admirer of her husband's writings and talents stands preëminent in the catalogue. What inferior female cultivation does not this bespeak, compared with the times, which produced such women as Vittoria Colonna, Maria de Padilla, Lady Fanshawe, Mrs. Hutchinson, Lady Rachel Russell, Madame Roland, and Madam Larochejaqueline, combining the highest excellence in the relations of wife and mother, and intellectual traits and acquirements infinitely beyond the Cornelias and the Calpurnias, those pattern wives and mothers of ancient Rome.

Before leaving the subject there is one remaining class of considerations, which we cannot well omit to touch. It may seem to be an anamoly of Christian institutions, that while women are admitted by inheritance to the highest of all political stations, in hereditary monarchies, that of the throne, they are excluded from equal participation with men in the ordinary political privileges. They do not vote at elections; they do not sit in legislative bodies even where the right of enjoying them is hereditary. Such women as Catherine of Russia, Elizabeth of England, Isabel of Spain, Maria Theresa of Hungary, might justify, it would seem, the imposition of any degree of political responsibility upon the female sex. True, but the only cases which countenance this idea, are of woman exercising inherited sovereign power, in solitary examples, constituting

* Plin. Epist. L. IV. ep. 19.

exceptions to the usual destiny of the sex, and these exceptions, when analysed, serving to confirm the general rule. They were not thrown into the vulgar strife and competition of honor, which necessarily pervade the ranks of ordinary life. They did not have to run the career of arms as the road to power. And the condition of a great prince in the countries of Christendom is rather that of one representing sovereignty, than of one actually exercising it; since all the labor and responsibility and personal danger devolve on ministers and generals holding the delegated powers of government. Aurelius, it is said, contemplated the establishment of a female senate. Heliogabalus actually did organize one under the presidency of his mother; but Ælius Lanfirdius who tells the tale, says the members chiefly occupied themselves with points of etiquette, of regulation of dress, and other like *feminine mysteries of state*. And whether the story of the Amazons be authentic history, or only a cunningly devised fable, it presents at all events a poor picture of what society would become, if our councils were filled and our armies *manned* with women, and they rather than men, or equally with men, discharged the external and political duties of society; doing so at the sacrifice of all that delicacy and maternal tenderness, which are among the most appropriate and the highest charms of Woman. Hers be the domain of the moral affections, the empire of the heart, the co-equal sovereignty of intellect, taste, and social refinement; leave the rude commerce of camps and the soul-hardening struggles of political power to the harsher spirit of man, that he may still look up to her as a purer and brighter being, an emanation of some better world, irradiating like a rainbow of hope, the stormy elements of life.

ART. IX. — *The Legal Profession in England. The Sixth Report of the Common Law Commissioners on the Inns of Court.* London. 1834.

THE learned professions have heretofore been very justly held in high estimation in almost every civilized country. They have been regarded as the main pillars of every good government. The services and influence of the members of

these professions have been deemed of so much consequence in every community, that certain privileges and immunities have often been granted to them in return for certain qualifications required of them; and they have been empaled and protected by the laws to prevent the incalculable mischiefs, which it has been apprehended would inevitably result from a free access and admission of ignorant, base, dishonest, or unworthy men to their ranks. A certain course of education, study, discipline, and probation in science and morals has, from the time of the Roman emperors to the present day, been generally supposed to be essentially necessary for the exercise of these professions, in a manner consistent with the safety and welfare of the public. And we cannot believe that there are many, if there be any, well informed and well intentioned persons, who will dispute the policy of all such restrictive laws and regulations.

There are some, we suppose, who fancy that the state of society, in modern times, has undergone such an entire change, that it is impossible to test the wisdom or utility of any institutions, establishments, laws or regulations, by conclusions drawn from the experience of by-gone ages. Looking with suspicion and distrust upon every thing which has the stamp of antiquity upon it, and guided only by the light of speculative philosophy, we should not much wonder if some of them should even doubt the utility or expediency of the laws and regulations generally adopted in respect to the learned professions, or condemn them as being founded upon too narrow and unfavorable views of human nature, or as obnoxious or unsuitable to the free and equalizing spirit of this enlightened age. We should not think it very inconsistent with their theories, if we should hear such sentiments advanced by some of those whose minds are bewildered with the dreams of human perfectibility, or giddied with extacy in contemplation of the fancied advantages of a universal diffusion of knowledge. Enraptured with the notion that new and extraordinary light has suddenly and marvellously burst in upon this hitherto benighted world; that the "march of intellect" immeasurably surpasses that of all former times,—and that the common sense of the present day soars far above all the erudition of those who have preceded us; some of these speculative philosophers and philanthropists may, for ought we know, be inclined to think that great professional learning, if not objectionable, is of little or no utility, and that, at any rate, public opinion will very well supply the place of tests and probatory and precautionary laws and regulations.

But there is another much more dangerous class of persons, not so remarkable for their philosophy or philanthropy as for their ambition and selfishness, who, to accomplish their base purposes are constantly flattering the people by pretending, that although wisdom formerly dispensed her favors sparingly among a few choice spirits, she now pours forth her treasures bountifully, gratuitously, and indiscriminately to all orders of men; that the mere glance of intuition of the unlearned at the present day penetrates much farther than the plodding lucubrations of the closet before could possibly reach; that, in fact, knowledge, judgment and skill, which were formerly matured only by a long course of study and practice, now shoot up spontaneously, and arrive at the highest perfection without cultivation; and that the tradesman and the artificer may now grasp at one clutch the utmost extremities of useful science, sound all the depths and mysteries of jurisprudence, physic, and theology, important to be known, and comprehend and discharge with sufficient ability the high and important functions of legislation and government by the force of their native genius, aided only occasionally by such information as they can pick up in the intervals of their daily business, "between the blows of the hammer and the strokes of the saw."

These are popular doctrines, which will of course receive the support of every pettyfogger, quack and sciolist in the community, and which under a popular government like ours, it requires but very little effort to enforce. It is not a matter of surprise, therefore, that the jealous and inquisitorial spirit of the times, awakened by the harangues of these sycophants of the people, should look with a malicious eye upon the pretensions of the learned professions, and doubt, or even more than doubt, the policy or expediency of affording to them any countenance or encouragement. The privileges and immunities which have heretofore been wisely granted to them, may be easily mistaken for odious monopolies; and the restrictions against free admission may as easily be mistaken for encroachments on the rights and liberties of the people.

Having sat down under these circumstances to give our readers some account of the state of the profession of the law in that country from which we have derived the greater part of our jurisprudence, we have more than once stayed our hand in apprehension of the unfavorable reception with w hich such an article

might probably meet. But as professional qualifications have very recently been the subject of discussion in the legislature of Massachusetts and elsewhere, and as erroneous opinions seem to prevail among the people, particularly in regard to the qualifications necessary for the profession of the law, strengthened perhaps by an imperfect view of the proceedings of the English Parliament in relation to the same subject, we have concluded on the whole, that it is not an unfit time to lay such account before our readers, accompanied with such remarks, as may incidentally occur, relative to the state of the profession elsewhere.

The Report of the Common Law Commissioners, referred to at the head of this article, was made in consequence of certain proceedings upon the motion of one Daniel Whittle Harvey, in the House of Commons, about four years ago, that an address might be presented to his Majesty, praying him to direct the Common Law Commissioners to examine into the course of proceeding before the benchers and visitors of Lincoln's Inn, the Inner Temple, the Middle Temple, and Gray's Inn, upon application of persons seeking to become students thereof, or to be called to the bar, and to report thereon. Mr. Harvey had previously made an unsuccessful motion for leave to bring in a "bill to give power to the Court of King's Bench, in certain cases, to compel the benchers of the four Inns of Court to admit parties as students and also as barristers at law." He had formerly been a solicitor, and had made several attempts without success, to gain admission to practise as a barrister at law. Very serious objections, affecting his private character, were made against his admission to the degree of barrister. The charges made against him, appear to have been confirmed by the court and jury, in several cases, and he was rejected by the unanimous decision of all the benchers; and their decision upon appeal to the twelve judges as visitors was, after hearing Mr. Harvey, and upon his own statement of his case, confirmed. Exasperation against the profession, and a determination, with his influence and that of his friends in the House, which was not inconsiderable, to obtain a rehearing of his case, or at any rate, to bring his case before the House, was, therefore, undoubtedly the cause of these motions. But the report of the Common Law Commissioners was not at all satisfactory to Mr. Harvey and his friends. And, therefore, about two years ago, the subject was again agitated in the House, on the motion

of Mr. O'Connell, for the appointment of a select committee, to examine and report in like manner as the Common Law Commissioners had been directed to do. Finding, after some discussion, that the House were not disposed to make any further examination into the proceedings and practice of the Inns of Court in general, Mr. O'Connell consented to an amendment of his motion, so that it might relate only to the appointment of a select committee, to examine into Mr. Harvey's own particular case. And the motion so amended prevailed. We are not aware that any further or other proceedings having been recently had in the English Parliament respecting the Inns of Court, or the profession.

The members of the profession of the law in England, as in most European countries, are formed into different and distinct classes, each of which performs a distinct part of the labors of the profession. And for each of these classes a different course of study and education is requisite. In the Courts of Common Law all the subordinate labors of the profession are performed by persons who are denominated attorneys. The attorney acts as a sort of agent of the party, in conducting his law business, and holds all the correspondence with him. He is a middle man between the barrister and the client. He obtains advice for him in cases of doubt, or difficulty, draws contracts and instruments for him in ordinary cases, and causes instruments of conveyance and other instruments, to be drawn for him by conveyancers in difficult cases, and attends the execution of them. He makes his client's demands upon debtors; commences his suits when plaintiff, and enters an appearance for him when defendant; watches the progress of his suits or cases, attends the prosecution or defence of them to final judgment; obtains advice respecting the proceedings when necessary, in every stage of their progress; gives the requisite notices; procures the pleadings to be drawn and motions to be made; collects, arranges and prepares the evidence for the trial; and employs barristers to argue the case to the jury, and when necessary, to the court. His office is highly respectable and often lucrative, but in rank and dignity far below that of the barrister. Labors of a similar kind in the courts of equity are performed by persons denominated solicitors. Formerly, the offices of attorney and solicitor were entirely distinct, but in later times they have been usually discharged by the same person, who is admitted to practice both as at-

torney and solicitor. The attorney and solicitor in the Courts of Common Law and Equity, answer to the proctor in the Ecclesiastical Courts and Courts of Admiralty, by whom similar labors are performed in those courts.

When it becomes necessary to address the court, to make a motion, or argue upon a question of law or fact in the cause, to the court or jury, if it be in the Courts of Common Law, a barrister or sergeant at law must necessarily be employed for that purpose, and if it be in the Ecclesiastical Courts or Courts of Admiralty, an advocate at Doctors Commons must be employed, who alone are allowed to perform such offices in these courts. The practice of certain of the barristers is generally limited to the courts of common law. Others practise wholly or principally in the Courts of Equity. Of those who generally practise in the common-law courts, some usually attend the Courts of Common Pleas and Exchequer, others more commonly appear in the Court of King's Bench, and many, perhaps rather from necessity than from choice, are most frequently seen in attendance at the Criminal Courts at the Old Bailey and the Courts of Quarter Sessions. Of those who practise chiefly in the Courts of Equity, some attend usually before the Lord Chancellor, others before the Vice Chancellor, others before the Master of the Rolls, and many before the Court of Bankruptcy and the Insolvent Debtor's Court. Barristers who practise in the Courts of Common Law, as well as those who practise in the Courts of Equity, and the advocates at Doctors Commons, argue cases on appeals before the House of Lords. Many barristers too, are in the practice of appearing before committees of the House of Commons, and occasionally in some of the city and county Courts, and before the judges at their chambers as well as before the Sheriff's Jury. And a limited number of the younger barristers commence their professional career in the Court of Marshalsea and Palace Court. But in matters before the Judges at Chambers in ordinary cases, and in the Sheriff's Court, and before the Commissioners of Bankruptcy, and the Court of Requests and in some other of the subordinate courts, the attorneys are allowed to and usually do perform the duties, which are alone performed by barristers in the higher courts. Barristers practising in the Courts of Common Law and advocates at Doctors Commons, are occasionally employed before the Chancellor, in arguing questions relating to the particular branches of law, with which they are,

from their course of practice, respectively most familiar. Some barristers rarely if ever appear in court, being employed chiefly as special pleaders, or equity draftsmen, in preparing the written pleadings of the litigant parties, or as conveyancers, or chamber counsel.

The right of practising pleading and audiences in the Court of Common Pleas was formerly exercised exclusively by persons holding the highest rank in the profession, and of the degree of the coif or sergeants at law; but by a recent royal warrant barristers have now an equal right and privilege to practise in that court; and the precedence is conferred on the sergeants of law already created. Future sergeants, if any should be created, will take rank next after the king's counsel, or those who have patents of precedence. King's counsel have precedence, according to the dates of their appointment. They answer in one respect to the *advocati fisci* of the Romans, as they cannot, without a licence, be employed against the crown. And barristers having patents of precedence, rank according to the dates of those patents, and those having no patents of precedence, have precedence after the king's counsel, sergeants at law, the queen's attorney, and solicitor general, and the Recorder of London, according to the dates of their call to the bar. Barristers, advocates and sergeants never, on any occasion, have any interviews whatever with their clients. They confer only with the attorney, solicitor, or proctor. No action can be maintained by them for their fees, which are regarded as *quiddam honorarium*. They are employed not for the cause, but for the occasion only; and have no concern with the cause, or the fate of it, beyond the particular occasion for which their services have been engaged. It often happens that the opinion of one or more barristers is obtained respecting the legality of the demand or defence, that another is employed to make the declaration, or draw the answer or plea, that a third is employed to make a motion, that a fourth is employed to argue the case to the jury, and a fifth to argue some question of law or equity to the court. The brief containing an abstract of so much of the case as is important for the occasion, with the fees, is delivered by the attorney at the time of the retainer. England, for the purpose of trials at *nisi prius* is divided into several circuits; two judges attend on each circuit. A certain number of barristers also attend the courts on the different circuits to argue causes at the *nisi prius* sittings

before the court and jury. And it is a rule well understood and observed, that no barrister can go on more than one circuit unless upon a special retainer. When commencing practice he may go on a particular circuit once or twice to try his luck, and then change that circuit for another. But after this trial, he is not permitted to change his circuit during his practice. After being appointed the king's attorney or solicitor general, he is obliged to give up his practice on the circuit entirely, excepting in cases where he shall have a special retainer. On the circuit the barristers dine together, and none but those who are of the degree of barrister are admitted to the table. The judges, we believe, lodge at a house provided for them exclusively by the county. Judges in all cases in the common law courts, are selected from the sergeants at law, and cannot return to practice at the bar, after having taken a seat upon the bench. The judges, sergeants, barristers and advocates, when in court, wear, by way of distinction, a particular dress. The sergeants, barristers and advocates wear wigs, bands and gowns; and none are allowed to appear in court without these badges of distinction. His majesty's attorney and solicitor general, the sergeants, and king's counsel, and all above the rank of an ordinary barrister, have silk gowns. The sergeants have nothing in their dress to distinguish them from the king's counsel, excepting a black patch of silk on the top of the wig. The judges wear full bottomed wigs and robes of different colors on different days, in term time, and wigs much like those of the sergeants at the sittings at *nisi prius*. Full bottomed wigs are also worn by the barristers, when they appear before the House of Lords. The attorneys, solicitors and proctors, have nothing in their dress to distinguish them from other gentlemen.

In regard to the education requisite to entitle them to practise, that of the attorney and solicitor differs widely from that of the barrister, as that of the proctor does also from that of the advocate. The attorney and solicitor are required to serve a clerkship *bona fide*, under articles of agreement. This service must be during five years, if the candidate have not obtained the honor of Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Laws, in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge or Dublin, but otherwise, three years service will be sufficient, if it be within four years of receiving his degree. The whole of this time must be spent in the office of a practising attorney, excepting the

last year, which may be spent with a practising barrister, special pleader or conveyancer. The candidate is obliged to give one terms notice of his intended application for admission, and to make affidavit of his service during the time required. Before being sworn and admitted, he is liable to be examined as to his eligibility and capacity by the judge, to whom he makes application, but this is usually dispensed with unless there be opposition. He takes an oath that he will truly and honestly demean himself as an attorney, according to the best of his knowledge and ability; and his name is then enrolled among the attorneys. An attorney who has been sworn, admitted, and enrolled in any of the courts at law at Westminster, may be admitted as a solicitor in any of the Courts of Equity. And on the other hand a solicitor may be admitted as an attorney in the courts of Common Law. Attorneys who act as agents of unqualified persons, or permit such persons to use their names, or are guilty of any gross misconduct, are liable to be struck off from the rolls and debarred from practising. And any unqualified person, who shall act as an attorney is liable to imprisonment not exceeding one year.

As to the education and qualifications requisite in order to be called to the degree of barrister, we cannot state them more concisely than by adopting the language of the common law Commissioners. "The four Inns of Courts, — the Inner Temple, the Middle Temple, Lincoln's Inn, and Gray's Inn, — severally enjoy the privilege of conferring the rank of barrister at law; a rank which constitutes an indispensable qualification for practice in the superior courts. No other means of obtaining that rank exist, but that of becoming enrolled as a student, in one or other of these Inns, and afterward applying to its principal officers or benchers, for a call to the Bar. The origin of this privilege of the Inns of Court appears to be involved in considerable obscurity.

It was observed by Lord Mansfield, in the case of The King v. Gray's Inn, Doug. 354, that the original institution of the Inns of Court no where precisely appears; but it is certain that they are not corporations, and have no charter from the crown. They are voluntary societies, which for ages have submitted to government, analogous to that of other seminaries of learning; but all the power they have concerning the admission to the Bar, is delegated to them from the judges; and in

every instance their conduct is subject to the control of the judges as visitors.

In support of these positions, various passages are cited from Dugdale's Origines Juridicales, which clearly shew that, in former times, the judges and the benchers made regulations to be observed by the Inns of Courts, not only respecting the admission to the Bar, but generally regarding the conduct of the members of the Inn, and the admission of students.

Many instances will be found in the appendix, of such orders, sometimes made by advice of the privy council and judges only, and sometimes by the benchers, by advice and direction of the judges, and proceeding from the king's suggestion.

There does not appear to be an instance in modern times in which the judges have interfered with the internal regulations of the different societies, though there are several in which they have acted as visitors, upon appeals to them from decisions of the benchers respecting calls to the Bar.

In the late case of Mr. Wooler, reported as the case of The King v. The Benchers of Lincoln's Inn, 4 B. & C. 855, it was held that the judges had no power, as visitors, to interfere with the regulations of the Inns of Courts respecting the admission of students; and also that the Court of King's Bench could not, in such case, interfere by mandamus. It was observed by Mr. Justice Littledale, "that the court was called upon to control the society in the admission of their members; but that, as far as the admission of members is concerned, those are voluntary societies, not submitting to any government. They may in their discretion admit or not, as they please; and the Court of King's Bench has no power to compel them to admit any individual." He added, that "the interference of the judges at the instance of those members of the societies whom the benchers had refused to call to the Bar, was perfectly right; because a member, who had been suffered to incur expense, with a view to being called to the Bar, thereby acquires an inchoate right to be called; and if the benchers refuse to call him, they ought to assign a reason for so doing; and if there be no reason, or an insufficient one, then the member who has acquired such inchoate right is entitled to have that right perfected.

With respect to the regulations and practice now in force in the different Inns of Courts, relative to the subjects referred to us under the present inquiry, we find them to be as follows.

1st. As to the admission of students.

The following rules appear to have been adopted by all the four societies.

Before any person can be admitted a member, he must furnish a statement in writing, describing his age, residence, and condition in life, and comprising a certificate of his respectability and fitness to be admitted, which must be signed by the party, and a bencher of the society, or two barristers.

No person is admitted without the approbation of a bencher, or of the benchers in council assembled.

The applications must, before he can enter into Commons, (and in some societies on admission,) sign a bond with surety conditioned to pay the dues. Every person applying to be admitted a member of any of the Inns must sign a declaration that he is desirous of being admitted for the purpose of being called to the Bar, and it is required by all the societies that he shall not, without the special permission of the society, take out any certificate as a special pleader, conveyancer, &c. under 44 G. III. 98, and such permission is not granted until the applicant has kept such commons as are necessary to qualify him to be called to the Bar, and it is given for one year only at a time.

Besides these regulations, we are informed, that at the Inner Temple, and at Gray's Inn, no person is admissible while engaged in trade. It has also been a rule at the Inner Temple, since the year 1829, that no person shall be admitted without a previous examination, by a barrister appointed by the bench for that purpose, in classical attainments and the general subjects of a liberal education. Such examination is to include the Greek and Latin languages, or one of them, and such subjects of history and general literature as the examiners may think suited to the age of the applicant.

2d. As to the call to the Bar.

The following regulations appear to be in force in all the societies. No person in priest's or deacon's orders can be called to the Bar. No person can be called to the Bar while he is on the roll of attorneys, solicitors, or proctors. Before a person can be called to the Bar, he must keep commons for three years, that is, twelve terms, by dining in the hall at least three times in each term. He must have been a member of the Inn for five years, unless he has taken the degree of Master of Arts, or Bachelor of Law at the Universities of Oxford,

Cambridge, or Dublin, or at Lincoln's Inn, is a member of the Faculty of Advocates in Scotland, in which case he may be called after he has been a member of the Inn for three years; but this exception does not extend to honorary degrees.

A student, previously to his keeping any of the terms requisite for his call, must deposite with the treasurer of the society one hundred pounds, to be returned without interest, on his being called to the Bar; or in case of death, to his personal representatives; but this rule does not apply to any person who shall produce a certificate of his having kept two years terms in any of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, or Dublin, or at Lincoln's Inn, of his being a member of the Faculty of Advocates in Scotland. No person can be called to the Bar until he is twenty-one years of age. The call to the Bar is by an act of the benchers in council or parliament, &c. assembled. The name and description of every candidate for being called to the Bar, must be hung up in the hall a fortnight before he is to be called; any person applying to be called to the Bar must make application to a master of the bench to move for the same. And the list of applicants to be called to the Bar at any society, is always transmitted, before the call takes place, to the other societies.

At the Inner Temple, Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn, no attorney, solicitor, or proctor, can be admitted to commons for the purpose of being called to the Bar, until his name shall have been struck off the roll.

In Lincoln's Inn, a person wishing to be called to the Bar must read his exercise at the Bar table, and the barristers at that table have a power of rejection, subject to an appeal to the benchers. If not rejected by the Bar table, it is still necessary that he should be approved by the bench.

At Lincoln's Inn, it is a rule that no person in trade is permitted to do exercises, to enable him to be called to the Bar; and there is the same prohibition as to any person who has been in the situation of clerk to a barrister, conveyancer, special pleader, or chancery draftsman, and has done the offices and received the perquisites of such clerk.

3d. As to the case of rejection upon an application to be admitted student, or to be called to the Bar.

The general state of practice in all the societies appears to be as follows:

If a person be refused admission as a student by any of the

societies, he has no means, either by appeal to the judges or otherwise, of bringing under revision the propriety of the rejection ; [so decided in the case of The King v. Lincoln's Inn, before referred to, which is in accordance with the state of the practice] ; and a certificate of the rejection is transmitted to all the other societies.

When any of the societies refuse to call a person to the Bar, the benchers will hear him personally or by counsel, and allow him to give evidence to rebut the charges made against him ; and if he be dissatisfied with their decision, he may appeal to the judges. On such appeal, the benchers send to the judges a certificate stating the reasons of their refusal to call such person to the Bar."

The education of those who intend to practice in the ecclesiastical courts and courts of admiralty, is quite different from that requisite for the attorney, solicitor or barrister.

In order to entitle a person to be admitted as a proctor, it is required that he shall have served a clerkship of seven years under articles with one of the senior proctors, who must be at least of five years standing. And before he is permitted to be articled, he must produce a certificate of his having made reasonable progress in classical education. When the term of seven years is completed the party is admitted a notary by a faculty from the archbishop of Canterbury. A petition is then presented to his Grace signed by three advocates and three proctors, that the party applying to be admitted has served as articled clerk to a proctor of the court for the full term of seven years. If this certificate be approved, the archbishop issues his *Fiat;* and a commission is directed to the Dean of the Arches, by whom the party is admitted under the title of a supernumerary with ceremonies similar to those observed on the admission of an advocate.

No person can be admitted to practice as an advocate in the courts of admiralty or ecclesiastical courts, who has not taken the degree of doctor of laws at one of the English universities. This we believe requires at least three years study of the civil and canon law. A candidate for admission as an advocate is required to deliver into the office of the Vicar General of the Province of Canterbury a certificate of his having taken the degree of doctor of laws, signed by the registrar of the university to which he belongs. A petition, praying that, in consideration of such qualifications the candi-

date may be admitted, is presented to the Archbishop, who issues his *Fiat* for the admission of the applicant directed to the Vicar General, who thereupon issues a rescript or commission to be prepared, and addressed to the Dean of the Arches, empowering and requiring him to admit the candidate as an advocate of that court. To this a proviso is always added that the person to be admitted shall not practice for one whole year from the date of this commission, in order that by attending during that interval he may acquire a competent knowledge of the forms of proceeding in these courts. The candidate is introduced by two advocates, and presented to the Dean of the Arches, who, after the archbishop's rescript is read and the candidate has taken the oaths, admits him as an advocate of the court. The advocate is afterwards admitted in a similar manner in the Court of Admiralty.

Having spoken of the Inns of Court and of Doctors Commons, it may perhaps, as a matter of curiosity, be interesting to our readers to give a succinct account of them. The buildings called Doctors' Commons are near to St. Paul's Cathedral in the city of London. The ecclesiastical laws, as now existing, have been for upwards of three centuries administered in the principal courts, by the body of men before referred to, as a distinct profession for the practice of the civil and canon laws ; some of the members of which body, in the year 1567, purchased the site on which Doctors Commons now stands, for the residence of the judges and advocates, and proper buildings for holding the ecclesiastical and admiralty courts, where they have ever since continued to be held. In the year 1768, a royal charter was obtained, by virtue of which the then members of the society and their successors were incorporated under the name and title of "The College of Doctors of Law exercent in the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts." This college consists of a president (the Dean of the Arches for the time being) and those doctors of law, who, having regularly taken that degree in either of the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge, and having been admitted advocates in pursuance of the rescript of the Archbishop of Canterbury, shall have been elected fellows of the colleges in the manner prescribed by the charter. The judges, advocates and proctors have their offices of business and places of residence at Doctors Commons.

As to the Inns of Court they are of so very great antiquity

that their origin is now involved in some doubt. It has been generally supposed that they originated in a struggle between the church, governed by and cultivating the study of the civil and canon law, and the nobility, gentry, and others, anxious to maintain and cultivate the profession of the English common law. When the Court of Common Pleas, the only court at that time having jurisdiction in civil cases, was, by *Magna Charta*, established permanently at Westminster, it is supposed, that many lawyers theretofore dispersed in various parts of the country, began to have fixed residences near this court; and that about this time the professors of the common law being excluded from the universities, for the purpose of establishing the study of the common law without the aid of the church, formed themselves into voluntary societies and a collegiate order, and established a sort of university of their own, which at different times was favored with the countenance and support of the crown.

There are at present, four Inns of Court, the names of which have before been mentioned; and several Inns of Chancery, belonging respectively to these Inns of Court. The former are occupied by barristers and students, and the latter by attorneys, solicitors and their clerks. Fortescue, speaking of these Inns in his time, says that the laws of England being learned and practised in three different languages, namely, English, Norman French, and Latin, could not be so well studied in the universities where Latin was mostly in use; but were studied in a public manner and place, much more commodious and proper for the purpose, than in any university; that the situation of the place was between London and Westminster, and not in the heart of the city itself, where the great confluence and multitude of the inhabitants might disturb them in their studies, but in a private place, separate and distinct by itself in the suburbs, nearer to the courts of justice, that the students at their leisure, might daily and duly attend with the greatest ease and convenience. The Inns of Court, although they remain in the same place as in the days of Fortescue, are now in the midst of the business and bustle of the town. Fortescue says, that the students in the Inns of Chancery, of which Inns, there were ten or more in his time, were young men, who studied there the first principles of the law; and that after having made some progress there, and being more advanced in years, they were admitted into the Inns of Court. In

these greater Inns, he says a student could not well be maintained under eighty scuta, (a very large sum in those days), and if he had a servant to wait upon him, as for the most part they had, the expense was proportionably more, and that for that reason, the students were sons of persons of quality; those of an inferior rank not being able to bear the expense of maintaining and educating their children in that way. As to the merchants, he says they seldom cared to lessen their stock in trade by being at such large yearly expenses. So that there was scarcely to be found throughout the kingdom, an eminent lawyer, who was not a gentleman by birth and fortune, and consequently, they had a greater regard for their character and honor than those who were bred in another way. There was in the Inns of Court and Inns of Chancery, a sort of academy or gymnasium, fit for persons of their station, where they learned singing and all kinds of music, dancing and such other accomplishments and diversions, as were suitable to their quality and usually practised at court. At other times, out of term, the greater part applied themselves to the study of the law. Upon festival days, and after the offices of the church were over, they employed themselves in the study of sacred and profane history. There, says our author, every thing good and virtuous was to be learned, and all vice was discouraged and banished; so that knights, barons and the greatest nobility of the kingdom, often placed their children in those Inns of Court, not so much to make the law their study, much less to live by the profession, (having large patrimonies of their own,) as to form their manners and to preserve them from the contagion of vice.

These Inns for a long time after the days of Fortescue bore a very strong resemblance to universities. They conferred their degrees of apprentice, or barrister and sergeant at law, answering to the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Law conferred in the universities. There were lectures or readings which the students attended. Prayers were daily read in the chapels belonging to the Inns. Questions were daily mooted. The students constantly lodged there, and dined and supped in the halls of the Inns in vacation, as well as in term time. The Inns were impaled and the gates were closed at a certain hour in the evening, and opened at a certain hour in the morning, in like manner as at the universities. Each Inn had rules and regulations regarding the conduct of the students

much like those at the universities. And the members were accountable to the heads of their Inns for their conduct, with as much strictness as the students at Oxford or Cambridge are now.

Lord Coke says, speaking in reference to his time, "As there be in the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford divers degrees of general sophisters, bachelors, masters, doctors, of whom be chosen men for eminent and judicial places both in the Church and Ecclesiastical Courts, so in the profession of the law, there are mootmen, which are those that argue readers' cases in Houses of Chancery, both in terms and grand vacation. Of mootmen, after eight years study or thereabouts are chosen utterbarristers. Of these are chosen readers in Inns of Chancery. Of utterbarristers, after they have been of that degree twelve years at least, are chosen benchers or ancients; of which one that is of the puisne sort reads yearly in the summer vacation, and is called a single reader, and one of the ancients that had formerly read, reads in Lent vacation, and is called a double reader, and commonly it is between his first and second reading, about nine or ten years. And out of these the king makes choice of his attorney and solicitor general, his attorney of the court of wards and liveries, and attorney of the duchy, and of these readers are sergeants elected by the king, and are by the king's court called *ad statum et gradum servientis ad legem;* and out of these the king electeth one two or three as please him, to be *his* sergeants, which are called king's sergeants. Of sergeants are by the king also constituted the honorable and reverend judges and sages of the law. For the young student, which most commonly cometh from one of the universities for his entrance or beginning, were first instituted and erected eight houses of Chancery to learn there the elements of the law, that is to say, Clifford's Inn, Lyon's Inn, Clement's Inn, Barnard's Inn, Staple's Inn, Furmival's Inn, Thavie's Inn, and New Inn, and each of these houses consist of forty, or thereabouts. For the readers, utterbarristers, mootmen, and inferior students, are four famous and renowned colleges, or houses of court, called the Inner Temple, to which the first three houses of chancery appertain, Gray's Inn, to which the next two belong, Lincoln's Inn, which enjoyeth the last two but one, the Middle Temple which hath only the last. Each of the houses of Court consists of readers above twenty, of utterbarristers about thrice

so many, of young gentlemen about the number of eight or nine score, who there spend their time in study of law, and in commendable exercises fit for gentlemen. The judges of the law and sergeants being commonly above the number of twenty, are equally distinguished into two higher and more eminent houses called Sergeant's Inn. All these are not far distant from one another and altogether do make the most famous university for profession of law only that is in the world, and advanceth itself above all others, *quantum inter viberna cupressus.*"

It would seem, notwithstanding the magniloquence of Lord Coke, that the study of the law in these Inns had, even in his time, in some degree degenerated since the days of Fortescue. Two of the Inns of Chancery certainly, if no more, had become extinct, and in each of those remaining there were only about forty students, whereas, in Fortescue's time there were in each at least one hundred. And in comparing the ancient lectures, or readings, with those in his day, Lord Coke in another place says "now readings having lost their former qualities, have lost also their former authorities; for now the cases are long, obscure and intricate, full of new conceits like rather to riddles than lectures, which, when they are opened, vanish away like smoke, and the readers are like lapwings who seem to be nearer their nests when they are farthest from them." The diminution of the number of students may probably have been occasioned by the circumstance that the sons of the nobility, not particularly destined for the profession of the law, did not resort there in so great numbers as formerly for the purpose of completing their education. The Inns were still, however, even at this time, the residence of some of the sons of the nobility, and men of family and fortune; and being intended, as the order of the readers and benchers declares, "chiefly for the profession of the law, and in a second degree for the education of the sons and youth of riper years of the nobility and gentry of the realm," it is but reasonable to suppose that lighter and more attractive studies and pursuits, and "commendable exercises fit for gentlemen," as Lord Coke denominates them, often took the place of the dry and less inviting learning of the law. Sir Christopher Hatton first gained the favor of royalty by appearing in a mask made by lawyers; even Saunders excelled on the harpsichord; Lord-keeper Guilford, besides being skilled in the modern languages and painting, was

a scientific and practical musician, and composed pieces of music after he was honored with a seat on the bench; Sir John Davis wrote a poem in lyric verse, on the antiquity and excellence of dancing; and Lord Bacon composed an essay on the subject of masks. Many curious and amusing details are given by ancient writers of the customs and usages of these Inns in former times. They had their revels, their romantic festivals, their grand christmassings, their masquerades, their banqueting nights, their splendid pageants, and their pastimes and amusements of various kinds, in which the judges, sergeants at law and barristers often participated. "They sang, they danced, they made merry, and on their days of license their 'lords of misrule,' 'jack straws,' and 'kings of the cockneys' made their halls ring with festivity."

But the times have undergone a great change, and the course of education has changed with them. Few only of the ancient customs or ceremonies remain. Their feastings on grand occasions, their splendid pageants, their former pastimes and amusements, have long since been discontinued, and are known only to the antiquarian. Their readings, mootings, lecturings and other like exercises, have shared the same fate. Residence is no longer required, and consequently prayers are no longer daily read in the chapels; dining in the halls in vacation and supping has ceased; and scarcely any thing remains but what is alluded to in that part of the report of the common law commissioners which we have already quoted. But the rank and character which the profession of the law sustains in the community, has not perhaps been very materially affected by these changes. It has still enrolled among its members, some of the younger branches of the nobility, and scions of the most distinguished families in the country, although it is principally composed of the upper ranks of the middle classes, and has nevertheless many among its members who have by force of their talent and industry, struggled up from the lower classes in society. A barrister is still considered as a fit companion for the greatest nobleman in the realm, and those who have been members of the profession, are usually among the most distinguished in both Houses of Parliament and of his majesty's counsel.

In term time the benchers, barristers, and students, still continue to dine in the halls of the respective Inns of Court. They are not allowed to appear on these occasions without their

gowns. The halls are much like those in the colleges at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The arms of their treasurer, are painted on the windows, and portraits of their distinguished men are hung upon the walls. The barristers and students sit at the tables running along lengthwise of the hall ; and the benchers sit at an elevated cross table at the upper end of the hall. The names of those dining in the hall are taken down by the steward every day during term in a book kept for the purpose. No one who dines in the hall can leave till grace has been said after dinner. The fare of the benchers is more sumptuous than that of the barristers and students. After dinner the benchers retire to their private room to drink their wine and partake of the desert provided for them, in like manner as do the masters and fellows in the colleges at the universities. Here the candidates for admission to the degree of barrister are introduced in gowns and with bands, on the occasion of being called to the Bar. The ceremony is as follows. The customary oaths are taken, after which one of the benchers declares to the candidates, that the benchers have determined to call them to the Bar and congratulates them on the occasion, and usually drinks their health for which they return thanks and then retire. They take the same oaths again at Westminster Hall, and thereupon are admitted to practice. The number of the benchers is limited and vacancies are from time to time supplied by election made by themselves. King's counsel, however, become *virtute officii* benchers of the Inn to which they belong. In regard to the practice of dining in the halls in term time, so far as it regards students, the common law commissioners say, "We conceive that that part of the present system of all the societies, by which students in whatever part of the kingdom they may be resident, are required to dine in the common hall, a few days in the course of every term, is founded on just views and attended with beneficial effects. Amongst these may be noticed that of its making known the person of the student and exposing him, if his character be disreputable, to more easy detection by the society before the period of his application to be called to the Bar. It also gives an opportunity of attending the courts, and associating with students and other members of the profession."

The chambers in the Inns of Court, we believe, are let, either from year to year, or for three lives ; and each of the Inns of Court has a very large annual income arising from the rents of

its estates and otherwise. The income of the Inns has been estimated, but with what accuracy we know not, at sixty thousand pounds sterling. Many complaints have been made recently and since the attention of the public has been particularly called to the subject, not only that this income is not so well employed as it is imagined that it might be, but that many of the rules and regulations of these societies relative to the admission and education of students and barristers, are not such as ought to regulate the education and admission to a profession occupying a most prominent and important rank in the civil institutions of the country.

Some of these are noticed by the common law commissioners as being in their opinion objectionable. And in their report they recommend that either by act of Parliament, or by authority of his Majesty in Council, the societies be enjoined to allow, and the judges of the courts at Westminster to receive, an appeal from any act of the benchers of any of the Inns of Court rejecting an application for admission into their society; and that it should be established by way of positive regulation that in all cases where an application is rejected, whether it relates to admission as a student, or to the call to the Bar, the party applying shall have notice in writing of the cause of rejection, — shall be allowed to clear himself from any charge of misconduct which it may involve, and for that purpose shall be at liberty to make his defence either in person or by counsel, and to produce evidence, and that a full report of the whole evidence and other proceedings before the benchers, shall in the event of an appeal, be laid before the judges. They further recommend, that it should be ordained that no general rules, or orders in future to be made by any of the societies on the subject of admission of students, or call to the Bar shall be of any force until they shall have been laid before all the judges of the superior courts at Westminster, to be assembled for this purpose, and approved and subscribed by such judges, or eight or more of them, which they remark would be a partial return to the ancient practice. They also express an opinion that the rule requiring special pleaders and conveyancers to obtain a license from the societies to practice is objectionable. They propose that the certificate of two graduated members of any of the universities, or of two respectable householders, should suffice instead of the recommendation of one bencher or two barristers, when candidates are proposed for admission to the societies; and that in all the Inns of Courts the power of admit-

ting or rejecting an applicant for call to the Bar should in future be vested in the benchers only. With respect to the existing rules of the Inns of Court subject to these exceptions, the commissioners report that they appear to them to be free from objections.

Notwithstanding the apparently objectionable features of the rules and regulations of these Inns of Court, so far as they relate merely to the admission of students, or to the calling them to the Bar, yet such is the character of the body invested with discretion in this regard, namely, the benchers, who are men at the head of their profession, and most of them far advanced in years, and such of course has been the manner in which this discretion has been exercised, that, from the earliest times, there have been very few cases of complaint, and even in those, from the best accounts we have of them, there is hardly room for a doubt of the correctness of the decision of the benchers.

Mr. Harvey and Mr. O'Connell, on the occasion of the motions before referred to, boldly contended, in the House of Commons, that no serious evil was to be apprehended from opening wide the portals to the profession, and admitting all persons of whatsoever character or pretensions, to practice; and that public opinion would put each person on his proper footing, and deal out rewards and punishments to each practitioner according to his merits. And we have recently heard the echo of the speeches of these champions of equalization in our own legislature. But for our own part, we have much more confidence in the dictates of past experience than in the visionary, or indeed worse than visionary schemes, of these noisy declaimers, however specious they may perhaps to some at first view appear. We are not among those who believe in the absolute infallibility of public opinion. The remarks of a writer in the Law Magazine upon this subject are so apposite that we cannot refrain from quoting them. "Most people," says this writer, "understand the value of fearless advocacy in times of trouble, nor can they well avoid seeing the importance of learned, enlightened, high-toned, and pure-minded judges, who must all be furnished from the Bar. But few can, or will see the injurious change that would be effected in the administration of justice, and even in the most intimate relations of society, by the indiscriminate introduction of rogues and swindlers into the profession (or which comes nearly to the same thing,) by

establishing it as a principle, that bad character shall not operate as a disqualification. It is, however, an undoubted truth, that litigiousness, and chicanery have been found increasing and decreasing in all countries in exact proportion to the elevation or degradation of lawyers as a class; and that civil litigation is always at its height, where the profession has ceased to be considered an honorable one. There is another way of looking at this subject, which may level it to the apprehension of ordinary minds. The present mode of conducting the business of the courts depends altogether upon confidence. The Bar confide in one another. And the bench confide in the bar. When, for instance, the counsel state that such or such is the purport of an affidavit, or other paper, the judges act on the statement, and dispense with the regular reading of the documents. Again, mutual good opinion amongst counsel leads to admissions, waivers of strict form, and equitable arrangements which benefit the suitor, at the same time that they greatly lighten the business of the courts." So another English writer upon this subject remarks, that it had been contended that the profession of the law ought to be open to every one who chooses to enter; that no testimonial of fitness or respectability should be required, that let a man be ever so immoral, ever so covered with crime, still this should not affect his competency to be called to the Bar. "They would have the English Bar," he observes, "like Noah's Ark, full of clean beasts, and of beasts that are not clean and of every thing that creepeth upon the earth. But what," he asks, "would be the necessary consequence of this indiscriminate admission to the bar? Assuredly it would inevitably sink the profession into the lowest depths of degradation. As a body it would no longer command respect, for it would cease to be respectable. We judge of a whole by its parts. If the members are corrupt, the body is corrupt. Admit the 'unclean' and you exclude the 'clean.' They cannot co-exist in the same place. To associate them in the ark required a miracle. Their principles are so repugnant that in whatever definite proportions they may be mixed, they repel each other. No sophistry, not even the quack alchemy of Mr. O'Connell, which transmutes his patriotism into gold, can hold them together in solution, — one must precipitate. Deeply as we should deplore this degradation of the bar, much as we should lament, that a body once the ornament of the country should become its shame, yet this would be

but a small matter compared with its evil influence upon the most sacred of all institutions, the administration of justice. If we degrade the Bar, we shall look in vain for dignity, learning, and integrity upon the bench. The stability of our institutions would be shaken, all confidence in government would be destroyed. Men who have any stake in the country would no longer consider it safe. A spirit of distrust would animate every breast, preside over every council, direct every action. Despairing of justice each man's will would be his own law."

These sentiments are not peculiar to us, or to the English Bar. Professor Bellot, a learned advocate of the bar of Geneva, in a Report made May 26th, 1834, to the Representative Council, in behalf of the commissioners appointed to examine the project of a law concerning advocates, proctors and officers of the courts, advances, in somewhat different language, the same opinion. "The parties," says the learned professor, "have need of counsel, of guides, of defenders, whose duty it shall be to examine and appreciate their claims and their rights; if they find them well founded, to institute the proper form of process, to assist in obtaining and producing the proofs, to reduce to writing and develop orally the facts of the cause, and the points of law which it presents, and, judgment once rendered, to direct, if it be favorable to him, in executing it, and if it is the contrary, the recourse which the law affords to him. This task requires of him who undertakes it, a profound knowledge of the laws and of legal forms of proceeding, the art of writing with precision and clearness, the talent of speaking, independence of character, a conscientious zeal and a rectitude of heart, which will repulse bad faith, and disdain all those artifices calculated to mislead the judges and obscure the truth. In every state of society, when the practice, without limit, is left to ignorance, inexperience and bad faith, grievous consequences ensue. The laws lend their aid and prevent these dangers, by the guaranties which they exact from those who exercise this profession. So in the art of healing, the laws have regulated the studies, examinations and proofs which those who would practise must furnish and undergo. They have reserved the practice exclusively to those only who have given these guaranties. They have ranked in the number of offences, the secret and unlicensed practice of this art. The consequences of ignorance and incapacity in an advocate and proctor may differ in their

nature and degree from the same deficiencies in a physician, but they are always not less important. If, in the hands of one, our health and life may be compromised; in the hands of the other our property, our condition in life, our honor, more dear than life, may be sacrificed. The legislature, therefore, ought to afford protection, by requiring similar guaranties from both. It is moreover, beyond the capacity and power of the majority of clients, or patients, to appreciate the merits and qualifications, either of the lawyer or the physician. The public character with which they are invested, is most frequently the cause of all their confidence and security."

The remarks of these writers are not speculative; they are verified by history and experience. In France, at the time of the revolution, it is well known that the order of advocates and proctors was abolished, and the bar was thrown open to all who might chose to practice in the courts. The consequence was just what might have been expected. Speaking of the evils and mischiefs arising from the abolition of the office of proctor (attorney) at this time, a French writer says, "The parties, although there no longer existed any regular proceedings, finding that they could not defend themselves, were obliged to abandon their controversies in law to agents having no legal office or character, who abused their confidence with so much the more impunity, as they had nothing to fear from those laws, which at all times existed to punish the misconduct of proctors and attorneys. Mr. Emery in exposing the reasons of the law, 27 ventose, 8 year, which established again avoues, said, that in so doing they only yielded to the opinion of every body who knew anything of legal proceedings, which could not be regular without this class of professional men; it was the only way to prevent immense abuses, and, which would surprise only those who were inexperienced in the matter, would diminish greatly the expenses of suitors. In a fit of delirium of fancied perfection, attorneys and all formal legal proceedings were abolished, because the ignorant and idle were always tributary to the industrious and learned. The attorneys did not lose their employment, but their legal character only. And having no longer any regular fees in the courts of justice, they made arbitrary exactions even before undertaking the business, much larger than they would have obtained by the regular proceedings, which had been abolished. Never was justice more dear. Much greater was

the inconvenience when the parties confided in those who had never exercised the functions of proctor or attorney; a confidence too often abused by intrigue and avidity." So the learned professor Bellot, in the name of the commissioners, whose report we have before mentioned, speaking of the abolition of the order of advocates before mentioned, and the free admission and license of all persons of every condition in life to practice in the courts, says, "The experiment was made in France and Geneva from 1795 to 1800, and was far from producing a favorable result. The bar was overrun by practitioners without instruction and without shame, free from all restraint and from all responsibility, practising cruelty and calculating upon misfortune; there never was exhibited in the same degree as in these years of sad remembrance, a spectacle more deplorable, of more crying excess of cupidity and of fraud."

So in Scotland, it seems that originally no specific qualifications were required, but the judges admitted whom they thought fit, and that in consequence of the admission of persons without fit qualifications to practice, the order of advocates fell into great disrepute and serious evils ensued. In the articles proposed by the order of advocates, relating to admission to practice, 17th of November, 1610, and approved by the court, for the correction of abuses, they, in the quaint language of the day, declare that "they lament the contempt into which their calling of advocation, which was once honorable, was brought; and amongst other causes thereof, they find the neglect of a just trial, which is requisite in the most mechanic callings, is the principal; the omission whereof has produced in a short time, an evil which is almost incurable, in such sort, that the name and estimation of an advocate has become vile, and has left the former beauty; and that not without some imputation to the honorable seat of the college of justice in which they serve."

The qualifications required in all civilized countries, from time immemorial, for the exercise of this profession, undoubtedly in consequence of having previously experienced serious evils for the want of them, furnish convincing proof of the utility and necessity of restrictions and regulations to prevent a free admission of all persons, whatever may be their condition or qualifications indiscriminately, to conduct the suits and plead the causes of others in the courts of justice. To maintain the dignity of the profession and guard the rights and

interests of the public, it was thought necessary by the Romans long before, and in the time of Justinian, to require, after a preparatory education, the period of five years to be spent by the candidate for admission to the bar, in the study of the law, under the instruction of the eminent professors of that age, in the schools at Rome, Constantinople, or Berytus. And no person was admitted to the order, and enrolled on the list of advocates in any of the *forums*, without having been found on examination to be qualified according to law for the important trust. And not only a competent knowledge of the law, but a most unblemished character was a necessary and essential qualification. All persons convicted of deceit, fraud or breach of trust, or of any offence in the Roman law, denominated infamous, which seems to have included among others, all who had been found guilty, on accusation, of calumny or prevarication, or wilful wrongs, and all dancers and declaimers on the stages, or before the public, were debarred from exercising the profession of advocate or proctor. Both proctors and advocates were forbidden to contract or bargain, pending the cause in which they were engaged, with their clients, for their rights or for any part of the matter in controversy, or make any pact or agreement with him, on pain of being forever afterwards debarred from practice. Every advocate took an oath in each cause, that he would, with all his ability and knowledge, obtain for his client what he should believe to be just and true, that he did not know the cause to be unjust or wholly desperate, or founded on false allegations, and that if in the course of the cause, he should find it to be so, he would abandon it. They were required to confine their pleadings to the exigencies of the case, and not unnecessarily to slander any one, or cavil, or be guilty of any falsity in their pleadings, and were forbidden, on pain of being struck from the list of advocates, to take extravagant fees of their clients. The greater part of these regulations relating to the profession in the time of the Romans, are in substance, incorporated into the ordinances concerning the same subject, in most of the nations of modern Europe. In Spain, the candidate for admission to the Bar as an advocate, must have obtained the degree of bachelor in the liberal arts and sciences, and must have afterwards passed four years in the study of the civil and canon law, and three years more in the office of a practising advocate, in the academies, or two years as assistant in practice in the universi-

ties; after all which, he must undergo one or two examinations, whereupon if he is found fit, he is admitted to be enrolled on the list of advocates. The rules regulating their practice, are substantially the same of those abovementioned in the Roman law. In Tuscany, the candidate for admission to the college of advocates, after an academical education, must have obtained a degree of doctor of laws, in some of the recognised universities, and have practised four years as an assistant to some justice or advocate at Florence, and afterwards must have passed with approbation an examination by the Royal Council, after which his name may be entered on the roll of advocates. The same qualifications in respect to education, and an apprenticeship of three years with some practising advocate, and a certificate of good morals, are required for admission to this degree, in the profession at Rome. And we believe that the qualifications required in other parts of modern Italy, are not very different from those of Tuscany or Rome. In the different parts of Germany, different qualifications are required, generally a preparatory course of study in the liberal arts and sciences, and three or four years study of the law and attendance on lectures in the universities, are requisite for the exercise of the office of an advocate. After this, the candidate must undergo two or three examinations, and practise two or three years in court, as assistant to the scribe, or to the judge; and must also, we believe, pass a certain period of time in the office of an advocate; after all which, he may be licensed to practice by the government. We must, however, except the Rhenish provinces, where the French system, we believe, is in force. In order to become an advocate in France, it is necesrary to obtain the degree of licentiate in law, which is only to be obtained by three years study, and after undergoing four examinations, and maintaining a thesis. And after taking the oath of office, a novitiate of three years must be passed, during which time constant attendance on the court is required; and no one can plead or defend any causes until two years at least of this time has elapsed, or he has arrived at the age of twenty-two years; and no one can be enrolled on the list of advocates until the novitiate has expired.

In Holland, before the ancient Dutch law was supplanted by the code Napoleon, no one was permitted to practise as an advocate or counsel until he had taken the degree of doctor of law in some one of the acknowledged universities, and had

been sworn in as an advocate before the court. In Scotland, on the occasion before alluded to, the faculty of advocates made a proposal to the court, which was approved of, that no one should be admitted an advocate until he had gone through a course of philosophy, and studied law in a university for two years, and should give a proof of his qualification, or should have served with an advocate of learning and experience for seven years. It was further necessary that he should obtain a recommendation from the Lord Advocate. Soon after this time a thesis was required to be written by the applicant. But a more liberal course of study than that indicated by these regulations was followed by many of their lawyers; for after acquiring the learned languages, and the other branches of education which the country then afforded, they repaired to the low countries which were famous for learned civilians, and there spent several years in the study of the law. Since that time a knowledge not only of the civil law, but of the municipal law and practice of Scotland is indispensably requisite. The applicant must now present a petition to the court, stating his wish to become an advocate, and his readiness to undergo a trial. The court remits him to the Dean of the Faculty, who again remits him to private examinators. On satisfying the examinators that he is twenty years of age complete, they examine him on the civil law. If he be found qualified upon this trial, the examinators report to the Dean and Faculty. After the lapse of a full year he is examined on the municipal law. If he acquit himself properly on this second trial, the examinators recommend him to the dean, who assigns him a title in the civil law for his public trial. A law in the title is then assigned by the dean for his lesson before the lords. On being approved he appears before the court, and takes the oath of office.

In all these countries, we believe, except Germany, (where we are told the condition of the advocate is any thing but independent and agreeable,) the advocates are formed into distinct associations or bodies, and governed by certain rules and regulations touching their practice and conduct.

Taking a general view of the laws and regulations of all these countries, relative to the profession, we see that there are some of these regulations which seem to be generally admitted to be indispensably necessary for the public interest and welfare. They are the same which the learned professor Bellot, in the name of the Commissioners, declares in his

report, to be essential, namely first, besides a liberal education, a study of the different branches of law for a certain number of years; such examinations as may be sufficient to ascertain whether the candidate is familiar with the principles of the science, and the text and reasons of the law, and an apprenticeship for a certain period with some one in practice, in order to unite the study of the theory with the practice of the law, and to acquire a familiarity with legal forms and processes, as qualifications for the bar. And secondly, an organization of the bar into an association or body, in order to regulate the practice and promote the honor and dignity of the profession.

Some complaint has recently been made, and we think not without good reason, against the system adopted by the Inns of Court in England, because the law is not taught there by professors or public teachers, and no particular course of education is prescribed or required, nor any examination necessary to entitle the candidate to be called to the bar. The society of the Inner Temple have lately established courses of lectures, and employed lecturers to read upon the different branches of the law. Whether the other Inns intend to follow the example or not, we do not know. The want of a regular system of legal education, perhaps may be one cause why the law has not been much studied in England as a science. The evils nevertheless arising from the want of a regular course of instruction, and of an examination, are not so great as without much consideration we might anticipate. A certain number of years being required to be passed in pupilage, and the student being prohibited from following any business whatsoever during this time, it only remains for him to read and qualify himself for the profession, or remain idle, or devote his time to pleasure and amusement. Whoever hopes to succeed in the profession, where there is so much competition, knows that it is an indispensable condition, that he should have a thorough knowledge of the law, and an aptness for practice, especially inasmuch as his attainments and ability will be pretty fairly estimated, by those to whom he can alone look for employment (the attorneys and solicitors) who are themselves lawyers, and not often misled or attracted by superficial attainments, and seldom fail to discover it, if the interests of their client suffer for want of skill and ability, or a competent knowledge of the law on the part of the barrister. This induces every one, who looks to

the profession for his livelihood, to qualify himself accordingly. And if there be some want of system in the legal education of an English barrister, it must be remembered that there is some want of system in the English law. And although the law may there be studied rather with a view to the particular branch of it which the candidate for the bar thinks will be useful to him, in the future line of practice which he intends to follow, than to comprehend the whole body of it, and reduce it, as far as possible, to general principles, yet, on the whole, he generally is tolerably well qualified for the duties which he undertakes to perform. And indeed many of the English barristers, besides being distinguished for a most profound knowledge of the laws of their country, are distinguished also for their high attainments in literature and the liberal arts and sciences. We have no doubt, nevertheless, that it would be much better for the profession and for the law itself, if it were taught in these Inns by learned professors, in the same manner as the liberal arts and sciences are taught in the universities.

It has been thought by some, who, we think, have not maturely considered the subject, that it would be better to dispense with the condition, which requires a certain time to be passed in pupilage, and to substitute in lieu of it a rigid examination. There are some, it is true, who, by their industry and capacity, will learn more in one year than others will in three. And it may at first view seem unreasonable and unjust, to put the indolent and the stupid, on a footing with the industrious and the talented. But universal practice in the universities and elsewhere has decided, and we think with great reason, that the length of time spent is the best general and practical test of proficiency in any art or science. It is very difficult, by such short examination as is usually made, to ascertain the qualifications of the candidate. And these examinations most commonly have been found to dwindle down into a mere unmeaning form or ceremony. And moreover, if no particular length of time were required, and admission depended wholly upon approval on examination, a wide door would be opened to the most mischievous and odious partiality and favoritism. It is undoubtedly for these reasons that a certain time has been, in all the countries before mentioned, required to be spent in the study of the law, before admission to practice. And that length of time, both in England and in the various states in the United States, whatever may be the industry or talents of the student, instead of being too long, is too short.

The profession in England derive, we think, far greater advantage from their system of administering justice than they do, in many other countries, from their system of professional education. For in England the Parliament, one branch of which constitutes the highest court of appeal in the realm, the Courts of Common Law, the Courts of Equity, Bankruptcy, and Insolvency, the Courts of Admiralty, and Ecclesiastical Courts, the Court of Colonial Appeals, and in short all the courts of any importance, excepting the assizes held on the different circuits for the trial of causes at *nisi prius*, and the Quarter Sessions, are held in town. Here alone all the barristers transact their professional business, excepting that which is performed in court on the circuits. Here all the judges and barristers, and many attorneys, solicitors and proctors have their principal place of residence, going into the country only in the vacations, or during the assizes there. For the convenience of transacting that part of the professional business of persons in the country, which belongs to attorneys and solicitors to transact, many, indeed, of this class of the profession are dispersed over the country; but they always have their agents in town, being also attorneys or solicitors, with whom they correspond, and who transact all such business as must necessarily be done in town.

This concentration of the members of the Bar in the metropolis, cannot but be attended with the most beneficial results. It affords them a better opportunity than they could otherwise have, of knowing each other both in public and in private life; and of appreciating the merits or demerits of each other, and of every candidate for professional honors or distinction. It enables them to meet frequently together, which among other happy effects tends to generate kind feelings and courteous conduct towards each other. It gives life and vigor to organized associations, for the regulation of their conduct, as members of the profession. It furnishes an opportunity of watching, exercising a censorship over, and controlling with complete effect, the professional practice and conduct of the whole Bar. It creates an *esprit du corps*, which advances with becoming zeal the best interests, at the same time that it promotes the purity and dignity of the profession. It occasions an honorable competition and emulation among the Bar. And among many other manifest advantages with which it is attended, it renders the division of professional labor more convenient among the barristers

themselves, and between them and solicitors and attorneys, and thereby allows the barrister more time for study, elevates him in rank, makes him more independent, and furnishes him at all times a sufficient number of competent judges of his merit, if he aspires to be known and to succeed by his talents, skill and professional attainments, without courting the favor, humoring the whims and caprices, or depending upon the opinion of the public in general, or the applause of the populace, for his advancement. We certainly know that many eminent men of great ability and learning have, by their merits, made their way to the head of their profession in England, who might, probably, elsewhere, with all those merits, have struggled in obscurity in the lowest rank with scarcely enough to procure their daily bread. And all the laws which can be made, respecting education or qualifications for any profession, will not secure great professional attainments, if they be, in the estimation of those, on whom the professional man must depend for his living, of no value after they have been acquired.

We are much inclined to think that the lofty independence, unimpeachable integrity, and high rank and character of the English Bar, depends much on this classification of the profession. The more humble offices discharged by the attorneys and solicitors, and which must necessarily be discharged by some legal functionary, are quite apt to beget servility and a feeling of dependence, and to put at hazard oftentimes the honor and integrity, as well as the dignity, of the profession. Being the only persons, who, in administering the law, come in immediate contact with those on whom it is made to operate, excepting the bailiffs and officers executing the process, they are necessarily exposed to popular odium ; and relying immediately on the people for patronage and support, they are also necessarily subjected to the dominion of popular opinion. Cringing, sycophancy and obsequiousness cannot be supposed to be necessary, but a great desire to conciliate favor, and a dread of giving offence, must often place them under great restraint. The situation of the barrister is quite different. He does not necessarily come in contact with the parties litigant. Often, perhaps, he may not personally know them. His mind is not narrowed, nor are his habits debased by his business. He is not obliged to submit to any employment which may derogate from his dignity, nor is he liable to any influences unfavorable to freedom of action. It is true he is dependent on the

attorneys for employment. But this is quite a different sort of dependence from that before mentioned. It is a dependence on those who can appreciate his talents and attainments, and who are interested in employing him who excels. He takes consequently a rank in society, which, in the eyes of the community, adds weight to what he says. As he is employed only for the occasion, and has no intercourse with his clients, he imbibes none of the client's feelings of animosity or revenge. And the Bar, therefore, generally presents a spectacle, not of pitiful wrangling, but of friends disputing grave matters of fact or of law. There is the same division of labor and classification of the profession, we believe, in most of the countries of modern Europe ; and it has been so, ever since, and even long before, the time of Justinian. Austria, Prussia, Poland, the Republic and Canton of Geneva, and perhaps some other of the Cantons in Switzerland form the only exceptions of which we happen to have any knowledge.

But we have to remark, however, that the offices of advocate and proctor have recently been united in Geneva, by a law adopted by the representative council, on the recommendation of the commissioners before referred to, who assign reasons for the change, which we have not time or room to consider. In support of some of their assertions, they refer to the countries before named, and to the United States. They admit that, in large cities like London and Paris, there may conveniently be a division of labor, although they seem to think it would be better for the public even there to unite the two classes. And Lord Brougham in the House of Commons threw out a suggestion to the same effect. The opinion entertained, we believe, generally, in England upon this subject, is pretty well expressed in an article in the London Magazine, which contains an allusion to Lord Brougham's suggestion.

" One branch of the profession cannot be struck at in this manner, without the other being hurt by the blow, the real effect of the proposal being to melt the two orders into one. In Poland, for instance, where advocates have been suppressed, the advocate has his office and clerks exactly like an English attorney, and the result would be everywhere the same. Instead of merely advising in cases of difficulty, — *ubi dignus vindice nodus*, — or going into court to speak from a brief, — the barrister would have to manage all the mechanism of a suit, and get up the whole case for himself. With the nature

of his calling, his arguments and his rank in society would sink, not merely to that of a solicitor, but for obvious causes, considerably below it. A Bar, regulated by a high standard of honor, not merely discharges its own peculiar duties and compels the judge to discharge his with scrupulous integrity, but gives a tone to the profession, and constitutes the best conceivable check on the malversation of subordinates; since the immediate agent with whom the party communicates, feels the hopelessness of asking a member of such a Bar, to conspire with him, and yet cannot venture, — indeed would not be allowed, — to take the whole responsibility on himself."

In France the law has declared the offices of *avocat* and *avoué* to be in general, and with certain exceptions, incompatible. A different education and qualifications are required for the *avoué*. He must be more than twenty-five years of age, and have obtained a certificate of capacity after having spent a certain length of time in one of the faculties of law; and to practise in a *Cour Royale*, must have served a clerkship of five years with an *avoué*. The principal reasons assigned for uniting the two offices, in the report to the Representative Council of Geneva, are certain supposed evils and inconveniences to the client, arising from this division of professional labors; namely, the inconvenience, loss of time, and additional expense, of employing and instructing two persons in regard to different parts of the case intimately connected, the want of the best advice in the first instance, the want of system and unity of views in conducting the cause, and the want of an undivided responsibility of those employed. The commissioners are not very fortunate however, in referring to Austria and Poland as examples of the effects of such a union of professional offices. In those countries, we believe, the profession hold a lower rank in society than in any other part of Europe. But there may be reasons operating in Austria, Prussia, Poland and Switzerland, as there certainly are in most parts of the United States, against such a classification of the profession, which do not exist elsewhere. An attempt has been made in New York, but the separation is far from being complete. It is more a matter of form than of substance. The counsellor communicates directly with the client, credits and perhaps disputes with him, about his fees; frequently has his office in the same chamber with the attorney; and counsels and aids him in business, with some understanding or arrange-

ment, tacit or express, in relation to the profits. Indeed, our habits of business in this country are not accommodated to an entire separation of the two offices. At the same time it can hardly admit of a doubt that, wherever the institutions and particular circumstances of any country have been such as to admit of a complete separation of the office of the advocate from that of the proctor or attorney, the advocates as a class, other things being equal, have been thereby elevated in character, and rendered more independent, and have held a higher rank in society.

The reason assigned by the Inns of Court for requiring that an attorney or solicitor shall have ceased to practice a certain number of years before being called to the Bar, as Sir James Scarlett (now Lord Abinger) declared in the House of Commons, is, that otherwise the profession of an attorney would be made a stepping-stone to obtaining success at the Bar through the medium of connexions, formed in a manner which could not fail to be in the highest degree injurious to the character of the Bar.

The English barrister attaches great importance to the usage which has arisen from necessity, of receiving his fees in advance. He can maintain no action for them. And if he could, he would think it a great indignity to be compelled to try the question upon a *quantum meruit* before a jury, whether he were or not entitled to one or two hundred guineas, more or less, for a retainer in an action at the assizes, which happened not to be tried. In this respect, the practice in England agrees with that of France and Spain.

The high character of the English Bar is the best security for the due administration of English laws. For the judges, who are the great protectors of the rights, immunities and privileges of the subject, are always selected from the Bar. And although political reasons may have weight in the minds of those who procure the appointments, it rarely can happen that incompetent men are elevated to the bench. And if any such person should by chance be appointed, and be so ignorant of himself as to be willing to accept the appointment, such is the character of the Bar that he could not long hold a seat there with satisfaction to the profession, or to himself. The examples of Lords Erskine and Brougham have shown, that even the greatest talents, and learning, and even popularity, will not satisfy a learned profession, when the requisite qualifications

for office are wanting. This usage of selecting the judges from the Bar, is much preferable to that which is adopted in France, Italy, Germany, and many parts of Europe, where they are taken immediately from the universities, or law faculties, without the benefit of experience.

It is an excellent feature in the system of administering the laws in England that the judges are placed, as far as possible, above all improper influences. They are clothed with a dignity that awes and forbids approach. At home, they are so much occupied in court, and at their chambers in Sergeant's Inn, that they have but little time to spend in social intercourse. At the assizes, as well as at home, they have but little intercourse with the Bar, and at all times, except in the social circle, are inaccessible to the people. They usually enter the buildings, where the courts are holden, by a private door which leads to their private room, where none but themselves and their friends, by invitation, are allowed to enter. Here they put on their robes, bands and wigs, and enter the court, through a private door which leads to the bench, from whence they retire to this room at pleasure to take refreshment, or to disrobe and leave the court. In court the demeanor of the bench towards the Bar and of the Bar towards the bench is always courteous. Indeed, among those who have had the education of gentlemen, it can hardly be expected to be otherwise.

We did intend to have made some remarks respecting the state of the profession in our own country, but have only room to express our regret, that men like Mr. Daniel Whittle Harvey and his friends in England, should have found any congenial spirits among our countrymen ready to re-echo their sentiments, or willing to slander and vilify, and attempt to lower in the estimation of the public, a class of men on whom at all times the due administration of the laws, and the rights and liberties of the people have in a great degree depended ; a class of men among whom, in all countries and in all ages, have been found the most bold, uncompromising, strenuous, and distinguished friends of freedom. A class of men to whom the people of England are indebted for their Bill of Rights and the United States for their Independence, and their republican constitutions of government.

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American Annual Register, for 1832—3. New York 1 vol. 8vo.

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Vie de George Washington—Fris de L'Anglais et de die, a la Jennesse Americaine. Par A. N. Girault. Maitre de Francais. 4th edition. Philadelphia. H. Perkins.

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